

Faculty of English  
University of Cambridge

In Summaries and Diagrams:  
Teaching Prayer and Poetry in Lancelot  
Andrewes and Edmund Spenser

Esther Osorio Whewell

Jesus College,  
University of Cambridge

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
September 2019



## Declarations

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee, including footnotes, references and appendices but excluding the bibliography.

A version of Chapter 4 is forthcoming in *The Review of English Studies*, with the title, 'For the Sake of the Arguments: Reading the Headnotes to *The Faerie Queene*', *The Review of English Studies* (forthcoming) < <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgz078> > [accessed 20<sup>th</sup> August 2019], 1–26.

## Abstract

This thesis is concerned with intersections between poetry and prayer, in printed texts attributed to Edmund Spenser and Lancelot Andrewes. It takes as a starting point the pervasiveness of Ramism at Pembroke College Cambridge during these two writers' overlapping years spent there as undergraduates, proposing that Ramist ideologies of the short and efficient, the organised, the hierarchical, the one-size-fits-all diagrammatic text, offer new ways of understanding the pedagogical aspirations—and the formal mechanisms—of Andrewes's literary homiletics and Spenser's religious allegories. I will be preoccupied above all by poetic economies of page space and prayer time: in representations of large in small, or the extraordinary in the ordinary, and the anxieties and humilities involved in such inadequate accommodated 'insteads'.

Chapter one examines printed English versions of Andrewes's *Preces Privatae*, reading its mise-en-page as reminiscent of Ramist logic books, and beginning to establish an early modern context of instrumental 'diagrammatic reading' by taking a particular interest in the work of curly braces as a 'didactic technology' which both performs and instructs prayer on the printed page. Chapter two considers Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes* as devotional poems. Read diagrammatically, by their complicated poetic hierarchies and chronologies these self-sacred parodies enact a thinking-through of the theological cruxes of the Incarnation and its meditative contemplation in the broken gift-cycle of prayerful thanksgiving. Chapter three uses grammatical anaphors and abridgements in Andrewes's Passion sermons and the *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine* to derive a theory of accommodated reading based on metaphorical sizes and imaginary dimensions. My final chapter reads the ballad-stanza 'Arguments' with which Spenser proleptises and summarises every Canto in *The Faerie Queene* as recognisably generic paratexts with analogies in the Geneva Bible, Thomas Speght's 1598 collected *Chaucer*, printed plays, and the Sternhold-Hopkins psalter. Short, simple, and economical, the four-line Arguments seem at first a very different poetical space from the Spenserian stanza—but on closer reading, they demand an investment in the dimensions of printed language and the spaces and syntax of its storytelling which fits persuasively with the wider poetics of *The Faerie Queene* and with its narrative structures.

## Contents

Declarations	2
Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	5
Textual Note	7
Introduction	8
Chapter 1—Many times knowen by their proper notes and markes: Curly Braces in the Printed <i>Preces Privatae</i>	30
Chapter 2—Of parts well measured, with meet disposition: Praying in the <i>Fowre Hymnes</i>	87
Chapter 3—Patterns and Passions: Lancelot Andrewes’s Imaginary Dimensions	131
Chapter 4—Psalters and Small Spaces: Reading the ‘Arguments’ to <i>The Faerie Queene</i>	178
Conclusion	216
Works Cited	223

## Acknowledgements

This research was funded by a PhD studentship awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK) Doctoral Training Partnership, and a Hogwood Scholarship at Jesus College. I am grateful for the support of both, which made writing this thesis possible.

Accumulating critical persons: thank you—

Ayesha Smith, Ms Khan, for English (Sherlock Holmes, James Bond, J.D. Salinger, *Othello*, The West Wing, Byronic dashes); Sara Pettigrew for crossing out most of the adverbs and ‘stifle’ as a noun, early on. Christopher Burlinson for the Renaissance, letting me tell him what shibboleth means, and for modelling an unattainable in generosity, thought, and kindness, in teaching. It very often has to reoccur to me how many things Christopher let me think I came up with myself. Fiona Green for poetry—and for first reading, then writing, and then, later, speaking. Hester Lees-Jeffries for Spenser, proleptic, Stuff, and an imperative sofa; Sarah Meer for roman numerals, new chairs in the study room, and minding; Katie Murphy for Andrewes’s fingers, and Louis Martz; Adam Smyth for books as things; Anne Carson’s dazing 2018 Clark Lectures for powder pink powerpoint slides and ‘protasis and apodosis’; Dianne Mitchell and Katherine Hunt for a hugely exciting, inspiring uplift at ‘Literary Form After Matter’ in Oxford in 2018, and Jennifer Richards for another one in Newcastle, at ‘Thomas Nashe and his Contemporaries’. Joe Ashmore answered endless questions about translations of Augustine; Ned Allen taught me H20 and 21, helped enormously with masses that had nothing to do with him, and let me join in with cool things that had nothing to do with me; Nathaniel Zetter read far more than he ever had cause, and was ceaselessly interesting and patient about Derrida and sensible stopping places, pirate raids on media theory, external hard drives, windows updates, what is close reading and whether it has a hyphen.

Thank you—Marica Lopez-Diaz, Jen Pollard, Sam Dean, and Anna Fox, for making the English Faculty a cheering and a navigable place to be, and for putting up with a beaten record for number of lost university cards, constant emails, and incompetence with printers

and pot plants; Helen Murphy for conversations about MHRA, graphic novels, and lime upholstery; Jesus first-years 2017-18 who taught me about deixis when I was supposed to be teaching them; Christ's first-years in 2019 who got me reading *Paradise Lost* again; and students in HMP Grendon, especially Moses and James, who made me feel lucky about studying English.

Lotte, Nathaniel, Fran, Lydia, Joe, Louisa, Zoe, Michael, and Abi made it all much nicer. I would never have got this written without Lydia standing over me; Lotte and Nathaniel gave especially wise and supportive counsel over the assassination of Ramus, and regarding his latterday resuscitation—and on other matters more trivial, and less. Bailey never wasn't interested, and told me about 'belt and braces'. Emma, and Christian Louboutin, for argot, purdah, facer, beech, novels, a C.J. Sansom book, and because my bins don't get stolen anymore. Harry read every single word eight and a half times and also three million more, and never wasn't there except for when he was in Cornwall; this wouldn't be done without him and I might be—throw me a small property, Dan.

Raphael Lyne has at every turn of the PhD process asked helpful questions and given interesting answers, found the gaps, left the spaces, encouraged, reassured, suggested, agreed, disagreed, distracted, focused, stabilised, nudged out dubious things, drawn out better ones and sent them in their right directions. With Raphael supervising it, writing this thesis has felt—from beginning to end—enjoyable and achievable. Katrin Ettenhuber coached my first ever thinking properly about religious paratexts, and taught me the word 'Platzhalter'; Katrin has been an inspiration for a long time, and her help at several stages of this work has been pivotal. I'd like to begin by thanking Sophie Read, whose reading is buoying and piercing, and whose invaluable advice is revelatory. Sometimes more and sometimes less explicitly, this thesis has a lot of Raphael, Katrin, and Sophie in it: I am very grateful.

Mum, for—here—puns and Maurice Sendak; Dad for magazines and names in Welsh, advice on [sic], and shoeboxes of illicit dried goods for libraries. Lizzy told me ergodic didn't mean what I thought it meant, and that I have too many chiasmuses. *Thine while he hath any* radicall moysture. This is for Martine and David Osorio, who haven't done the copy-editing yet and shall certainly NOT want to read the book, and Harry Whewell and Olga Shipperbottom, who might have liked to.

## Textual Note

In Chapter 4, since it will often be important for my argument to reproduce as closely as possible the precise mise-en-page of the stanza as printed in early editions and not always retained by later modern ones (particularly line breaks and hyphens), longer quotations from *The Faerie Queene* will be quoted from *The faerie queene Disposed into twelue bookes, fashioning XII. morall vertues* (London, 1596). Page and signature numbers in this edition begin again with Book IV. For ease of reference I will in every case also give book, canto, and verse numbers.



{

## Introduction:

### ‘if you can dispatch it in a shorter times space’

*The Massacre at Paris* is not widely considered the jewel in the crown of the vexed Christopher Marlowe canon. Performed at some time between 1589 and 1592, and existing in print only in undated octavo—‘That it is a “bad” text’, its editors freely grant, ‘is beyond question’—the printed version is recognised as one of the most likely candidates of all ‘bad texts’ to have been an actorly memorial reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> It comes down to us, then, in the argot of the New Bibliographers, in a form both ‘severely corrupted’, and ‘surreptitiously obtained’.<sup>2</sup> Badness, what is more, extends beyond the play’s bibliographic credentials. ‘Both the earliest critics and many modern commentators see *Massacre* as crude and simplistic’, wrote Edward Esche in 1998.<sup>3</sup> One of those earliest critics, James Broughton, prefaced his 1818 edition of the play with a ‘Prolegomena’:

Most readers, I imagine, will agree with me in thinking this by far the least valuable of Marlowe’s plays. It has in fact no particular excellence of any kind sufficient to

---

<sup>1</sup> Edward Esche, ‘Textual Introduction’, in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, Vol.5: Tamburlaine the Great, Parts 1 and 2, and The Massacre at Paris with the Death of the Duke of Guise*, ed. David Fuller and Edward Esche (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.293–306 (pp.294–95).

<sup>2</sup> See W.W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942).

<sup>3</sup> Edward Esche, ‘General Introduction’, in *Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, Vol.5*, pp.307–16 (p.309).

render the oblivion in which it has so long reposed a matter either of surprise or regret; and it is solely because in collecting an author's works, it is necessary to include the chaff as well as the wheat, that it has even now been drawn from its slumber, and again sent to the press, after an interval of more than two centuries.

'The extreme brevity of this piece', Broughton went on, 'contrasted with the length of our author's other plays, will not fail to be remarked[.] [...] Marlowe evidently hurried through his task with all possible dispatch; the events of years are crowded into the compass of as many pages; and in the composition of the dialogue, brevity alone seems to have been studied'.<sup>4</sup> Laurie Maguire's 'Stylistic Summary' of the play's characterisations is sensibly watertight:

Characters are blunt and over-explicit about their motives. Characterisation tends to be two-dimensional, notably in the parts of Navarre and Queen Mother, extremes of good and bad respectively.<sup>5</sup>

There is not all that much, then, to discover certain in Marlowe's *Massacre*, very little certainly of Marlowe, and certainly not that much to discover liking.

Nonetheless, this blunt and over-explicit representation of the 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre embeds the play, its Cambridge-educated writer, and its audiences, deeply in recent, painful religious history. However crude and simplistic its portrayals, they are the blunt outlines of real public personalities and real contemporary concerns. Of these character sketches, the one that has attracted the most critical notice is that of Petrus Ramus, notorious controversialist philosopher, logician, and—in the years following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre—adopted Protestant martyr.<sup>6</sup> It is true that Petrus Ramus's name among the massacre's victims is undisputed, and that a Petrus Ramus featured in passing in the 1583 edition of Foxe's *Actes and Monumentes*, which mentions in a 'briefe note concerning the horrible Massaker in Fraunce' that,

---

<sup>4</sup> James Broughton, 'Prolegomena', in Christopher Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris: with the Death of the Duke of Guise* (London, 1818), n.p.. See also N.W. Bawcutt, 'James Broughton's Edition of Marlowe's Plays', *N&Q*, 18.12 (1971), 449–52.

<sup>5</sup> Laurie Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The "bad" Quartos and their Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.280. On the play's reconstruction see pp.279–91.

<sup>6</sup> See David Galloway, 'The Ramus Scene in Marlowe's "The Massacre at Paris"', *N&Q*, 198 (1 April 1953), 146–47; John Ronald Glenn, 'The Martyrdom of Ramus in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*', *PLL*, 9.4 (1973), 365–79; Kristen Poole, 'Garbled Martyrdom in Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*', *Comparative Drama*, 32.1 (1998), 1–25.

In the number of them that were slayne of the more learned sort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lambinus an other notorious learned man, Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapesius, with others.<sup>7</sup>

However, as John Guillory has noted, Ramus's relatively extensive speaking-part in Marlowe's *Massacre* makes for odd celebrity casting in this two-dimensional, black-and-white-extremes historical scene. In reality, 'the debates incited by Ramus [...] had nothing to do with Protestantism' in the first place, and even here, 'Protestant beliefs do not figure in the scene at all'.<sup>8</sup> While Ramus was, unquestionably, an enraging and provocative public figure, it was not really as a Protestant that either the real Petrus Ramus or his broad-strokes Marlovian counterpart was condemned. The cultural import of this short and sharp cameo appearance has, rather, all to do with Ramus's forms for teaching.

In this thesis, as in *Massacre*, Ramus and 'Ramism' will stand for a prevalent strand of early modern pedagogy, especially recognisable to students and graduates of Cambridge University towards the end of the sixteenth century (Marlowe matriculated at Corpus Christi in 1580). In the four chapters which follow I will examine two related aspects of Ramism: diagrams and abridgements. In part, I will present these pedagogical schematics—often caricatured in contemporary writing—as literary technologies which allow us to trace some of the ongoing influences of a shared education on the work of two writers not often considered in parallel, Edmund Spenser and Lancelot Andrewes, who attended concurrently the same school and then the same university college—using echoes of Ramism to show how students trained in a particular set of pedagogical ideologies go on to turn teachers in their own writing. More polemically, though, I want in this thesis to make the case that as well as tools for teaching with, diagrams and abridgements are also energetically literary forms, which respond dynamically to close reading and complicate our notions of early modern 'formalism' and its attendant anxieties.

If brevity alone, as Broughton thought, was what Marlowe seemed to have studied in the writing of *Massacre*, he studied it quite well. Proximity and complexity are not every writer's endgame, and 'thinly drawn characterisations'—formal concessions to instant comprehension—are also often thickly foolproof in the sheer unmistakability of their radical

---

<sup>7</sup> John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of matters most special and memorable, happening in the Church [...]* (London, 1583), p.2153.

<sup>8</sup> John Guillory, 'Marlowe, Ramus, and the Reformation of Philosophy', *ELH*, 81.3 (2014), 693–732 (p.696).

reductiveness. Here, taken from its ninth scene, are some of the broadly-drawn lines of *Massacre*'s easy bloodthirst:

GONZAGO. Who goes there?

RETES. 'Tis *Taleus*, *Ramus* bedfellow.

GONZAGO. What art thou?

TALEUS. I am as *Ramus* is, a Christian.

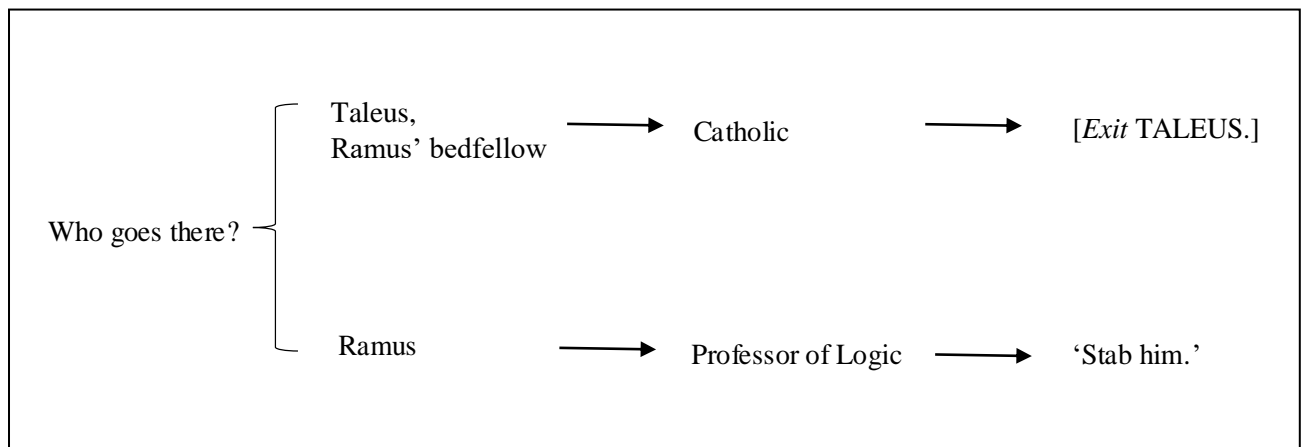
RETES. O, let him goe, he is a catholick. [*Exit* TALEUS.]

[...]

ANJOY. Who have you there?

RETES. 'Tis *Ramus*, the Kings professor of Logick.

GUISE. Stab him.<sup>9</sup>



Marlowe's dialogue is brusquely purposive in its impolite introductions in a way that, if unsubtle, is still effective: in the dramatized taxonomizing of *Massacre at Paris*, the question 'What art thou?' is a simple, open-close-latch shibboleth, gesturing down one of two, flat, dichotomising branches: Catholic, or Protestant; to *Exit*, or to have the stab.

Ramus here is more than just a good case study of such bold oversimplifications—he is, rather, the very figurehead for early modern strategies of efficient, uncomplicating reading. It is helpful, from this hurried, harried play, to quote the case against this figure, and his self-defence, in full:

---

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris*, in *Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, Vol.5, 9.11–22.

ANJOY. Who have you there?  
 RETES. 'Tis *Ramus*, the Kings professor of Logick.  
 GUISE. Stab him.  
 RAMUS. O good my Lord,  
 Wherein hath *Ramus* been so offencious?  
 GUISE. Marry sir, in having a smack in all,  
 And yet didst never sound anything to the depth.  
 Was it not thou that scoftes the *Organon*,  
 And said it was a heape of vanities?  
 He that will be a flat decotamest, [dichotomist]  
 And seen in nothing but Epetomies,  
 Is in your judgment thought a learned man.  
 And he forsooth must goe and preach in *Germany*:  
 Excepting against Doctors actions,  
 And *ipse dixi* with this quidditie,  
*Argumentum testimonii est inartificiale*.  
 To contradict which, I say *Ramus* shall dye:  
 How answere you that? your *nego argumentum*  
 Cannot serve, sirra, kill him.  
 RAMUS. O good my Lord, let me but speak a word.  
 ANJOY. Well, say on.  
 RAMUS. Not for my life doe I desire this pause,  
 But in my latter houre to purge my selfe,  
 In that I know the things that I have wrote,  
 Which, as I heare one *Shekius* takes it ill,  
 Because my places, being but three, contains all his:  
 I knew the *Organon* to be confusde,  
 And I reduc'd it into better forme.  
 And this for *Aristotle* will I say,  
 That he that despiseth him can nere  
 Be good in Logick or Philosophie.  
 And thats because the blockish Sorbonests,  
 Attribute as much unto their workes  
 As to the service of the eternall God.  
 GUISE. Why suffer you that peasant to declaime?

Stab him I say and send him to his freends in hell.

ANJOY. Nere was there Colliars sonne so full of pride. [*kill him.*]<sup>10</sup>

Guillory's point about the apparent irrelevance of Ramus's Protestantism in this scene—in a play strictly savage about religious factions—is keen. The case against this Ramus is the manner of his scholarship: superficiality, shallowness, abridgement, the flattening fashioning of epitomes and axioms, the arrogance—'as I hear, one Scheckius takes it ill'—of presuming to contain all of Aristotle's *Organon* in just three 'places'. The more famous Marlovian pronouncement on Aristotle comes, of course, from the opening of *Doctor Faustus*—which discovers another scholar in his study:

*Enter FAUSTUS in his Study.*

FAUSTUS Settle thy studies *Faustus*, and beginne  
To sound the deapth of that thou wilt professe:  
Having commencde, be a Divine in shew,  
Yet levell at the end of every Art,  
And live and die in *Aristotles* workes:  
Sweete *Analutikes* tis thou hast ravisht me,  
*Bene disserere est finis logicis*,  
Is, to dispute well, Logickes chiefest end  
Affoords this Art no greater myracle:<sup>11</sup>

'Settle', 'levell', 'sound the deapth', 'in shew': Faustus's mercenary talk of learning, too, is all in surface tensions, gauged not probed. With smack in all, and nothing truly sounded, Marlowe's Ramus and Faustus are flighty and unrigorous Renaissance men only 'in shew': socially deceptive as well as personally defective in their intellectualism—doubly bad—they know only the savour of learning, and yet manage to hoodwink by it.

It is the perfidiousness which, historically, has really rankled, and which has made Ramus so ongoingly divisive a figure. Tamara Goeglein notes the 'prevailing view that Ramist dialectic, if not all of humanist logic, is more prone to lying than to truth-telling'. 'This alignment of Ramus with lying poets', she says, 'is virtually as old as Ramism itself';<sup>12</sup> and as Emma Annette Wilson has remarked, this suspicious negative view of Ramus and Ramism as

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 9.20–56.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe. Vol.2, Dr Faustus*, ed. Roma Gill (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 1.1–9. As Gill notes in her edition, the definition of logic in 1.7 comes—tellingly—not from Aristotle's works, but directly from Ramus.

<sup>12</sup> Tamara Goeglein, "'Wherein hath Ramus been so offensive?': Poetic Examples in the English Ramist Logic Manuals (1574–1672)", *Rhetorica*, 14.1 (1996), 73–101 (p.83).

set out in *Massacre* remains curiously representative of scholarly opinion from the sixteenth century to the twentieth.<sup>13</sup> The aligning of poets with Ramist teaching values—a pedagogical vested interest in the proper shapes and sizes of texts, how they aim to convey information and enact reading—will be one of the central concerns of this thesis. Although it's true that the real Ramus had made his name and laid his philosophical battleground by scoffing Aristotle's logic in the 1543 *Aristotelicae Animadversiones*—causing him to be forbidden from teaching logic at the University of Paris from 1544—it is not true that Marlowe's Ramus, in his final moments of self-justification, maintains the *Organon* to be a heap of vanities. Indeed—'he that despiseth him can nere / Be good in Logick or Philosophie'—it is Aristotle's style, and not its content, here, that he objects to. Confused and overlong, it wanted better form—by which to mean: reduction, simplification, a more forgiving and accessible presentation to its would-be students.

High suspicion of Ramism is arguably a symptom of its huge contemporary popularity. Utility, Ramus insisted, was the first proper concern of pedagogy—and also the one with which pedagogy as he found it had not been sufficiently concerned. Under the influence of Agricolan reforms, his own scheme of dialectic aimed on the one hand to show, as Simo Knuuttila writes, that 'Aristotle's logic involves bad mistakes [...] and serious gaps',<sup>14</sup> and on the other to strip away those aspects of the old logic teaching which were 'too technical and unfocused, and concerned with the sorts of problem which the average student is never likely to encounter'.<sup>15</sup> Logicians after Ramus were inspired by his simplification of the scholastic logic which 'was thought to be too subtle and too complicated to be taught usefully to students, even when it was not condemned as empty and trifling'.<sup>16</sup> Teaching as Ramus perceived it—and as his new pedagogy strove to overturn and overtake it—was plagued by wasted learning time, by vain labours of pedagogic busyness, to some cost and no apparent profit.

To remark the dogmatics of pragmatics and teleology which underlay humanist classrooms and their reading practices is nothing new; the ideological education which sent Edmund Spenser and Lancelot Andrewes on from Merchant Taylors School to Pembroke College (Spenser matriculating in 1569, Andrewes in 1571) began its indoctrination of

---

<sup>13</sup> See Emma Annette Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Emma Annette Wilson and Steven Reid (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.1–7.

<sup>14</sup> Simo Knuuttila, 'Logic, Rhetoric, and Method: Rejections of Aristotle and the Ramist Affair(s)', in *Routledge Companion to Sixteenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Henrik Lagerlund and Benjamin Hill (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp.247–265 (p.258).

<sup>15</sup> Lisa Jardine, 'The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 21 (1974), 31–62 (p.53).

<sup>16</sup> E.J. Ashworth, *Language and Logic in the Post-Medieval Period* (Boston: Reidel, 1974), p.8.

straightforward efficiency long before Ramist Cambridge. And although Merchant Taylors under Richard Mulcaster represents a particularly strong paradigm, the popular discipleship of pragmatic pedagogy is a much wider phenomenon than one grammar school. ‘It should not surprise us’, Andrew Hadfield has remarked, ‘that many sixteenth-century grammar schools resemble each other, as often they were either founded by the same people or copied each other’s statutes’:<sup>17</sup> between Roger Ascham, Mulcaster, William Kempe and Thomas Elyot, the sixteenth-century lexical and polemical field for theorising teaching and learning is well-defined in its overlapping echoes and homogeneities.

One of its keywords is ‘profit’. ‘In the mind of the humanist educator’, as Rebecca Bushnell has pointed out, ‘intellectual profit [was] closely linked to financial profit’.<sup>18</sup> Mulcaster commends his own *Elementarie* as the most profitable of all available textbooks,<sup>19</sup> and Ascham advocates repeatedly in *The Scholemaster* for those exercises which bring the most profit, and those parts of learning which are the most profitable.<sup>20</sup> Kempe—also ‘an apostle of the systems of Ramus’, and the only translator of his arithmetical texts into English<sup>21</sup>—explains under the heading, ‘The Vtilitie of *Schooling*’ that although some fool may ‘rubbe his forehead and bee so hardie as to aske those godly men, why they would spend their goodes and possessions about that which cannot feede the belly, nor clothe the backe, nor yet helpe a man in time of aduersitie’, yet any one of David, Solomon, or Paul would tell him, ‘the riches, which thou bestowest to get learning, is but drosse and dung, in comparison of the pure gold and precious pearle that is attained by learning’.<sup>22</sup>

What this profit-driven teleology entails in contemporary writings on early modern education is a financial shrewdness about the work of teaching and learning, in accordance with which neither ‘overlong’ nor ‘overcostly’ are ever positive metaphors. Also entailed is an involving complexity about the word ‘idle’. Thomas Nashe, polemicizing about school and university education in the preface to Robert Greene’s *Menaphon*, is predictably lively with ‘idle’. Sometimes hard work, Nashe explains, is not only unimpressive in its rate of production, it is actively wasteful. Such ‘bungling practitioners’ as spend a year on what

---

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.28.

<sup>18</sup> Rebecca Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (London: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.129.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Mulcaster, *The first part of the elementarie [...]* (London, 1582).

<sup>20</sup> Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teaching children [...]* (London, 1579).

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Wright, ‘Kemp [Kempe], William (c.1560–1601)’, *ODNB* (2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15333>> [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2019]. William Kempe, *The art of arithmeticke in whole numbers and fractions* (London, 1592).

<sup>22</sup> William Kempe, *The education of children in learning declared by the dignitie, vtilitie, and method thereof [...]* (London, 1588), D4<sup>r</sup>.



could take a week will profit no one by their ‘negligent paines’; ‘so farre discrepant is the idle vsage of our vnexperienst punies’ that by their undiscerning efforts of judgment they are wont to make ‘drosse as valuable as gold, and losse as welcome as gaine’.<sup>23</sup> The obtuse labourer, Nashe warns, though he ‘sooner killeth himself with the ouer-stretching of his windlesse bodie, than he wil cease from his intended enterprise’, will have ‘nought but their toyle for their heate, their paines for their sweate, and [...] their labour for their trauaile’.<sup>24</sup> Ascham in *The Scholemaster* writes of little children in the North, who went off to grammar school and came back ‘great lubbers’, ‘alwayes learning, and little profiting’, ‘alwayes goyng, but euer out of the way: and why? For their whole labor, or rather great toyle without order, was euen vain idlenesse without proffit’.<sup>25</sup> In *Pierce Penniless*, so plentiful are the ‘idle wittes’ who ‘will needs tye knottes on smooth bulrushes with their tongues’, that the writer, as a matter of pride, could not possibly find time to address them all himself (for ‘faith the worlde might thinke I had little to attend, if I should goe about to vnloose them with my penne’).<sup>26</sup> The *Anatomie of Absurditie*, likewise, scorns idle wits, idle pens, idle heads, idle interrogatories, and ‘Idlebies’, who ‘obtrude themselves vnto vs’ with ‘a Chaos of sentences without any profitable sence, resembling drummes, which beeing emptie with in, sound big without’.<sup>27</sup> In the should-be-profitable industry of teaching, the two possible definitions of ‘Idle’—*either* ‘Empty, vacant’ *or* ‘Void of any real worth [...] leading to no solid result; hence, ineffective, worthless, of no value, vain, frivolous, trifling’<sup>28</sup>—seem importantly divergent: idleness here can mean too much activity as well as too little.

Short textual forms have a tricky ambivalence in this pedagogical economy. In *The Scholemaster*’s section on ‘Epitomes’ Ascham commends, in some contexts, the ‘cutting away’ of words and sentences, ‘specially to wede out that, that is superfluous and idle [...] where words be vainlie heaped one vpon an other’, ‘diminishing nothing at al of the matter’ but leaving ‘halfe as moch as it was in quantitie, but twice as good as it was, both for pleasure and also commoditie’. In this way, he acknowledges, the epitome may sometimes ‘be vsed [...] very well, to moch proffet’.<sup>29</sup> And yet, in general Ascham ‘mislike[s] this exercise, both in old and yong’, which he believes ‘hath hurt generallie learning it self, very moch’.

---

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Nashe, ‘To the Gentleman Students of both Uniuersities.’, preface to Robert Greene, *Menaphon Camillas alarum to slumbering Euphues [...]* (London, 1589), \*\*4<sup>v</sup>, \*\*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, \*\*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster*, Kiii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Nashe, *The apologie of Pierce Pennilesse [...]* (London, 1592), A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Nashe, *The anatomie of absurditie [...]* (London, 1589), Ai<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Idle’, *OED* <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/91064?rskey=67pWmu&result=1#eid>> [accessed 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018].

<sup>29</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster*, N3<sup>v</sup>.

Epitomising, he says, constitutes ‘beggarly gatheringes’, ‘a silie poore kinde of studie, not vnlike to the doing of those poore folke, which neyther till, nor sowe, nor reape themselues, but gleane by stelth, vpon other mens growndes’.<sup>30</sup> Nashe, inevitably, could also

enter into a large field of inuective against [...] abiect abbreviations of Artes, were it not growen to a newe fashion amongst your Nation to vaunt the pride of a contraction in euerie manuarie action: in so much, that the *Pater noster*, which was woont to fill a sheete of paper, is written in the compasse of a pennie.

Such too-portable materialised texts are associated with the cheating shortcuts of ‘Diunitie dunces, that striue to make their Pupills pulpet men before they are reconciled to *Priscian*: but those years which shoulde bee employed in *Aristotle*, are expired in Epitomes’.<sup>31</sup> Indiscriminate contraction and abbreviation, then, are no good; ‘enough’ in learning is hard to quantify.

Likewise, ‘quick’ learners in Ascham, Kempe and Mulcaster are not necessarily antithetically positive to ‘slow’ ones. *The Scholemaster*’s ‘First book for the youth’ contains an extended meditation on ‘quick wits’—who ‘for maners and life [...] commonlie be, in desire, newfangle, in purpose, vnconstant, light to promise any thing, readie to forget euerie thing’, ‘in most part of all their doinges, ouerquicke, hastie, rashe, headie, and brainsicke’. Good wits by contrast are ‘hard’ ones, ‘hardlie caried, either to desire euerie new thing, or else to meruell at euerie strange thinge: and therefore they be carefull and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busey in other mens affaires’; ‘They be graue, stedfast, silent of tong, secret of hart’.<sup>32</sup> Mulcaster too, despite outlining earlier on in the *Elementarie* means for students to ‘quicken their wits’, writes also of the importance of ‘sufficiencie in time, and digestion in studie’: ‘Perfitnesse in learning’ can come about only through ‘quietnesse’, ‘with warinesse for peace’.<sup>33</sup>

Kempe, it’s true, sets excelling ‘quicknes’ as the opposite of ‘dulnes of wit’. Good teaching, in Kempe’s formulation, can ‘double the quicknes of the sight: to wit, the sight of the minde’, and he recounts how Socrates—the first person to set out ‘who was fit to learne, and what things were to be learned’—‘would haue his Schollers to be quick of vnderstanding, sure of memorie’, as though there is no mutual incompatibility, as others imply there is, between learning quick and sure.<sup>34</sup> It remains the case for Kempe in practice, however, that

---

<sup>30</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster*, N2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Nashe, ‘Gentleman students’, \*\*4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Ascham, *Scholemaster*, pp.12, 13, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, A3<sup>r</sup>, P2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Kempe, *Education*, E3<sup>v</sup>, E1<sup>r</sup>, C3<sup>r</sup>, E3<sup>v</sup>.

trying to learn too fast is a false economy. His recommended method for teaching a child to read is by incremental individual letters, painstaking and time-intensive (and its demonstration space-intensive on the page)—‘strength’, ‘a sillable of eight letters’, for example,

being too hard for a childe to learne all at once, he may learne letter by letter thus: r–e, re; t–r–e, tre; s–t–r–e, stre; s–t–r–e–n, stren; s–t–r–e–n–g–t–h, strength.

‘Surely’, Kempe contends here, ‘one word by reason thus exactly learned will bring more fruit then twentie words rawlie passed ouer’.<sup>35</sup>

From school to university, Merchant Taylors to Cambridge—one set of informal networks, one echo chamber, to another, and not so different. As Charles Schmitt argued in 1983, Ascham’s derogations of Aristotle in *The Scholemaster* imply that ‘by the end of the sixteenth century Cambridge undergraduate education was rather limited’—and strongly defined from the 1570s onwards, in this rather limitation, by a ‘Ramist influx [...] firmly rooted in the Cambridge ambient’.<sup>36</sup> Since statutes in the 1570s recognised individual colleges as the ‘chosen institutional framework for supervision of students’ over and above the faculties and the university as a whole,<sup>37</sup> Spenser’s and Andrewes’s shared Pembroke ambient is also an important one. Networks of Ramists between Merchant Taylors and Pembroke are suggestive: Hadfield notes that the college’s associations with Mulcaster and his grammar school made it ‘an obvious choice for Spenser’,<sup>38</sup> and Andrewes held there one of the new scholarships established by Thomas Watts, a chaplain of Archbishop Edmund Grindal (an exponent of Ramist puritanism, and also the anagrammatical Algrind in Spenser’s *Shepheardes Calender*).<sup>39</sup> The Pembroke influence on Spenser of notorious Ramist Gabriel Harvey—among the ‘most ambitious and significant’ of Cambridge’s ‘charismatic star

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., F2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1983), p.45.

<sup>37</sup> Victor Morgan and Christopher Brooke, ‘Tutors and Students’, in *History of the University of Cambridge, Vol.2, 1546–1750*, ed. Victor Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.314–43 (p.315). See also ‘Constitutional Revolution of the 1570s’, pp.63–99 (p.79).

<sup>38</sup> Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*, p.54.

<sup>39</sup> Aubrey Attwater, *Pembroke College, Cambridge: A Short History*, ed. S.C. Roberts (Cambridge: Pembroke College, 1973), p.49. See also Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*, p.55; and Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p.178, on the particular Protestant character of Pembroke College.

teachers’,<sup>40</sup> and with a ‘reverence for [Ramist] method [...] which approached a religious tenor’<sup>41</sup>—is well critically-documented.<sup>42</sup>

How did Ramism manifest itself in the textual practice of a Cambridge university education? Studies of early modern teaching (mostly grounded in the grammar school) have tended to understand humanist pedagogic strategies as fundamentally ‘disintegrative’, characterised by a kind of close reading which ‘addressed the parts in detail but was little concerned with seeing them as a whole’.<sup>43</sup> Primarily concerned with the useful isolation of excisable textual fragments, easy enough to chip away and small enough to carry around, the practice of commonplacing in Bushnell’s formulation constitutes the ‘[conversion of] these pieces of writing into counters or currency, spatially distinct, usable, and exchangeable’.<sup>44</sup> ‘Not all texts’, though, as Jennifer Richards argues, ‘invite “particulate consumption”’.<sup>45</sup> Where in Bushnell’s humanist pedagogy, ‘variety and abundance were generally valued over brevity and simplicity’,<sup>46</sup> Ramism, by contrast, values brevity and simplicity above all. Spatial distinctness, practical utility and easy portability are among the most cherished of Ramist aspirations for teaching texts, but this is underlined importantly by much more of a concern for wholeness. If commonplace scrumping gets as close as possible to knowledge, in the first instance, to gather and then retreat, Ramist reading tries to get far enough back to hold everything in view in a single fleeting glance.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*, pp.54, 33.

<sup>41</sup> Kendrick Prewitt, ‘Gabriel Harvey and the Practice of Method’, *SEL*, 39.1 (1999), 9–39 (p.19).

<sup>42</sup> On Harvey’s Ramism in Cambridge, see Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*, pp.51–82 and: John Charles Adams, ‘Gabriel Harvey’s *Ciceronianus* and the Place of Peter Ramus’ *Dialecticae libri duo* in the Curriculum’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43.3 (1990), 551–69; Warren Austin, ‘Gabriel Harvey’s “Lost” Ode on Ramus’, *Modern Language Notes*, 61.4 (1946), 242–247; Joseph Campana, ‘Letters (1580)’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Richard McCabe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.178–97; Sarah Knight, “‘It was not mine intent to prostitute my Muse in English’: Academic Publication in Early Modern England”, in *Print and Power in France and England*, ed. David Adams and Adrian Armstrong (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp.39–51; Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.113–38; Chris Stamatakis, “‘With diligent studie, but sportingly’: How Gabriel Harvey read his Castiglione”, *JNR*, 5 (2013); H.S. Wilson, ‘The Cambridge Comedy “Pedantius” and Gabriel Harvey’s “Ciceronianus”’, *Studies in Philology*, 45.4 (1948), 578–91; Henry Woudhuysen, ‘Gabriel Harvey’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500–1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.611–29.

<sup>43</sup> Bushnell, *Culture*, p.129.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.133.

<sup>45</sup> Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, p.13. Peter Mack offers a similar reading model for wholes rather than parts in ‘Rhetoric, Ethics and Reading in the Renaissance’, *Renaissance Studies*, 19 (2005), 1–21.

<sup>46</sup> Bushnell, *Culture*, p.121.

<sup>47</sup> Katrin Ettenhuber, in *Donne’s Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), examines this exemplar for interpretation—‘paying attention to the broader moral and spiritual purposes of a text [...] to see [...] not in parts but in wholes’ (p.21)—as a kind of reading modelled on Augustine. I will get nearer this Augustinian version of all-at-once reading with aspirations towards emulating a divine eternal vision in subsequent chapters, especially 2 and 3.

The past twenty years has seen a flourishing in the historiography of university pedagogy—a ‘substantial increase in attention paid to precise details of curricula’, as Wilson puts it, ‘rather than the previous focal points of university politics in relation to the national stage’,<sup>48</sup> which better equips us for considering the years spent by writers like Spenser and Andrewes (and Marlowe) in Cambridge as formative of particular ways of thinking, reading, and processing information. The Arts BA course at Cambridge was designed, modestly, as ‘a survey course of all knowledge’.<sup>49</sup> The Ramist version of logic in this iteration of the trivium, as Lisa Jardine explains, ‘took the original and conceptually somewhat obscure developments of Agricola, made their consequences for the teaching of dialectic explicit and packaged them for mass consumption’.<sup>50</sup> Howard Hotson argues that the most striking aspect of this programme ‘is its ambitious attempt to teach so many disciplines in so few years’, offering ‘an education which was quick, reliable, inexpensive, flexible, broad, and above all practical’.<sup>51</sup> ‘Of marvellous quick dispatch it is’, advocated Richard Hooker in the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, ‘and doth show them that have it as much almost in three days, as if it dwell threescore years with them’.<sup>52</sup> Unsurprisingly, the ‘succinctness, simplicity and emotional compactness’<sup>53</sup> of Ramist principles had for students and teachers of such a programme, ‘certain attraction as an educational method’.<sup>54</sup> Erland Sellberg has described the material, ideological and administrative ‘usefulness’ of Ramism,<sup>55</sup> and E.J. Ashworth, defending level-headedly the appeal of Ramus’s *Dialectique*, puts it well:

despite all its glaring faults, it is not difficult to see why this rather messy little book became as popular as it did. [...] [I]t was a book which by its very simplification and reliance on self-evident axioms seemed to promise a short cut to the mastery of

---

<sup>48</sup> Emma Annette Wilson, ‘The Art of Reasoning Well: Ramist Logic at Work in *Paradise Lost*’, *RES*, 61.248 (2010), 55–71, (pp.59–60).

<sup>49</sup> Jardine, ‘Place of Dialectic Teaching’, p.32. This article considers one surviving complete teaching programme of an arts syllabus from the 1640s—which is probably, Jardine says, based on Richard Holdsworth’s guidance for teaching in the ‘Directions for a student in the Universitie’, discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>50</sup> Lisa Jardine, ‘Logic and Language: Humanist Logic’, in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.173–198 (p.185).

<sup>51</sup> Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.40, 89.

<sup>52</sup> Qtd. Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500–1700* (London: Faber, 1970), pp.48–49.

<sup>53</sup> Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986), p.132.

<sup>54</sup> Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen*, pp.48–49.

<sup>55</sup> Erland Sellberg, ‘Petrus Ramus’, in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ramus/>> [accessed 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018].

argumentation. Ramus appealed both to dogmatists and to those who wanted to attain intellectual eminence fast.<sup>56</sup>

Prewitt describes Harvey's Ramism as 'addictive';<sup>57</sup> Hardin Craig called Ramus 'the greatest master of the shortcut the world has ever known'.<sup>58</sup> Ramism was popular in university teaching, then—intellectual historians are agreed—for reasons which don't seem to need too much explanation.

It is precisely this shortcut to mastery, perfectly suited to the autodidact, that is offered by Ramist logical textbooks. Jardine cautions that Ramus's influence and contribution to humanist pedagogy 'as a cornering of the market of textbooks' must not be understated or underestimated.<sup>59</sup> As has been repeatedly emphasised by scholars of the early modern university curriculum, textbooks feature widely on student booklists, and are hence crucially important for understanding the (bookish, textual) forms through which students actually encountered ideas supposed to be foundational to their schooling.<sup>60</sup> Curricula, as Victor Morgan has pointed out, usually 'tell us more of the aspirations of the tutors than of the enthusiasms—or the shortcuts—of the young'.<sup>61</sup> 'Aristotle much named, but little read', wrote Harvey, famously, in one of his letters to Spenser:<sup>62</sup> though 'emphasis on Aristotle and Aristotle alone was a sixteenth-century phenomenon', as Ashworth finds there is in fact '[little] evidence that Aristotle himself was read. The main emphasis seems to have been on introductory textbooks'.<sup>63</sup> The most popular logical primers before Ramus's were the '*summulae*', general summaries, particularly Peter of Spain's and Paul of Venice's. Developed for clarity, ease, and speed of comprehension, Ramus's method of branching dichotomies was precisely suited to learning just enough and not taking too long about it.

---

<sup>56</sup> Ashworth, *Language and Logic*, p.16.

<sup>57</sup> Prewitt, 'Gabriel Harvey and the Practice of Method', p.21.

<sup>58</sup> Hardin Craig, *The Enchanted Glass: the Elizabethan Mind in Literature* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950), p.143.

<sup>59</sup> See Lisa Jardine, 'Humanism and the Sixteenth Century Cambridge Arts Course', *History of Education*, 4.1 (1975), 16–31. Jardine examines 200 booklists from Cambridge in the university archives, and finds more than 150 dialectic manuals 'as opposed to 40 rhetoric manuals' (p.17).

<sup>60</sup> See *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony Grafton (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2008), esp. Volkhard Wels, 'Melanchthon's Textbooks on Dialectic and Rhetoric as Complementary Parts of a Theory of Argumentation', pp.139–56.

<sup>61</sup> Victor Morgan, 'Cambridge in the Age of the Puritan', *History of the University of Cambridge*, Vol.2, pp.464–83 (p.468).

<sup>62</sup> Qtd. in Neil Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p.270.

<sup>63</sup> E.J. Ashworth, 'Logic and Language: Traditional Logic', in *Cambridge History of Renaissance Logic*, pp.139–72 (p.146).

The 'Directions for a student in the Universitie' written by Richard Holdsworth, fellow and tutor (and also preacher) at St John's College from 1613, though speaking from some years after Spenser and Andrewes matriculated at Cambridge, remains a useful account of advice to students on how to go about accumulating a university education. Concerned by the woeful time-management skills of the students in his care, and finding that many 'who perhaps have, or at least once had real desires to be Scholars fall in to idlenes & duncery because they know not how to set themselves on worke', Holdsworth sets out a detailed schedule of how usefully to employ learning time to greatest effect, both year-by-year and day-by-day of a Cambridge degree.<sup>64</sup> Students, according to Holdsworth's experience, fall by the wayside predominantly as a result of lack of clarity about how much time they ought properly to take in their studies. An inability either to perceive clear endpoints, or to fashion accordingly schemes to reach them means that such students 'linger & loiter like wanderers in a mistie wilderness that know they have somewhither to goe but neither know whether nor how far, nor to what purpose'. He laments particularly the wasted travailing of those who 'intend well but misemploy their time in books which might without prejudice be omitted'. Not being able to perceive the correct size of a learning task results in two diverse outcomes, equally bad: either students will

grow remisse & Carelesse in theyr studies, following them as it were but the half part because they are ignorant how great a taske they have, how many leavs & volumes to be turned over, before they can justly deserve the name of a Scholar or a degree in the Universitie

or they will lapse into

a despairing humour, & thinke they can never have studied enough because they looke upon Learning as a taske without End or Limits and though they study night & day yet they suppose they know not half of that they ought to know to make them ordinary scholars.

Strikingly, even for those students who 'perhaps have an ingenious thirst after Learning & knowledge', Holdsworth cautions that 'multitude and variety of bookes without order and method is a great prejudice to studies'. In contemplating books and tasks, Holdsworth's listeners must consider 'what bulk, & biggnes each of them is, & so have to allot to each a due proportion of time', so as to avoid mistakenly, 'stay[ing] so long upon some, that he shall

---

<sup>64</sup> Richard Holdsworth, 'Directions for a student in the Universitie', printed in H.F. Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton, Vol.II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p.624.

be forced to neglect the rest'. Efficient speed in reading is to be recommended—even after having sized up a book and allotted a certain amount of time to get through it, 'if you can dispatch it in a shorter times space you have', he proffers, 'so much more time to imploy in what else you will'. Not only reading, here, but also writing has its right sizes—in note-taking, Holdsworth advises, 'gather the sum. & substance of it in to your Paper-book, as short, & cleare as you can'—for 'Should your notes be larger it would be both tedious, & take up too much of your time'.<sup>65</sup>

### **Ramist Poetics of the Book**

In 1958, Walter Ong's *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* presented to scholarship a version of Ramus and his impact on European writing which, in many quarters, has stuck quite fast. The advent of sixteenth-century Ramism, in Ong's famous—now perhaps near-infamous—argument, stands as both cause and symptom of the Western media shift from an oral to a graphic culture—and with it 'the transit from the ancient and medieval world to the modern'.<sup>66</sup> Hotson, fifty years on, has written of Ong's attractively pivotal and large-scale Ramism—and its heirs and successors in the 'posthumous Ramist tradition'—that what it offers is 'at best a caricature, at worst a disembodied spectre' of a properly filled-out understanding of a complicated intellectual tradition.<sup>67</sup> As Sarah Knight has shown, however, stereotypes and caricatures at different literary removes are far from useless historical sources for apprehending the cultural impact of forms of pedagogy.<sup>68</sup>

In her *Donne's Augustine*, Katrin Ettenhuber carried out a study of John Donne's Augustinianism which allowed us 'for the first time, to observe Donne the reader in action'—'a study of embedded reading' which was able to examine, by reading Donne, the critical ways he learned to read and interpret scripture himself, and how he aimed to pass them on, in turn, to his own readers.<sup>69</sup> In this thesis I will be similarly interested in Spenser and Andrewes's Ramus—in identifying Ramist pedagogies as imbibed and embedded processes of learning, of writing, and of reading printed texts; processes which come to be reinscribed (though rarely explicitly cited) by their former students as literary forms, asking poetic curiosity and concentration. Morgan writes how 'young lads' exposed to disputations as a

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 'Directions', pp.624, 649, 624, 649–50, 636.

<sup>66</sup> Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), xv.

<sup>67</sup> Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, pp.9, 10.

<sup>68</sup> On the historiographic usefulness of Elizabethan Ramus—stereotypes in dramatic and satirical writing—and how Ramism by the end of the sixteenth century 'had become a caricature of itself', see Sarah Knight, 'Flat Dichotomists and Learned Men', in *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts*, pp.47–69 (p.64).

<sup>69</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, pp.19, 4.



prominent part of university life at Cambridge ‘imbibed as much the process as the substance’ of the pedantic scholarly debating ‘that had enlivened their youthful years’.<sup>70</sup> Ramism, I will propose—as process, rather than substance—directs particular models of reading attention by a stridently formalist polemical valuation of textual shapes and sizes, in a way which cannot help but infiltrate literary writing.

There exists already a significant scholarship concerned with outlining an early modern ‘Ramist poetics’. Its basis—in Hardin Craig’s *Enchanted Glass*, Perry Miller’s *The New England Mind*, and Rosemond Tuve’s *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*—represents an important foundation for twentieth-century thinking about thinking in early modern literature.<sup>71</sup> Since then, Peter Mack has traced broadly how the forms and strategies of Valla and Agricola’s dialectical invention seeped down—through first Melancthon, and then Ramus—into the early modern literary and rhetorical imagination,<sup>72</sup> while Gavin Alexander’s editing of William Scott’s logical poetics, *The Model of Poesy*, has expanded the concrete textual possibilities for imagining theories of logic and poetry as cohabiting within the same thinking structures of reading and writing.<sup>73</sup> The idea of a more widely practical and improving early modern ‘poetics’ has been well-established since Arthur Kinney’s 1986 *Humanist Poetics*<sup>74</sup>—and it is this version of pragmatism and utility as values absorbed by learning logic which has also been well set out in scholarship on Ramist pedagogies and their influence, by Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton.

Tamara Goeglein, Michael Hetherington, and Zenón Luis-Martínez have worked most closely at the interface of the literary and the logical—often beginning with Abraham Fraunce, explicitly both poet and logician. Goeglein, considering the use of poetic examples

---

<sup>70</sup> Morgan, *History of Cambridge*, p.130.

<sup>71</sup> Craig, *The Enchanted Glass*; Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939); Rosemond Tuve, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947). For the most part, writing on ‘Ramist poetics’ has revolved around Sidney, Milton, or Abraham Fraunce—in the first case, interested in the Sidney circle’s particular generation of logical–poetic–Protestant intellectual–social–religious–networking, and in the second, in the impact of Milton’s education at Christ’s College Cambridge on the polemical structuring and strategising of his argumentative poetics. See Zenón Luis-Martínez, ‘Ramist Dialectic, Poetic Examples, and the Uses of Pastoral in Abraham Fraunce’s *The Shepherds’ Logic*’, *Parergon*, 33.3 (2016), 69–95, and ‘Introduction’, to *Abraham Fraunce: The Shepherd’s Logic and Other Dialectical Writings* (Cambridge: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2016), pp.1–47; Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler, ‘The Logical Poetics of *Paradise Regained*’, *HLQ*, 76.1 (2013), 35–58; Wilson, ‘The Art of Reasoning Well’, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden: Brill, 1993). Mack has also written specifically about the impact of logical education on Spenser: ‘Spenser and Rhetoric’, in *Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, pp.420–35.

<sup>73</sup> William Scott, *The Model of Poesy*, ed. Gavin Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>74</sup> Arthur Kinney, *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986).

in logic books, thinks about Ramist violation of ‘the scholastic boundary between the figurative and the literal[,] effectively equalizing the status of dialectical and poetic languages’; ‘What semantic correlation’, she asks, ‘is produced in Ramist manuals so that poetry becomes the expression of logical thought, and logic becomes the content of poetic expression?’

It strikes me as odd that this semantic interchange has never been examined in Ramist scholarship, both since Peter Ramus exerted a noticeable force on Protestant English culture and since his use of poetry in dialectical manuals coincided with the renewal of poetic energy in Renaissance England.<sup>75</sup>

Hetherington’s work sees the pervasiveness of logic and method as ingraining a culture of discipline and rule-following, as well as a humanist, pragmatic end-directedness, in poetry and poetics,<sup>76</sup> and Luis-Martínez uses Fraunce’s *Shepherds’ Logic* to show that when both logic and poetry are tools of pedagogic communication, with humanist commitment ‘to didactic applicability’, logic can be used to explain poetry, and poetry to explain logic.<sup>77</sup> These studies are valuable because they allow us to approach Ramism as an ingrained habit of thought which can be promoted as a methodology of thinking—and as a style of writing. ‘Not bound by specific contents, logic becomes instrumental at the pulpit and in the lecture room’, writes Luis-Martínez:<sup>78</sup> as a methodology not a contents, a style not a substance, pedagogical Ramism and its one-size-fits-all *unica methodus* has much wider reach to get in everywhere, more scope to provide the instrumentation to any lesson. As Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio have argued, ‘schematic (and, it was sometimes said, reductive) models of thought’ associated with Ramist diagrams have an ‘extraordinary portability’, a capacity ‘to order very diverse kinds of material’.<sup>79</sup>

‘The success or failure of the traditional dialectic handbook’, writes Jardine, ‘[is] to be judged by the accordance of its content with the way in which people do in practice organize

---

<sup>75</sup> Goeglein, ‘Wherein hath Ramus’, pp.78–79.

<sup>76</sup> Michael Hetherington, “‘The Coherence of the Text’” in *Sixteenth-Century England: Reading Literature and Law with Abraham Fraunce*, *Studies in Philology*, 115.4 (2018), 641–78; ‘Disciplining Creativity: Habit, System, and the Logic of Late Sixteenth-Century Poetics’, *Parergon*, 33.3 (2016), 43–66; “‘An Instrument of Reason’: William Scott’s Logical Poetics”, *RES*, 67.280 (2016), 448–67; ‘Gascoigne’s Accidents: Contingency, Skill, and the Logic of Writing’, *ELR*, 46.1 (2016), 29–59; ‘The Poetics of Coherence: Logic and Miscellaneity in Late Sixteenth-Century Literature’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013).

<sup>77</sup> Luis-Martínez, ‘Ramist Dialectic’, p.73.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p.77.

<sup>79</sup> Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005), pp.67–69.

their thoughts'.<sup>80</sup> This thesis considers practical cognitive organising by way of the printed page in the particular realm of poetic devotional thinking, reading texts by Spenser and Andrewes into the category of what Cormack and Mazzio, followed by Lori Anne Ferrell, have dubbed theological 'How-to books'.<sup>81</sup> Literary scholars have often taken up Ong's Ramus as a way to argue for an increased setting of poetic store on the visual and the spatial. Here I will use Spenser and Andrewes as case studies to propose the terms for a Ramist poetics of the diagram and the abridgement—one which should underpin our understanding of the way early modern literary texts both perform and instruct daily devotional practice, and which by their typographies—or in their rhymes, metres, and paronomastics—teach devotional reading and thinking faith. My argument will be invested in tracing a historicised language of materialised and materialising texts which sometimes becomes entirely imaginary or metaphorical—in reading closely discussions and descriptions of the changing shapes and sizes of words, sentences, grammatical constructions, which in some instances have nothing to do with any tangible materiality of the text at hand. In the chapters which follow, then, I will be almost always in conversation with the history of the book, but not quite of it.<sup>82</sup> Closer to the 'entwining of literary and material form' described in recent years by Adam Smyth—whereby 'textual materialism' has begun in some critical quarters increasingly to intersect with 'new formalism' and the 'aesthetic turn'<sup>83</sup>—my argument will

---

<sup>80</sup> Jardine, 'Place of Dialectic', p.58.

<sup>81</sup> Cormack and Mazzio, *Book Use*, pp.80–96; Lori Anne Ferrell, 'How-To Books, Protestant Kinetics, and the Art of Theology', *HLQ*, 71.4 (2008), 591–606; and 'Page *Techne*: Interpreting Diagrams in Early Modern English "How-to" Books', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp.113–26.

<sup>82</sup> Scholarship in book history which has particularly influenced my thinking in this thesis includes *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Elizabeth Spiller, *Science, Reading, and Renaissance Literature: The Art of Making Knowledge, 1580–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

<sup>83</sup> Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p.13. Smyth identifies the origin of this approach in Jerome McGann's theory of 'materialist hermeneutics', whereby 'both linguistic and bibliographical texts are symbolic and signifying mechanisms', and "'meaning" in literary works results from the exchanges these two great semiotic mechanisms work with each other' (*The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p.67). See also particularly Arthur Bahr and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Medieval English Manuscripts: Form, Aesthetics, and the Literary Text', *The Chaucer Review*, 47.4 (2013), 346–60; Allison Deutermann and András Kiséry, 'The Matter of Form: Book History, Formalist Criticism, and Francis Bacon's Aphorisms', in *The Book in History, The Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text: Essays in Honor of David Scott Kastan*, ed. Heidi Brayman, Jesse Lander, and Zachary Lesser (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), pp.29–65; Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Leah Price, 'Reading Matter', *PMLA*, 121.1 (2006), 9–16, and 'From the History of a Book to "The History of the Book"', *Representations*, 108 (2009), 120–38.

be most kin with recent work by Sarah Wall-Randell on the ‘immaterial book’ in English romance,<sup>84</sup> and Pauline Reid’s analysis of ‘the interaction between perception and material image in early modern print visuals’, which combines ‘historical phenomenology’ with ‘new ways of reading the surfaces of things’.<sup>85</sup> Katherine Acheson’s study of ‘visual rhetoric’, which considers Elizabeth Eisenstein’s ‘brainwork’ as ‘habituated thought, perception trained by exposure, active engagement, repetition, and extension’, shares many of my concerns. ‘Diagrams and illustrations of a technical nature’ in early modern books, Acheson argues—as I will too—‘insinuated ways of thinking in their audiences’ that could ‘migrate [...] away from the images themselves and affect concept and communication in other forms’.<sup>86</sup>

In a special issue of *Huntington Library Quarterly* in 2010 devoted to the ‘Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England’, Jennifer Richards and Frederick Schurink argued that, as a result of the falling into disuse and disrepute of ‘the formalist approaches and reader-response criticism against which book history was defined’, twenty-first-century bibliographic criticism has sometimes found itself blinkered by its material turns and turns about. Concerned that ‘Models of utilitarian reading have often encouraged literary scholars to neglect the text’, they argue here that, ‘thinking about writing—about *texts*—can often help us to understand reading’.<sup>87</sup> All the texts in this thesis, whether implicitly or explicitly, consistently ascribe shapes and sizes to products of devotional reading and writing which, I want to argue, are chiefly and primarily metaphorical—and yet, for this no less (perhaps more) central to the processes by which they conceive of carrying out teaching. They think, like Marlowe’s Ramus and his assassins, about the effect of crowding multiple events into short pages, about two-dimensionality, and sounding heaps of vanities to the depth by flat dichotomies and sharp epitomes which reduce confusion into better form and write it into the compass of a penny. And they think, too, about how much time such things should take to read.

The anthropologist Tim Ingold called in 2007 for a return to ‘materials against materiality’—a campaign to think backwards out of scholarly fixation on ‘material culture’, to the real worldly matters which make up objects, switching back on our interest in and awareness of their real physical properties. ‘What academic perversion’, he asks, ‘leads us to

---

<sup>84</sup> Sarah Wall-Randell, *The Immaterial Book: Reading and Romance in Early Modern England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), esp. pp.1–19.

<sup>85</sup> Pauline Reid, *Reading by Design: The Visual Interface of the English Renaissance Book* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), p.15.

<sup>86</sup> Katherine Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric and Early Modern English Literature* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), p.2.

<sup>87</sup> Jennifer Richards and Frederick Schurink, ‘Introduction: The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England’, *HLQ*, 73.3 (2010), 345–61 (pp.351, 354).

speak not of *materials and their properties* but of *the materiality of objects*?’—where for Ingold, ‘the concept of materiality, whatever it might mean, has become a real obstacle to sensible enquiry into materials, their transformations and affordances’.<sup>88</sup> What follows—though it very much shares his interest in the lure of the ‘concept of materiality’, ‘materialism’ and (‘whatever it might mean’) its effects on scholarly thinking—will not, perhaps, soothe Ingold.

Over the past few decades, the need for ‘serious attention to be paid by critics to mutual relations between Andrewes and Spenser’<sup>89</sup> has been often remarked in passing and very rarely attended to.<sup>90</sup> This thesis sets alongside one another texts from the beginning and end of these two writers’ writing lives which aim to instruct their readers in scriptural exegesis, and fashion them in devotional attitudes—and which, I hope to show, present shared pedagogical ideologies and aspirations which it is useful to read partly through the context of their shared educational background. Following in the critical tradition—leading back to Louis Martz and reaching all the way towards ‘new formalism’—of reading early modern prayer like poetry, and early modern poetry like prayer,<sup>91</sup> my four chapters interleave explicitly poetic and explicitly religious texts, with two on Andrewes, and two on Spenser. The first two chapters will be interested predominantly in diagrams, drawing particularly on the work of Johanna Drucker, whose models of instrumental non-linear reading—not often found in conversation with early modern book history—offer a valuably different way of

---

<sup>88</sup> Tim Ingold, ‘Materials Against Materiality’, *Archaeological Dialogues*, 14.1 (2007), 1–16 (p.3).

<sup>89</sup> J.B. Lethbridge, ‘Recuperating the Return to History’, in *Edmund Spenser: New and Renewed Directions*, ed. J.B. Lethbridge (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), pp.15–58 (p.25).

<sup>90</sup> One notable exception is John Wesley, ‘Mulcaster’s Boys: Spenser, Andrewes, Kyd’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2008), which is interested predominantly in the impact of an Elizabethan grammar school education at Merchant Taylors characterised by the sound and movement of dramatic performance. Wesley’s published work on Andrewes will feature particularly in my third chapter.

<sup>91</sup> My particular forebears include Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); David Marno, *Death Be Not Proud: The Art of Holy Attention* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2016); Louis Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (revised 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962); Molly Murray, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Sophie Read, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), and *Theology and Agency in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Richard Strier, *Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert’s Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Ceri Sullivan, *The Rhetoric of Conscience in Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); R.V. Young, *Doctrine and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Poetry: Studies in Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, and Vaughan* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000). See also *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), esp. Elizabeth Clarke and Simon Jackson, ‘Lyric Poetry’, pp.151–64.

thinking about literary narratives on the printed page. In reading Spenser with Drucker, I will want to distinguish ‘diagrammatic thinking’ from ‘pictorial thinking’—as having much more actively to do with space, time, and teaching. ‘Diagrammatic thinking’, with its complex hierarchies and chronologies up-and-down and across printed pages, will prove, too, a new way of working through difficulties of theological comprehension and divine accommodation articulated in literary form. Chapter one examines printed English versions of Andrewes’s *Preces Privatae*, reading its mise-en-page as reminiscent of Ramist logic books, and beginning to establish an early modern context of instrumental ‘diagrammatic reading’, taking a particular interest in the work of curly braces as a ‘didactic technology’ which both performs and instructs prayer on the printed page. Chapter two considers Spenser’s *Fowre Hymnes* as devotional poems: read diagrammatically, by their complicated poetic hierarchies and chronologies these self-sacred parodies enact a thinking-through of the theological cruxes of the Incarnation and its meditative contemplation in the broken gift-cycle of prayerful thanksgiving. My next two chapters will think about changing textual dimensions—predominantly summaries, small forms with a lot packed into them. Chapter three uses abridgments and grammatical anaphors in Andrewes’s Passion sermons and the *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine* to derive a theory of accommodated reading based on metaphorical sizes and imaginary dimensions. My final chapter reads the ballad-stanza ‘Arguments’ with which Spenser proleptises and summarises every canto in *The Faerie Queene* as recognisably generic paratexts with analogies in the Geneva Bible, Thomas Speght’s 1598 collected *Chaucer*, printed plays, and the Sternhold-Hopkins psalter. Short, simple, and economical, the four-line Arguments seem at first a very different poetical space from the Spenserian stanza—but on closer reading, they demand an investment in the dimensions of printed language and the spaces and syntax of its storytelling which fits persuasively with the wider poetics of the *Faerie Queene* and with its narrative structures.

Throughout, I will be preoccupied above all by poetic economies of page space and prayer time—particularly in representations of large in small, or the extraordinary in the ordinary, and the anxieties and humilities involved in such inadequate accommodated ‘insteads’. The changing shapes and sizes of devotional texts (and texts which use devotional forms), I will show, prove invaluable for historicising the kinds of attention asked and instructed by Andrewes’s and Spenser’s poetic and theological narratives. In the process, I hope to prove poetic writing and poetic reading to be a way of enacting and considering early modern faith, as much as faith is often a way of speaking and complicating early modern poetry—in such a way that the two absolutely depend on one another, reciprocally taut, for teaching how to read, how to think, and how to pray.

**Many times known by their proper notes and markes:**

**Curly Braces in the Printed *Preces Privatae***

Reader, be serious let thy thoughts reflect  
 On this grave Father with a large respect;  
 Peruse his well-spent life, and thou shalt finde  
 He had a rare, and heav'n enamel'd minde.

— Henry Isaacson (1650)

He was a scholar, with a scholar's instinct for analysis and sense of the  
 value of words and appreciation of form. But he was not a *litterateur*.

—F.E. Brightman (1961)<sup>1</sup>

**[Not] Lancelot Andrewes's *Preces Privatae***

Lancelot Andrewes's set of private prayers in manuscript, the *Preces Privatae*, is sometimes in print called the *Institutiones Piae or directions to pray*, sometimes the *Private Devotions*, the *Holy Devotions*, the *Private Prayers*, or on one occasion, *The Heart: Its Meditations and Exercises*.<sup>2</sup> Four manuscript versions survive. One is in the British Library,<sup>3</sup> and two in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Henry Isaacson, *An exact narration of the life and death of the late reverend and learned prelate, and painfull divine, Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester* (London, 1650), \*\*\*2<sup>v</sup>; F.E. Brightman, 'Introduction' in, *The Private Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes*, trans. F.E. Brightman (New York: Meridian Books, 1961), xxiii–lxx (xxxix).

<sup>2</sup> The last of these is a translation by George Stanhope, *The Heart: Its Meditations and Exercises* (London: H.&A. Macardy & Co., 1843).

<sup>3</sup> Harley MS 6614.

library of Pembroke College, Cambridge—one of these written out by Andrewes’s secretary Samuel Wright, and later passed on to his friend Richard Drake (also a student of Andrewes’s), and the other copied from this one at second-hand. The fourth, given as a gift to William Laud, tells on its cover in Laud’s own writing that, ‘My reverend Friend Bishop Andrews gave me this Booke a little before his death’. None of these are thought to be autograph copies.<sup>4</sup> Although the original Latin and Greek didn’t make it into print until 1668, from 1630 onwards (Andrewes died in 1626), the *Preces* appeared widely and multiply in English translations. The first of these was published by Henry Seile, and entitled *Institutiones Piae or Directions to Pray [...] by HI*; ‘H.I.’ is Henry Isaacson, who matriculated at Pembroke in 1599 when Andrewes was master of the college, and went on to hold various roles in his household, becoming his first biographer in 1650.<sup>5</sup> Seile produced three editions of this book in varying sizes (the second ‘augmented’ version in 1633 almost twice as long as the first) before eventually attributing it in 1655, on the title-page of the fourth, to ‘the right Reverend Father in God, *Lancelot Andrews*, late Bishop of *WINCHESTER*’. ‘Thou art here presented’, Seile wrote in the new preface to this version, ‘with another *Manual* from the *Dead*.’—

I need not tell thee who it is, that being *Dead*, thus *Speaketh*; For, when thou shalt have perused these Pious and Holy *Institutions*, this *Dove* with *Silver wings*, and whose *Feathers are gold*, Thou wilt easily conclude what *Hand* it was, and who the *Noah* that sent it forth of the *Ark*, to find out the *dry* Corners of this Land, that so, there it might build a *Nest*, not for *it self*, but for *others*.

Just in case such easy conclusions might prove still foxing by their bright nests and feathers, that we might know for sure ‘the *Parent* by the *Child*’, Seile goes on—

Know now, that the True Father and primary Author of these Devotions was the Glory of this Church, the Great and Eminent *Andrews* [...] and thus the *Parentage* of this Book (which like that of *Cyrus*) was, for divers years, concealed under a *Shepherds* Cottage, (a good and faithfull Shepherd he was that concealed it) comes now to be vindicated to its own *Nativity*: And the Child being of *full Age*, desires to be known abroad in the World for her *Fathers Daughter*, the Daughter of her *True*, not *Supposed* Father.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Brightman, ‘Introduction’, xxiv. On the surviving MSS, see xxiii–xxviii; on the *Preces* printing history, see xxix–xxxv.

<sup>5</sup> See Peter McCullough, ‘Isaacson, Henry’, *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14480>> [accessed 9<sup>th</sup> July 2019].

<sup>6</sup> *Holy devotions, with directions to pray* (London, 1655), A4<sup>r</sup>–A5<sup>r</sup>.



John Henry Newman ‘translated and arranged’ the *Preces* for *Tracts for the Times* in 1840:<sup>7</sup> they are central to Andrewes’s remembered ‘heroic’ role in the history of English private prayer; and they remain, today, popular among practising Christians.

Seile’s fourth edition was not the first printed *Preces* to call the book a ‘*Manual*’. In 1648 Richard Drake, protesting that ‘the *Honor of This Renowned Bishop* [had] been eclipsed, by obtruding on the World some broken parcels, miserably defaced by a careless *Press*, under the glorious Name of *Bishop Andrews*’,<sup>8</sup> produced in quick succession two editions of a new translation—one in April titled *A Manual of Directions for the Sick. With many sweet Meditations and Devotions of the R. Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews*, and another in June, *A manual of the private devotions and meditations of The Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews*. ‘It hath been too great a fault in all ages’, reads the preface to the first of these,

to wrap up their *drugs* in *gold*, and, to vent *false wares* under *glorious titles*, imposing on the world, and on famous Authors many broken and imperfect Reliques.

That this Reverend Father hath suffered somewhat by this false play, is too notorious in the world: and in the former Impression of the Manual there were som crude additions, which, though not justifiable by any authentik evidence or Remain of his, were yet impos’d on him and us, and dar’d to call him Master.

These being hence remanded to their proper place of silence and obscuritie, I give you this as his genuine issue.<sup>9</sup>

Things called ‘manuals’ are to do with instructions, or to do with things you do with your hands. The recent bibliographic heritage of this word when Moseley puts it on the frontispiece is partly devotional. Obvious predecessors for the noun include the Church of England’s 1539

The Manual of prayers  
or the prymer in Englysh &  
Laten set out at length, whose con-  
tentes the reader by y[e] prologe next  
after the kale[n]der, shal sone per-  
ceae, and there in shall se  
brefly the order of the  
whole boke.

---

<sup>7</sup> ‘The Greek Devotions of Bishop Andrews, translated and arranged.’, *Tracts for the Times*, 88 (25<sup>th</sup> March 1840).

<sup>8</sup> *A manual of the private devotions* (London, June 1648), A5<sup>r</sup>. Henceforth *Private devotions*.

<sup>9</sup> *Manual of directions for the sick* (London, April 1648), A3<sup>v</sup>–A4<sup>r</sup>.

and the associated book of the same year, *The primer in English moste necessary for the educacyon of chyldren abstracted oute of the manuall of prayers or primer in Englishe and late[n]*.<sup>10</sup> Often in early modern usage ‘manual’ serves as an Englishing of ‘enchiridion’, ‘a concise treatise serving as a guide or for reference’—as in, for example, Abraham Fleming’s 1579 devotional, *The conduit of comfort*, which describes itself repeatedly as a ‘Manuell’, and vows in its prefatory paratexts ‘to make an Anatomie of this Encheiridion, or Manuell, [...] before the eies of thy iudgement’.<sup>11</sup> The word also appears in contemporary devotional contexts as an adjective for a certain type of book of a certain size of portable knowledge, friendly to holding: ‘Thankes be to God, there are plenty of manuall *Psalters* and *Testaments*, as easie to carry in mens pockets, and I am sure farre more profitable to edification, then this booke of *Deuotion*’, wrote Henry Burton in the front of his *Tryall of Priuate Deuotions*.<sup>12</sup> In some of its later wrappings—busily pictorial in their simultaneities of domestic eventfulness claustrophobic with chiaroscuro hatching and matryoshka frames—the printed *Preces* called a manual also bears a striking resemblance to the non-religious domestic and professional subsection of Cormack and Mazzio’s ‘How-to’ books, those that ‘instructed readers how to do specific tasks’.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *The Manual of prayers [...]* (London, 1539), title-page; *The primer in English [...]* (London, 1539).

<sup>11</sup> Abraham Fleming, *The conduit of comfort* (London, 1579), E7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Burton, *A tryall of priuate deuotions, Or, A diall for the houres of prayer* (London, 1628), E1<sup>r</sup>. Qtd. Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.293.

<sup>13</sup> Cormack and Mazzio, *Book Use*, p.83. For other early modern books like this, see, for example, Pamela Smith, ‘Making as Knowing: Craft as Natural Philosophy’, in *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge*, ed. Pamela Smith, Amy Meyers, and Harold Cook (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), pp.17–47.

Left to right: *A Manual of directions for the Visitation of the sicke [...]* (London: Humphrey Moseley, April 1648); Hannah Woolley, *The Queene-like Closet, Or Rich Cabinet: Stored with all manner of Rare Receipts for Preseruing, Candyng and Cookery* (London: Richard Lowndes, 1670); *A Manual of Private Devotions [...]* (London: Richard Bentley, 1674).

In all their textual and typographic variety, the printed English translations of the *Preces*, from 1630 to 1961, are certainly only *versions*—at some distance—of Lancelot Andrewes’s handwritten manuscript, in Latin and Greek, of personal prayers for private use. In close reading such texts we need, as Smyth puts it, to ‘disperse intention across a plethora of agents’.<sup>14</sup> And yet—these *Preces* remain, consistently, texts strangely rapt by the imagined materiality of the book which they are not, the hand which speaks the dead man’s voice which isn’t theirs. Sophie Read has written of ‘the readiness with which [Robert] Southwell’s writings acquired the status of relics after his death’;<sup>15</sup> here it is the prefacing descriptions of Andrewes’s ‘Original Manuscript’ in early printed versions of the *Preces* which are responsible for first effecting that document’s reification into ‘*pretious treasure*’, what they literally style ‘*sacred Relique*’, with sheets oft-quotedly ‘*happie in the glorious deformitie thereof, being slubber’d with His pious hands, and water’d with His penitential tears*’. Had you seen it too, Drake urges in his June 1648 preface, ‘*you would have been forced to confess That Book belonged to no other then pure and Primitive Devotion*’.<sup>16</sup> Such paratextual eulogies are preoccupied not only by inking into imagined pages the stains and liquors of the dying Bishop’s final efforts of prayer, but also with tracing the ensuing travel of that written text through spaces and hands of provenance, as acts of work and gift—who copied it out during Andrewes’s convalescence, for whom the copy was intended; what worldly interruptions made one script break off unfinished, ‘that the dying prelate might make the gift’ of Laud’s presentation copy ‘with his own hand’.<sup>17</sup>

Authors themselves, Peter Stallybrass has proposed, might sometimes function as paratextual appendages to their own writings—and so too, I would add, might particular instantiations of their physical texts.<sup>18</sup> Brightman writes that ‘the *Preces* are in a measure an autobiography’;<sup>19</sup> these versions of the *Preces* and their paratexts come both to perform and to harden (both vivify and petrify) a caricature of Andrewesian word and idiom strongly invested in potent imagined textual materiality. It is on account of the wide dissemination of

---

<sup>14</sup> Smyth, *Material Texts*, p.14.

<sup>15</sup> Read, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination*, p.61.

<sup>16</sup> *Private devotions*, A8<sup>v</sup>–A9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> See Brightman, ‘Introduction’, xxv.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Stallybrass, ‘Afterword’, in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.204–20 (pp.210–18).

<sup>19</sup> Brightman, ‘Introduction’, xlviii.

the *Preces* in English printed versions that Andrewes has solidified, posthumously, into a ‘heroic figure’ in the evolution of early modern devotional practice—perhaps, as Graham Parry argues, ‘the inaugurator of the tradition of private prayer that was practised by the more devout Anglicans of the seventeenth century’.<sup>20</sup> ‘There will be some to make it their Wish’, writes Seile, ‘O that they had lived in those Dayes, when they might have seen’

*Dr. Andrews, in the Schoole,*  
*Bp. Andrews, in the Pulpit,*  
*St. Andrews, in the Closet.*<sup>21</sup>

Teacher, preacher, prayer. Drawing to an end his famous funeral sermon for Andrewes (later printed at the end of the *XCVI. Sermons*), John Buckeridge proclaims of that man ‘whose worth may not be passed over in silence, whom all ages with us may celebrate and admire’, ‘Of whom I can say nothing, but his worth and vertues will farre exceed all mens words’, that he may say, at least, at the last, ‘Of this Reverend Prelate’, that ‘his life was a *life of prayer*’.<sup>22</sup>

The *Preces* are also vital for saying of this reverend prelate that his life was a *life of poetry*. Perhaps even more so than Andrewes’s sermons, this text has long, and resolutely, been read as a literary work: Brightman in the critical introduction to his 1903 translation describes the prayers as ‘singular prose poems’, with ‘real poetic distinction’;<sup>23</sup> Parry calls part of the text a ‘lengthy prose poem’, too.<sup>24</sup> Nicolas Lossky writes that ‘the type of apprehension to which [Andrewes] is making appeal is naturally comparable to the apprehension of a poem’,<sup>25</sup> and Elizabeth McCutcheon that ‘the variety of melody [is] so extraordinary that [they] are as much hymns as they are prayers and meditations, in this way reminiscent of Spenser’s equally ceremonious hymns of praise and celebration’.<sup>26</sup> No uncertain terms, these—and it is as devotional poetry that this chapter will sometimes read them too, asking what it is about the *Preces*’ presentation that makes them seem to ask such a careful reading attention—and how such literary close reading might try to discover

---

<sup>20</sup> Graham Parry, ‘The Tradition of High Church Prayer in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word, and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.37–49 (p.37).

<sup>21</sup> *Holy devotions*, A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> John Buckeridge, ‘A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of [...] Lancelot, Late Lord Bishop of Winchester’, in Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons* (London, 1629), Rrrr3<sup>v</sup>, Rrrr6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Brightman, ‘Introduction’, xxxix.

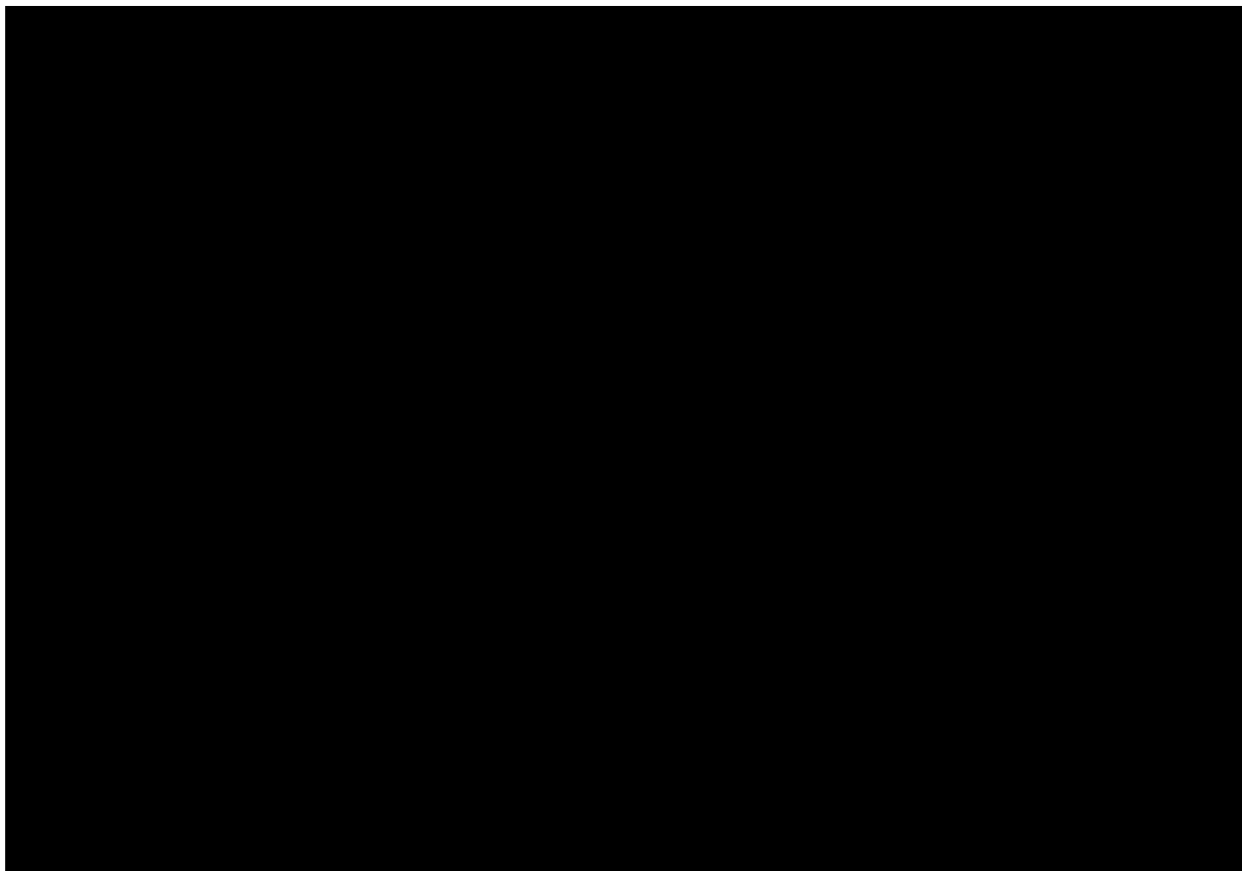
<sup>24</sup> Parry, ‘Tradition’, p.39.

<sup>25</sup> Nicolas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555–1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p.42.

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth McCutcheon, ‘Lancelot Andrewes’ “*Preces Privatae*”: A Journey Through Time’, *Studies in Philology*, 65.2 (1968), 223–241 (p.223). Spenser’s *Fowre Hymnes* are the subject of my next chapter.

something more lucid to say than that in this text, ‘theme and form [are] saturated with time’, that aspects of its prose are ‘sharply felt’,<sup>27</sup> or that it boasts, inevitably, that unfathomable ‘relevant intensity’ which is T.S. Eliot’s incorrigible heirloom to Andrewes scholarship.<sup>28</sup>

In this chapter I want to find the English printed *Preces* teaching prayer by a particular impetus of graphic poetics—by idiosyncratic, speaking economies of mise-en-page, and by metaphors written in spaces and diagrams. For beginning to consider the way that this text’s material and imaginary spatial relationships snag and hold sustained reading attention with devotional intent, the main common denominator I want to examine on the pages of the *Preces* is the curly braces.



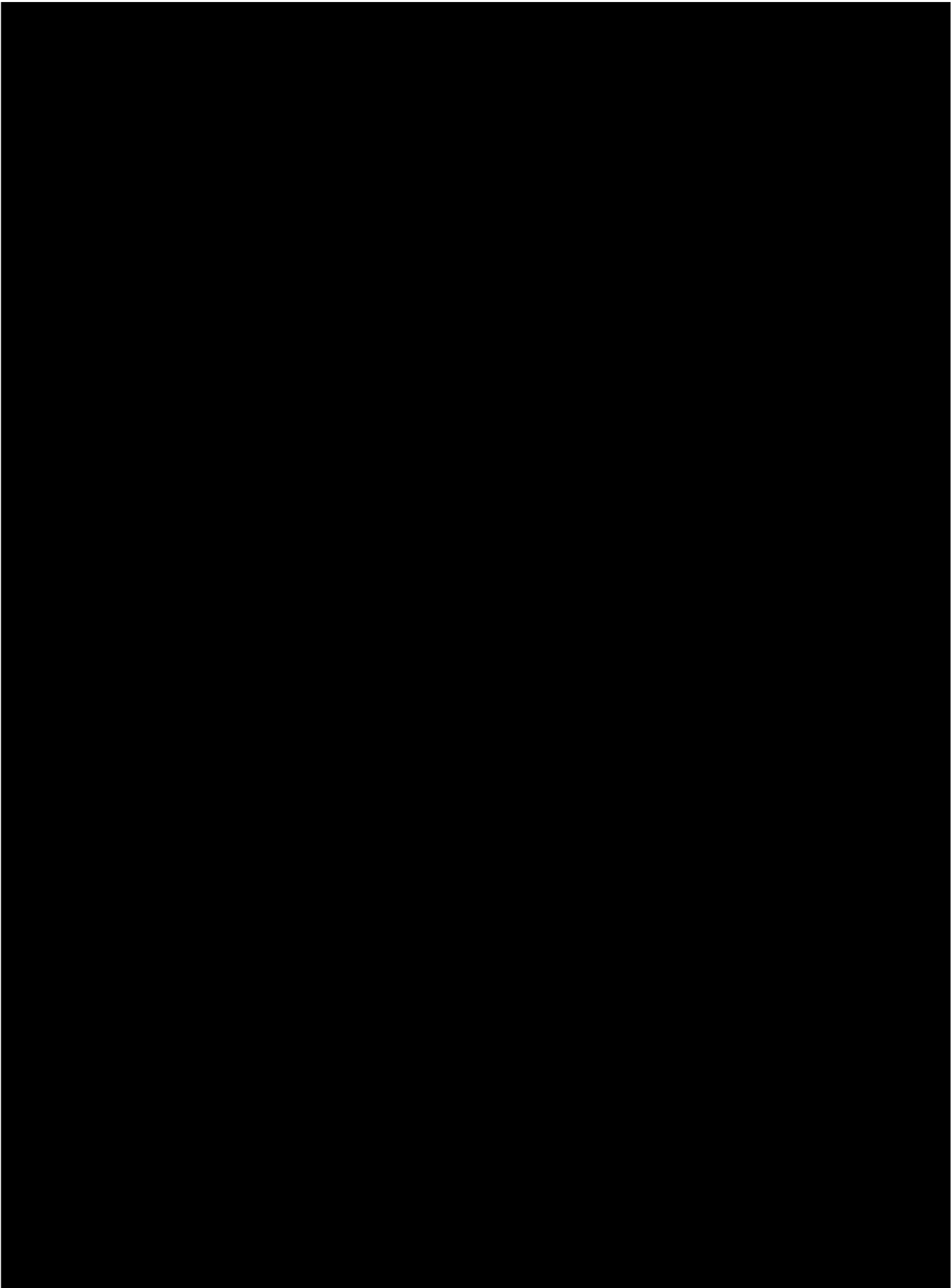
Top to bottom: *Institutiones Piae or Directions to Pray* (London: Henry Seile, 1630), pp.6–7; *The Private Devotions of the Right Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrewes*. (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1647), C3<sup>v</sup>–C4<sup>r</sup>; *A Manual of Directions for the Sick [...]* (London: Humphrey Moseley, April 1648), B1<sup>v</sup>–B2<sup>r</sup>; *A Manual of the Private Devotions and Meditations of The Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes* (London: Humphrey Moseley, June 1648), N12<sup>v</sup>–O1<sup>r</sup>; *Holy Devotions, with Directions to Pray* (London: Henry Seile, 1655), C9<sup>v</sup>; *The Private Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes*, trans. F.E. Brightman (New York: Meridian Books, 1961), p.11.

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.226

<sup>28</sup> T.S. Eliot, ‘Lancelot Andrewes’, in *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928), pp.13–33 (p.19).





‘Punctuation’, writes John Kerrigan—considering ‘the editor’ as influential ‘reader’ of Renaissance texts—‘is a particularly important and [...] under-examined system of cues and interpretative options which helps individuals produce distinctive readings’.<sup>29</sup> In 1996 Kerrigan cited Malcolm Parkes’s *Pause and Effect*, for the history of western punctuation marks, and John Lennard’s *But I Digress*, for brackets.<sup>30</sup> Since then we should add to this list Keith Houston’s charismatic *Shady Characters* (‘& @ # †’);<sup>31</sup> Anne Toner’s wide-spanning study of marks of ellipsis (\* ... —);<sup>32</sup> Neil Rhodes’s colons and semicolons in rhetoric books;<sup>33</sup> and new work particularly in drama scholarship by Claire Bourne (pilcrowes, printers’ lace),<sup>34</sup> Ian Burrows (commas, full stops, square brackets),<sup>35</sup> Laurie Maguire (&c.),<sup>36</sup> and Holger Syme (speech on the page), on performing and performative punctuation marks in printed plays.<sup>37</sup>

Curly brackets or braces—sometimes, delightingly, called ‘crotchets’ or ‘crooks’, and not really analogous with either Burrows’s square ones, or Lennard’s round ones—remain for the most part undisturbed. Only Tamara Atkin and Emma Smith have paid particular attention to the independent history of the curly bracket—‘developed in the first instance to serve the

---

<sup>29</sup> John Kerrigan, ‘The Editor as Reader: Constructing Renaissance Texts’, in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.115–38 (p.122).

<sup>30</sup> Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992); John Lennard, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parenthesis in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> Keith Houston, *Shady Characters: Ampersands, Interrobangs and Other Typographical Curiosities* (London: Particular Books, 2013)

<sup>32</sup> Anne Toner, *Ellipsis in English Literature: Signs of Omission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> Neil Rhodes, ‘Punctuation as Rhetorical Notation? From Colon to Semicolon’, *HLQ*, 82.1 (2019), 87–106.

<sup>34</sup> Claire Bourne, ‘Making a Scene; or, Tamburlaine the Great in Print’, in *Christopher Marlowe, Theatrical Commerce, and the Book Trade*, ed. Roslyn Knutson and Kirk Melnikoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.115–132; ‘Dramatic Typography and the Restoration Quartos of *Hamlet*’, in *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640–1735*, ed. Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp.145–52; ‘Dramatic Pilcrowes’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 108.4 (2014), 413–452. On how early modern readers read printed playbooks, and ‘plays became legible’, see also Tamara Atkin, *Reading Drama in Tudor England* (London: Routledge, 2018).

<sup>35</sup> Ian Burrows, ‘“[Overhearing]”: Printing Parentheses and Reading Power in Ben Jonson’s *Sejanus*’, *Early Theatre*, 20.2 (2017), 99–120; ‘“The peryod of my blisse”: Commas, ends and utterance in *Solyman and Perseda*’, *Textual Cultures*, 8.2 (2015), 95–120.

<sup>36</sup> Laurie Maguire, ‘Typographical Embodiment: The Case of *etcetera*’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.527–49.

<sup>37</sup> Holger Syme, ‘Unediting the Margin: Jonson, Marston, and the Theatrical Page’, *ELR*, 38.1 (2008), 142–71; ‘The Look of Speech’, *Textual Cultures*, 2.2 (2007), 34–60; ‘Becoming Speech: Voicing the Text in Early Modern English Courtrooms and Theatres’, *Compar(a)ison: An International Journal of Comparative Literature*, I (2007), 107–24. See also D.F. McKenzie, ‘Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve’, in *Making Meaning: “Printers of the Mind” and Other Essays*, ed. Peter McDonald and Michael Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp.198–236.



particular demands of the character list’—as the most distinctive example of ‘punctuation marks [...] used in innovative ways to organize information’ in early printed plays.<sup>38</sup> I want to consider braces, here, partly as a piece of punctuation for organizing information, but not just—or not simply—as a piece of punctuation. Rather the curly bracket represents to the trained early modern reader a particular—and, I will argue, particularly generically-inflected—machine for shepherding reading and understanding on printed pages. The most initially striking and lastingly memorable feature of the *Preces*’ visual interface, braces become here what Jeff Dolven has called a ‘didactic technology’—a pedagogic and literary device teaching and soliciting a particular textual concentration.<sup>39</sup> Coercing and cultivating our mediated interaction at a bibliographical distance with Andrewes’s manuscript personal prayers, braces’ navigations of printed space and its cognitive counterpart also test more widely the vying mechanics of performance and direction, description and prescription of thought and action in competition on the pages of early modern prayer books. Primarily, I want to think about braces as the hooks and eyes for what I’d like to establish as an early modern diagrammatics of autodidactic, reading devotion.

### **Renaissance Diagrammatics**

‘The study of diagrams’, Johanna Drucker begins her 2013 manifesto for a theory of ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, ‘crosses many disciplinary lines’.<sup>40</sup> This chapter thinks about diagrams and their typographical components across prayer, logic, and poetry. It thinks too with the shared, borrowed, lent forms of studying and teaching between these disciplines—as well as the ‘crosses’ and ‘lines’ (verbal, invisible, metaphorical) that we don’t have to have in front of us on a page for their silhouettes to angle into our ways of talking about thinking, and analysing it. In the following sections I will begin by setting out the case for a ‘Renaissance Diagrammatics’, finding its foundation in the mise-en-page of English Ramist logic books. This established, I will consider how the braces in the printed *Preces* follow, and how they are distinct from, the aspiring pedagogical ideals of logical diagrammatics, thinking always about how these books teach, enact and perform prayerful thinking by the distinctive look of their pages. Contemplating the use of poetic examples in Ramist logic books, Goeglein describes how ‘logic books and [...] emblem books elicit dynamic responses from their

---

<sup>38</sup> Tamara Atkin and Emma Smith, ‘The Form and Function of Character Lists in Plays Printed before the Closing of the Theatres’, *RES*, 65.271 (2014), 647–672 (p.655).

<sup>39</sup> Jeff Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction in Renaissance Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p.5.

<sup>40</sup> Johanna Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, *New Formations*, 78 (2013), 83–101 (p.83).

readers as their eyes move between two kinds of media presented on a single page', arguing that 'the act of reading a Ramist manual is not static but volatile, requiring a cognitive activity that flutters between the logical axiom and its belletristic example'.<sup>41</sup> The 'spillover' and 'cross-fertilization' which she finds in these books' interdisciplinary borrowings seem fertile for reading the *Preces*' printed pages: it is my contention here not only that the *Preces*' braces learn their teaching strategies from logical diagrams, but also that the crossing of the line from one to the other—the way these books teach thinking in the spaces and the movements *between* their *texts* and their *textualities*—is valuable, in turn, for beginning to understand Drucker's 'Diagrammatic writing' in early modern practice.

Early modernists have not paid a great deal of attention to Johanna Drucker. Although Drucker and Juliet Fleming (the early modern Derridean of choice; usually one is enough for a party) come occasionally within shouting distance of one another across gutters or paragraphs, they do not seem ever to have conversed directly—either with one another, or by critical mediation.<sup>42</sup> Diagrams may often cross disciplinary lines, but book historians prefer not to trespass in the wrong periods; indeed, scholarly inclination has tended in recent times rather towards provinces than universals: of Gerard Genette's *Paratexts*, for example—'not concerned', by Genette's own account, 'with the evolution of forms but with their functions'<sup>43</sup>—it had already in 2011 'become a critical commonplace' to suggest that the taxonomy of paratextual possibilities was 'insufficiently attentive to historical difference and change'.<sup>44</sup> Turning theories of modern forms to face backwards, moreover, is a rasher scholarly enterprise than its methodological opposite: few eyelids would bat at Drucker finding antecedents for the cognitive kinetics of digital coding in the diagrams of Ramon Llull; using the critical structures and theoretical terminologies that Drucker—as reader, critic, and herself a maker of artists' books—proposes for the hermeneutics of web environments or graphic novels as a way to understand early modern printed prayer manuals, on the other hand, one might lose an eye (or the other hand). Drucker's new languages for

---

<sup>41</sup> Tamara Goeglein, 'Reading English Ramist Logic Books as Early Modern Emblem Books: The Case of Abraham Fraunce', *Spenser Studies*, 20 (2005), 225–252 (p.239).

<sup>42</sup> For a recent special issue of *Humanities*, *The Anatomy of Inscription*, ed. Hunter Dukes, the Call for Papers included both Fleming and Drucker (at the beginning of a paragraph and the end of it, respectively); all but one of the six essays in the resultant issue are based in texts post-twentieth century, the exception being Laura Davies, 'Performing Devotion: Belief, the Body, and the Book of Common Prayer 1775–1840', *Humanities*, 7.4 (2018) <doi:10.3390/h7040100> [accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2019]. Pauline Reid in *Reading by Design* mentions both Fleming and Drucker fleetingly, over 200 pages apart (p.18, p.226). Fleming's most recent book, *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016) does not mention Drucker, and neither does Drucker Fleming, in any of her recent writing.

<sup>43</sup> Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge, 1997), p.300.

<sup>44</sup> Smith and Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, pp.1–14 (p.2).

and intelligent inquiries of the dynamic movements of texts and reading across different graphic environments, though, seem worth the risk.<sup>45</sup>

In ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, Drucker weaves together the work of Charles Peirce, Martin Gardner, and Frederik Stjernfelt—in conversation with John Bender and Michael Marrinan’s recent *The Culture of Diagram*—to address what she finds to be a conspicuous absence from critical codification of ‘explicit discussion of the ways diagrams work, and how their graphical organisation structures the relations on which meaning and knowledge are produced’.<sup>46</sup> In this essay, she directs attention to ‘representational relations, formal structures, graphical expressions of logical and rhetorical principles’ to ask how—precisely—it is that ‘structural relations participate in the production of meaning’. Defining ‘diagrams’ (often used vaguely) as ‘those graphical expressions that take advantage of spatial organisation to structure semantic relations’, she describes them crucially as expressions ‘meaningful *as forms*’, ‘a kind of poetics, or *poiesis*, a bringing into being of meaning through making’.<sup>47</sup>

Katherine Acheson and Lori Anne Ferrell, the critics who have done the most with the early modern diagram, have proposed that diagrams have been neglected in literary and cultural studies perhaps because ‘our models of critical practice [...] are constructed around modes of visualization that preclude or inhibit attention to diagrammatic forms of representation’.<sup>48</sup> ‘Cultural historians’, writes Ferrell, ‘have few methods and even fewer descriptive terms on hand for evaluating the non-pictorial image’ (Ferrell gets by by ‘forging some terminology and foraging terms from others’).<sup>49</sup> For their overlapping lexicons, at the very least, it’s worth noting some of the intersections (and the distinctions) between a Druckerian set of terms and questions about diagrammatic poetics, and W.J.T. Mitchell’s writing in the 1980s towards a general theory of ‘Diagrammatology’ and ‘Spatial form in

---

<sup>45</sup> Reid in *Reading by Design* thinks seriously with website interfaces, see p.228.

<sup>46</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.83; John Bender and Michael Marrinan, *The Culture of Diagram* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Frederik Stjernfelt, *Diagrammatology: An Investigation on the Borderlines of Phenomenology, Ontology, and Semiotics* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007); Martin Gardner, *Logic Machines and Diagrams* (London: McGraw Hill, 1958). On Peirce see Sun-Joo Shin, *The Iconic Logic of Peirce’s Graphs* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002).

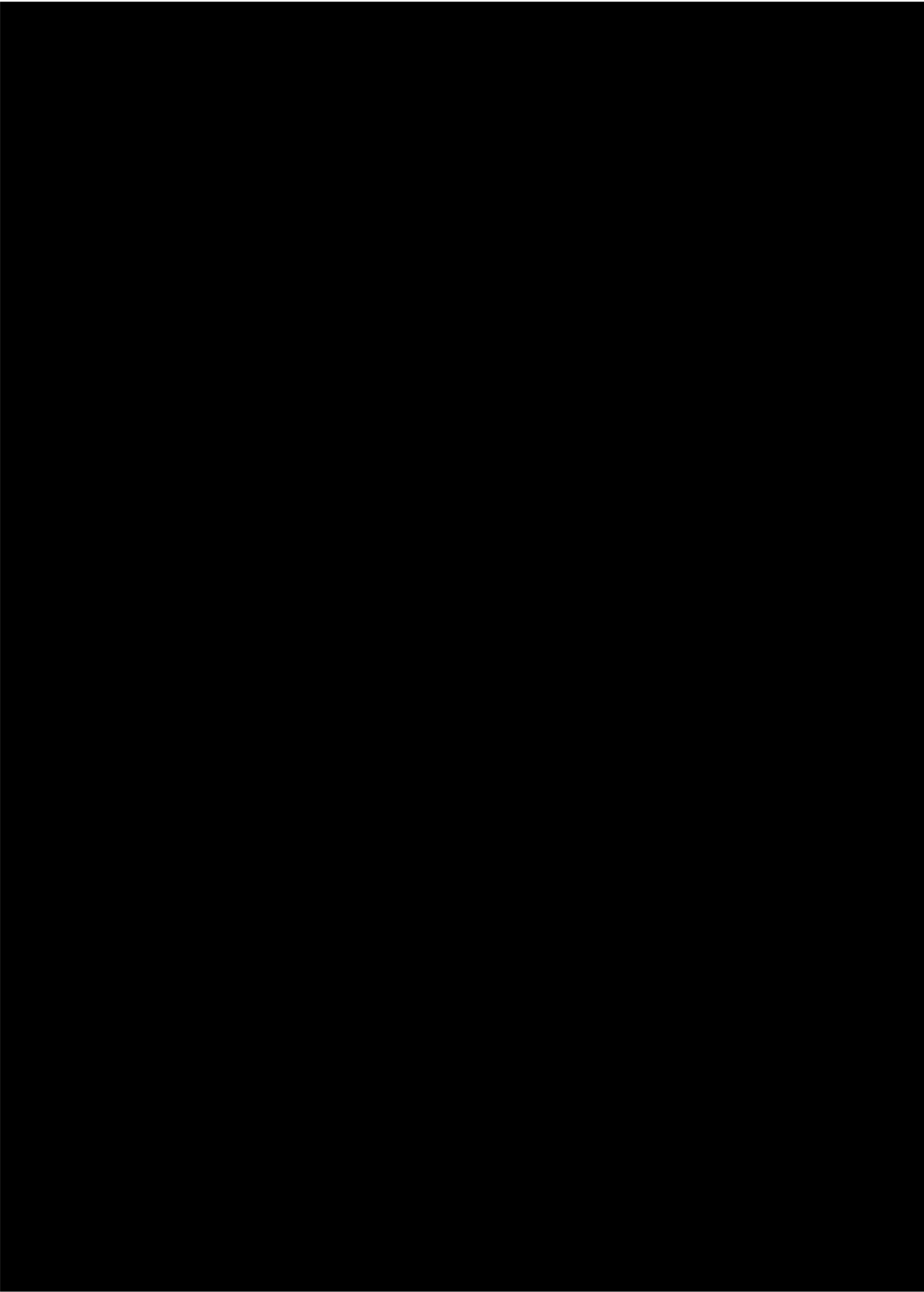
<sup>47</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, pp.87, 88.

<sup>48</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, pp.2-3.

<sup>49</sup> Ferrell, ‘Page *Techne*’, pp.113–14. Some earlier exceptions include James Elkins, ‘Art History and Images That Are Not Art’, *Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), 553–71; Walter Ong, ‘From Allegory to Tableau’, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 17.4 (1959), 423–40; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.217–53. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a lot more critical attention has been paid to diagrams in scientific books. See, for a start, *Books and Sciences in History*, ed. Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sachiko Kusukawa and Ian MacLean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

literature’.<sup>50</sup> Since Mitchell is found much more often in critical conversation with early modern poetry—and particularly with Spenser—than Drucker is, I will engage more with these essays in later chapters. Mitchell’s motives, though, remain sympathetic here: ‘since we seem unable’, he wrote in 1981, ‘to articulate our intuitions or interpretations of formal characteristics in literature and the other arts except by recourse to “sensible” or “spatial” constructs (not just diagrams and not just visual forms), then why not do it explicitly, consciously, and most important, systematically?’<sup>51</sup> Drucker’s pioneering theoretical pursuit of a ‘critical, descriptive language of the rhetorical effects of spatial relations that address graphical features’—‘*Continuity, grouping, proximity, emergence, invariance*’; ‘*Hierarchy, juxtaposition, embedment, entanglement, enframing, interjection, branching, recursion, herniation, extension, penetration*’—is a strong ally for close reading in early modern poetics, worth drawing backwards and speaking back to with Andrewes and Spenser:<sup>52</sup> where we needed a *Renaissance Paratexts*, this chapter puts the case that we need a *Renaissance Diagrammatics* too.

### Renaissance Logic Books



Printed logic books are the predominating textual materialisation of the Ramist-inflected university pedagogy, as set out in my introduction,<sup>53</sup> shared in Cambridge and particularly at Pembroke by Andrewes and Spenser. Dudley Fenner’s extremely popular English version of the Ramist system of logic and rhetoric went through five editions between 1584 and 1588;<sup>54</sup> its whole long title—for positioning, overlapping disciplines, use value, advertisement, intention—is worth looking at:

THE ARTES  
OF LOGIKE AND  
*Rethorike, plainelie set foorth in the*  
English tounge, easie to be learned and practised:  
togeather with examples for the practise of  
the same, for Methode in the gouernment  
*of the familie, prescribed in the word of God:*  
*And for the whole in the resolution or*  
opening of certaine partes of  
Scripture, according to  
*the same.*<sup>55</sup>

As Ferrell writes, we know ‘how-to’ books ‘less by their covers—or their cost—than by their promises’.<sup>56</sup> This is a textbook whose promised *art* is *plain* and *easy*, designed for the autodidact to *learn* and *practise*, and highly transferrable in its proffered skillsets. Though interested in what is ‘prescribed’, it puts Methode in the hands of its readers, and teaches them to fish. It is totally bound up, from the first, in the work of good scriptural exegesis—both for the resolving of questions, and the opening them up. Roland Macilmaine’s earlier logic, in 1574, fashions itself much more clearly and directly after Petrus Ramus (with an engraving of him facing its frontispiece):<sup>57</sup>

THE LOGIKE  
OF THE MOSTE  
EXCELLENT PHILO-  
sopher P. Ramus Martyr,

Newly translated, and in diuers places corrected,  
after the mynde of the Author.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> See above, pp.18–23.

<sup>54</sup> See Patrick Collinson, ‘Fenner, Dudley’, *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9287>> [accessed 9<sup>th</sup> May 2019].

<sup>55</sup> Dudley Fenner, *Artes of Logike and Rethorike* (Middelburg, 1584).

<sup>56</sup> Ferrell, ‘Page *Techné*’, p.115.

<sup>57</sup> On Macilmaine as a particularly important disseminator of English Ramism, and influential fashioner of the English notion of a posthumous Ramus, see Kees Meerhoff, ‘Petrus Ramus and the Vernacular’, in *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts*, pp.133–53.

<sup>58</sup> Roland Macilmaine, *The Logike of P. Ramus* (London, 1574).

The third English logic book I will quote from in this chapter is Abraham Fraunce's (much longer) 1588 *Lawiers Logike, exemplifying the praecepts of Logike by the practise of the common Lawe*. This book, on account of its author's more obviously coinciding interests in poetry, has been much more often discussed by literary criticism than the other two.<sup>59</sup>

Logical 'Argumentes', Fenner writes on the first page of his first chapter, 'are many times known by their proper notes and markes':<sup>60</sup> like the printed *Preces*, then, logic books tend to share a look. Ann Blair identifies, in the branching tree diagrams (and "squiggly brackets") which printed logic made its trademark, 'one of the most distinctive features associated with the organization of knowledge in the early modern period'. Although this style of diagram, she notes, is 'often called "Ramist"', it 'was prevalent both before Ramus and independently of his influence during the early modern period'.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, this often-calling is not uncontroversial—and that doesn't matter here: if the 'unparalleled publishing triumph' of Ramist-style textbooks in the half-century after Ramus's death is owed in great part to 'a method of visual presentation of complex material, the tree diagram, which, as it happens, [Ramus] did not even create' (and which is nonetheless unquestionably his most successful and recognisable legacy), well, Andrewes didn't write the *Private devotions* either.<sup>62</sup> I will agree here with Ferrell's italics that 'the craze in early modern media for Ramist *appearance*, if not content, *is* significant: it tells us something essential about the intended *effect* behind the deployment of most early modern diagrams. Graphics imparted a particular *look*—orderly, verifiable, demonstrable—to concepts on the page'.<sup>63</sup>

It is thus important here for logic books—as for the *Preces*—to make apology, and not apologise, for close reading versions which are not originals, at some remove from authorial intent; the dispersed agency of printers, publishers, translating readers. Just as Isaacson was the 'kinde *Foster-Father*' who 'dressed up [...] three former *Editions*' of the *Preces*,<sup>64</sup> '[i]t

---

<sup>59</sup> See my Introduction, pp.16–17, and also Steven May, 'Marlowe, Spenser, Sidney and—Abraham Fraunce?', *RES*, 62.253 (2011), 30–63; Ralph Pomeroy, 'The Ramist as Fallacy-Hunter: Abraham Fraunce and the Lawiers Logike', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 40.2 (1987), 224–46.

<sup>60</sup> Fenner, *Logike*, B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p.144–45. On *mise-en-page*, see pp.152–60.

<sup>62</sup> Ian Maclean, 'Logical Division and Visual Dichotomies: Ramus in the Context of Legal and Medical Writing', in *Influence of Petrus Ramus*, pp.228–48 (pp.228–29). For more on genealogies of 'Ramist' tree diagrams, and particularly their debts to Agricola and Melanchthon, see Anita Traninger, 'The Secret of Success: Ramism and Lullism as Contending Methods', in *Ramism, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts*, pp.113–33. Traninger notes of Ramus and Lull that 'What distinguished both at [a] very general level was their respective choice of visualization—curly brackets in the former, circular schemes in the latter' (p.121). On the vogue for dichotomous tables for textbooks beyond Ramism, see Charles Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p.56.

<sup>63</sup> Ferrell, 'Page *Techne*', p.114.

<sup>64</sup> *Holy devotions*, A4<sup>v</sup>.

was often editors’, as Raphael Hallett remarks, ‘who really [brought] out the inherent spatiality of dialectical *loci*’.<sup>65</sup> If, as many critics have eventually compromised, ‘Ramism approached a priori is an elusive entity’,<sup>66</sup> nonetheless ‘while we may debate how best to define it’, it is, as Erland Sellberg has argued, impossible to deny its importance.<sup>67</sup> ‘Ramus and Ramism’, Peter Sharratt affirms, ‘must be taken together for the two are inextricably linked’;<sup>68</sup> and no less inextricably linked are ‘Ramism’ and the branching diagrams which function as their ‘particular *look*’. Fleming writes in *Cultural Graphology* of the lacy frames ‘so commonly used for prayer books as to function almost as a generic marker for them’. ‘To own such a book is already to move towards prayer’, she says—‘you might say that the ornament makes an intention to pray, or even (what might be much the same thing), that it is a prayer itself’.<sup>69</sup> Lancelot Andrewes, by way of the printed *Preces*, means ‘a *life of prayer*’; Ramism means braces.

What do braces mean? In his 1992 *Elements of Typographic Style*, Robert Bringhurst compiled a list of services which ‘as a rule’ typography should perform for a reader:

- ❖ invite the reader into the text;
- ❖ reveal the tenor and meaning of the text;
- ❖ clarify the structure and order of the text;
- ❖ link the text with other existing elements;
- ❖ induce a state of energetic repose, which is the ideal condition for reading

‘The typographic page’, he says, ‘is a map of the mind’.<sup>70</sup> How to show it, like Andrewes’s, ‘rare, and heav’n enamel’d’?<sup>71</sup> Where ‘Few’, as Hallett notes, ‘have spent much time actually showcasing and commenting on the spatio-visual appearance and function of the texts that organise and display [logic’s] “places of argument”’,<sup>72</sup> Bringhurst’s list is worth historicising: invitation, revelation, clarification, joining, structuring, ordering—perhaps most beguilingly mysterious of all, the state of energetic repose which is the ideal condition for reading—these need investigation in early modern devotional manuals. For bookish conversation with the

---

<sup>65</sup> Raphael Hallett, ‘Ramus, Printed *Loci*, and the Re-invention of Knowledge’, in *Ramism, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts*, pp.89–113 (p.106).

<sup>66</sup> Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, p.277.

<sup>67</sup> Erland Sellberg, ‘The Influence of Ramism’, in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus*, ed. Mordechai Feingold, Joseph Freedman and Wolfgang Rother (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), pp.107–26 (pp.110–11).

<sup>68</sup> Peter Sharratt, ‘Introduction: Ramus, Perelman and Argumentation, a way through the wood’, *Argumentation*, 5.4 (1991), 335–45 (p.337).

<sup>69</sup> Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, p.75.

<sup>70</sup> Robert Bringhurst, *The Elements of Typographic Style* (Point Roberts, WA: Hartley & Marks, 1992), pp.22, 24.

<sup>71</sup> Isaacson, *An exact narration*, \*\*\*2<sup>v</sup>. See above, p.30.

<sup>72</sup> Hallett, ‘Printed *Loci*’, p.91.



printed *Preces* (I will refer from now on mostly to Drake's),<sup>73</sup> Macilmaine, Fenner and Fraunce make a good logical triumvirate for thinking about braces: one has many in-line (Fenner), one many whole-page diagrams (Fraunce), and the other not a single brace at all (Macilmaine, although this book incorporates a great deal of other typographical playfulness, especially with blackletter). For beginning to establish the different pedagogical stages in habituating an early modern diagrammatics of thought and reading—and in turn, tracing the motivations and aspirations of the printed *Preces*' performative typographies—these three variants will prove useful paradigms.

### Order, Arrangement, Purpose, Use

Acheson writes that 'Dichotomous tables are powerful forms that do not only organize information: they provide the *method* for the acquisition of information and the establishment of relationships that constitute bodies of knowledge':

They are, in short, epistemological forms: because they entail particular relationships between cause and effect, parts and wholes, and plot and narrative, they powerfully shape the nature of the fields in which they are used and the minds of those who produce and consume knowledge through them.<sup>74</sup>

Printed logical braces are emblematic, above all, of fundamental Ramist principles of organisation and efficiency in collecting, displaying, and communicating sets of information and their interrelationships. Like prayer guides, logic books define themselves as books for *use*—instruments, by their own account, for 'vtilitie and profite', whose end, Michael Hetherington has argued, is 'not *gnosis* but *praxis*'.<sup>75</sup> 'Ramists', as Sellberg has investigated, 'were distinguished from others by their excessive references to usefulness' (and Sellberg distinguishes helpfully in his work between 'materialistic', 'ideological' and 'administrative' kinds of Ramistic usefulness).<sup>76</sup> Likewise, Drake writes in his dedicatory epistle that 'it would have been a greater sin against the *Public*', (than the sin of high presumption to pose as mediator to Andrewes, or to God) 'to detein so pretious a *Jewel* from improvement: It being

---

<sup>73</sup> As an influential collaboration between Andrewes's text, a Pembroke contemporary (and Laudian sympathiser) and a printer whom David Scott Kastan has situated among the 'inventors of English literature', Drake's second edition seems a sensible choice for a main case study. On Humphrey Moseley, see Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric Lindquist, Eleanor Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp.105–25; Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the Early Modern Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.40. On the central role of the publisher more generally see Stephen Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>74</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, p.6.

<sup>75</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, A4<sup>r</sup>; Hetherington, 'Poetics of Coherence', p.101.

<sup>76</sup> Sellberg, 'The Influence of Ramism', p.117.

the peculiar happiness of *Sacred Commodities*, to be made *better by their using*'.<sup>77</sup> These books are, properly, manuals.

Fundamental to the enacting of this usefulness is the teleological work of arranging, organising and ordering—'disponing' or 'disposing', literally the mise-en-page of information and argument, not just as means of judging truth and comprehending meaning, but of making it. Hence Walter Ong's foundational version of Ramist thought has its basis in 'highlighting the notion of arrangement or assembly' as skill and art form in itself.<sup>78</sup> Drucker explains of 'derivation and inheritance, continuity and shared roots and systems, literal and figurative' in her tree-diagram case studies that '[t]hese relations are not merely *expressed* [by] form', rather 'they *make* meaning through the very act of composition'.<sup>79</sup> 'Disposition', writes Macilmaine, 'is a parte of Dialecticke, which teachethe to dispo[n]e and place orderly the argumentes inuented, to the ende we maye iudge well and rightly. For we iudge of euery thing according to the disposition thereof'.<sup>80</sup> For Fraunce, among the proper duties of an 'Opponent' in a disputation is 'Not to cast his argumentes confusedly on a heape, but to vse them distinctly, one after another'.<sup>81</sup>

Eliot's literary Andrewes, too, is notorious for his 'passion for order in religion', and his desire to reflect it in a 'passion for order in prose'.<sup>82</sup> A prose style characterised by 'ordonnance, or arrangement and structure, precision in the use of words'<sup>83</sup> finds good company among those logical accounts of poetic creativity by which 'poets consider their end or purpose, both particular and general, select appropriate matter, arrange it, and beautify it'.<sup>84</sup> And clearly, the gathering and arranging activity both documented and directed by the *Preces* presents the prayers as an even more perfect paradigm of this philosophy, its pages proving in Brightman's view Andrewes's heightened sense of 'that one idea without which all poetic outfit [...] is of little avail—that of combination and arrangement, in short, of art'.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, though much of the *Preces*—taken fragment by fragment—cannot really be judged

---

<sup>77</sup> *Private Devotions*, A6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Ong, *Ramus*, p.184.

<sup>79</sup> Drucker, 'Diagrammatic Writing', pp.89–90.

<sup>80</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Fraunce, *Lawiers Logike*, Ee3<sup>r</sup>. It's worth mentioning that often 'disposing' is the glue which represents the other half of reading and writing by scissors. On scissors and glue, see 'The Renaissance Collage: Towards a New History of Reading', special issue of *JMEMS*, ed. Juliet Fleming, William Sherman, and Adam Smyth, 45.3 (2015); Smyth, "'Rend and Teare in Peece[s]": Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 19.1 (2004), 36–52; and 'Cutting and Authorship in Early Modern England', *Authorship*, 2.2 (2013) <<https://doi.org/10.21825/aj.v2i2.790>> [accessed 12<sup>th</sup> July 2019].

<sup>82</sup> Eliot, 'Lancelot Andrewes', p.22.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19.

<sup>84</sup> Hetherington, "'An Instrument of Reason'", pp.465–66.

<sup>85</sup> Brightman, 'Introduction', lii.

‘original writing’, this has made them in practice a much clearer place for literary criticism to isolate Andrewes’s particular art of formal arrangement. Most pleasing of these observations are those buried in backhanded compliments by nineteenth-century editors who didn’t like Andrewes’s ‘own writing’ at all: as Edmund Venables writes in the introduction to his 1883 edition,

The chief value of Bishop Andrewes’ *Devotions* is that they contain little or nothing of Bishop Andrewes’ own. He has but furnished the arrangement and the setting of the gems whose lustre is all divine. But it is the skilful setting that makes the jewel, and gives it its chief beauty and serviceableness.<sup>86</sup>

Furnishing the arrangement, the skilful setting, are the (*formal*) acts of writing that the prayers boast best. Hetherington argues of poetic miscellanies compiled by those schooled in an era of logic-learning and rule-following that these ‘commonly recognise that something new could be created when disparate poetic pieces were collected together’.<sup>87</sup> ‘*An Art*’, writes Fenner, ‘*is that orderly placing of rules, whereby the easiest being first set downe, and then the harder, the perfect way of learning any thing is fully set downe*’.<sup>88</sup> This writing art is work learnt of logical teaching, and it is fundamentally diagrammatic in its textuality; its meaning emerges by fostering dependent relationships—creating, and rendering legible, hierarchies, taxonomies, sequences (*embedment, entanglement, enframing, interjection, branching...*).

A large part of this arranging and ordering activity—in logic books and in the printed *Preces*—consists in sorting words and notions into same and different, proving by comparison. Fenner’s *Logike and Rethorike* begins by explaining that

First argumenets are of 2 sorts, {Simple or vncompared.  
Compared.

where ‘Simple’ is ‘a reason which hath force in it selfe, without regarde of any manner of comparison’. Fenner offers as a double example, ‘*Thy will bee done in earth, as it is in heauen*’:

VWhere wee see, the doing of the will of God is set foorth first by a reason which is vncompared, namely by those whiche shoulde doe it, *Men in earth*: then by a comparison of the like, as the angels in heauen do it.

---

<sup>86</sup> Edmund Venables, ‘Editor’s Note’, *The Private Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes, D.D.*, ed. Edmund Venables (London, Amen Corner: Suttaby and Co., 1883), ix–x.

<sup>87</sup> Hetherington, ‘Gascoigne’s Accidents’, p.54.

<sup>88</sup> Fenner, *Logike*, B1<sup>r</sup>.

‘Comparison’ here is either

{ Quantitie, or  
Qualitie.

Comparison of quantity, is when the quantitie of the thing is compared together.

Quantitie is eyther {Equall, or  
vnequall.

The force of comparison work, whether by quantity or quality—by ‘the notes of [...] As, *equall, alike, the same that, so muche, no greater*’—is visual, spatial; it is juxtaposing, hierarchical work.<sup>89</sup>

Over centuries of writing on Andrewes’s sermons, whether admiring or deriding, two aspects of his prose style, peculiarly opposite, have seemed to preoccupy readers and listeners: a tendency, on the one hand, ‘to pile alternatives upon one another [...] before ultimately claiming that they are all one’, and on the other, the bishop’s incorrigible proclivity for punning.<sup>90</sup> Pulling sometimes many words out of one meaning, then, and sometimes many meanings out of one word. Which of these stylistic inclinations is better illustrated by braces? Or, perhaps a better question, which of these stylistic performances do braces seem striving to enact? If, as Read puts it, ‘the point of a pun is to have things both ways’,<sup>91</sup> there seems a sense in which braces—coercing plural words into the space of just one and refusing to choose for us—manifest as a kind of typographical pun which hasn’t quite caught on to the joke. ‘The excellencie or finenesse of wordes or Tropes’, as Fenner comments,

is moste excellent, when di-  
uers are {Shut vp in one or  
Contained in manie<sup>92</sup>

There are certain points in Drake’s translation where it is clearly synonym-stacking, piling alternatives while also claiming that they are all one, which is the intention. Here, for example, are the *Preces*’ instructions for the [*Times of Praier*], set out at the start of the book.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., B1<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Joseph Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures: The Sense of Touch in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.57.

<sup>91</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.93.

<sup>92</sup> Fenner, *Logike*, D1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> There are two significantly fancier models of brace in this edition—it is not clear to me that they are particularly used for special occasions. Further references to the *Private devotions* given in text.

---

<sup>94</sup> Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp.145–46.

---

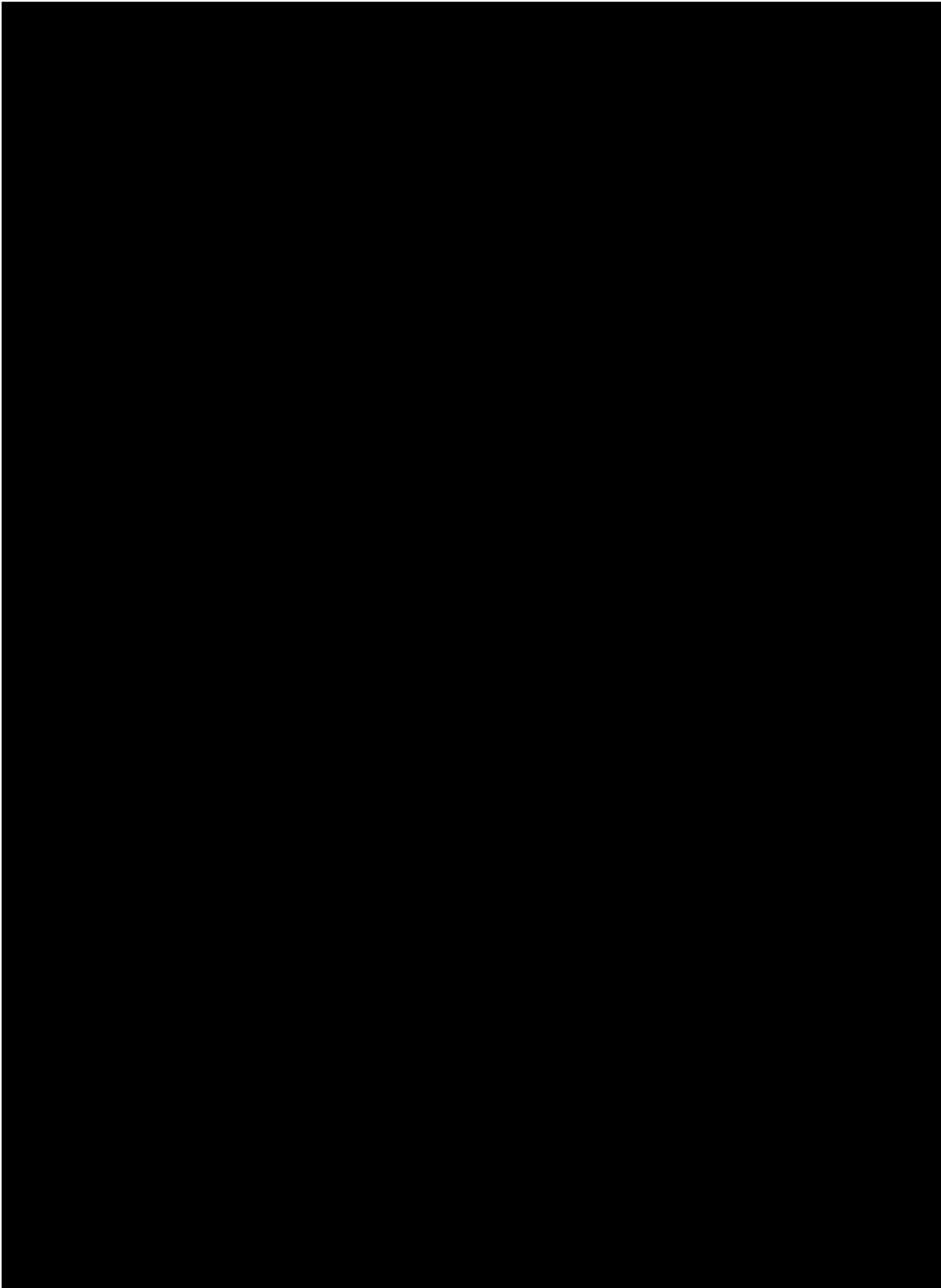
<sup>95</sup> Braces in this example only implied: see more below, p.81.

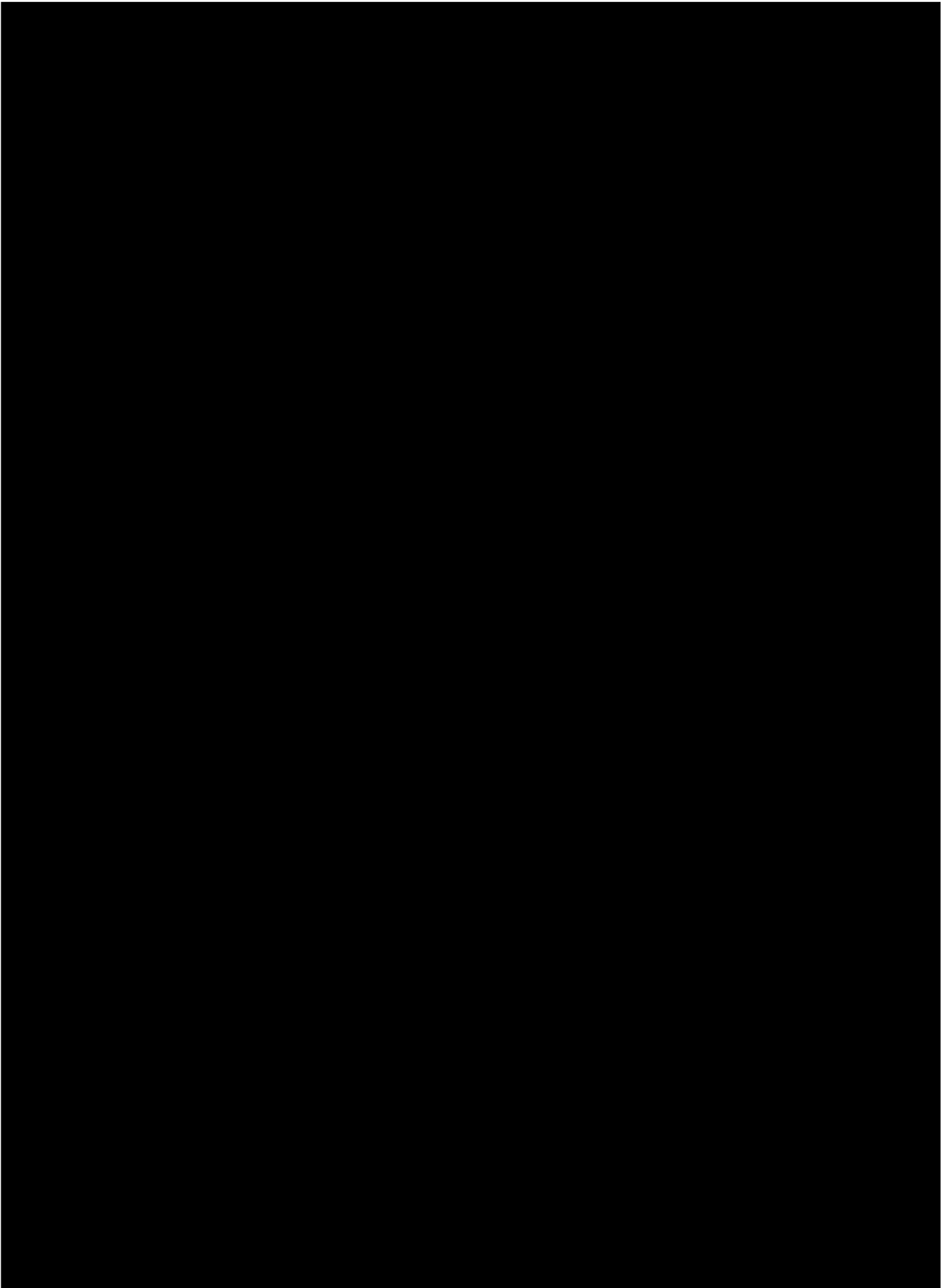
<sup>96</sup> Fraunce, *Lawiers Logike*, Ee3<sup>r</sup>. ‘the same’, as a direct object pronoun—to mean ‘it’ or ‘them’—is in fact an idiomatic tic of Macilmaine’s in his *Logike*. I discuss anaphoric deixis like this in my third chapter.

<sup>97</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, C5<sup>v</sup>–C6<sup>r</sup>.

of these at once. I will discuss this at greater length in my next chapter). All the different forms of light with which God enlightens the world seem fair game:







whereby we eventually find ourselves, like Christ, able not to distinguish between our friends and enemies? Indeed, later on—in the Supplication for Spiritual Blessings—we reach:



Though cruder and less mnemonically sticky than the back-and-forth suggestions woven by rhymes or poetic conceits, balancing words (particularly, say, LOVE and HATE—with the same number of letters and the same number of syllables, taking up the same amount of page-space) on top of each other in close proximity always forges contrasts or comparisons—in a way which is by no means foreign to the early modern preacher. ‘Bringing into alignment words from different connotative spheres’, writes Bryan Crockett of the wild but dazzling sermons of Thomas Playfere, ‘has a disturbing effect’—but to ‘draw the audience into this disruptive process’ is laudable preaching practice.<sup>98</sup> This is a power always harboured by lists and piles, by pages whose mise-en-page can’t help interrogating how words nearby can’t help striking up relationships.<sup>99</sup> Ong describes Ramist methods as in great part a work of ‘gluing things together and, after a fashion, forcing their juncture’.<sup>100</sup> Sometimes, the functioning of diagrammatic writing is best understood by retrieving the intention of the juncture-forcing, by working out how to read the glue. How does one psalm fragment sound completely different when sitting, ‘Compared’, directly next to another with an apparently similar meaning? Andrewes’s imagination, Brightman wrote admiringly, ‘was collective and organising [...] rather than originaive. It showed itself in new combinations of existing material, rather than in substantively new contributions. He took up what he found and fused it into a new whole, and that often with something of real poetic distinction’.<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup> Bryan Crockett, ‘Thomas Playfere’s Poetics of Preaching’, in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600–1750*, ed. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) pp.59–83 (p.76).

<sup>99</sup> See, say, Eric Griffiths, ‘Lists’, in *If Not Critical*, ed. Freya Johnston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.8–28.

<sup>100</sup> Ong, *Ramus*, p.187.

<sup>101</sup> Brightman, ‘Introduction’, xxxix.

## Performing Time

In an article entitled ‘In/visible Punctuation’, Lennard uses the Latin *punctuatio*—originally, and by no means inconsequentially here, ‘The action of marking the text of a psalm, etc., to indicate how it should be chanted’—to extend the term ‘from a point in space to a point in time’.<sup>102</sup> Unlike the braces in logic books, those in the *Preces* are complicated by the fact that their work is, vitally, not only to do with organising visual information into page spaces. Rather, as didactic technologies in a ‘How-to’ prayerbook, diagrams here are also for organising time, instructing diachronic, performative process (‘Not *gnosis* but *praxis*’). Drucker describes a ‘diagram’ as ‘a graphic expression whose specific spatial and visual features constitute semantic values’. In this sense, she says, ‘diagrams are performative’.<sup>103</sup> Joseph Sterrett’s recent collection, *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern Literature* collects essays on both prayer as performance (in plays and politics) and performance in prayer itself.<sup>104</sup> In his chapter in this book, Brian Cummings describes Reformation prayer as ‘an exemplary case of what J.L. Austin defined as “performative utterances”’, at a time when ‘[a] religion of embodied prayer gives way to a prayer of mind’.<sup>105</sup> If for Helen Wilcox, ‘The liturgy contained in the *Book of Common Prayer* [...] reads like a play-text with its declamatory passages, antiphonal speaking roles and the equivalent of stage directions in the detailed rubrics specifying how services should be conducted’, this is somewhat true of the printed *Preces*, too; indeed, if Wilcox’s devotional poetry ‘may be said to occupy an important space between formal prayer on the one hand and staged drama on the other’, the *Preces* occupy an equally important one in-between formal prayer and devotional poetry. While just as much ‘merging faith and aesthetics’, rather than ‘us[ing] the rhetoric of prayer within the literary conventions of verse’, they overlap the graphic semantics of branching

---

<sup>102</sup> John Lennard, ‘In/visible Punctuation’, *Visible Language*, 45.1 (2011), 121–38 (p.123).

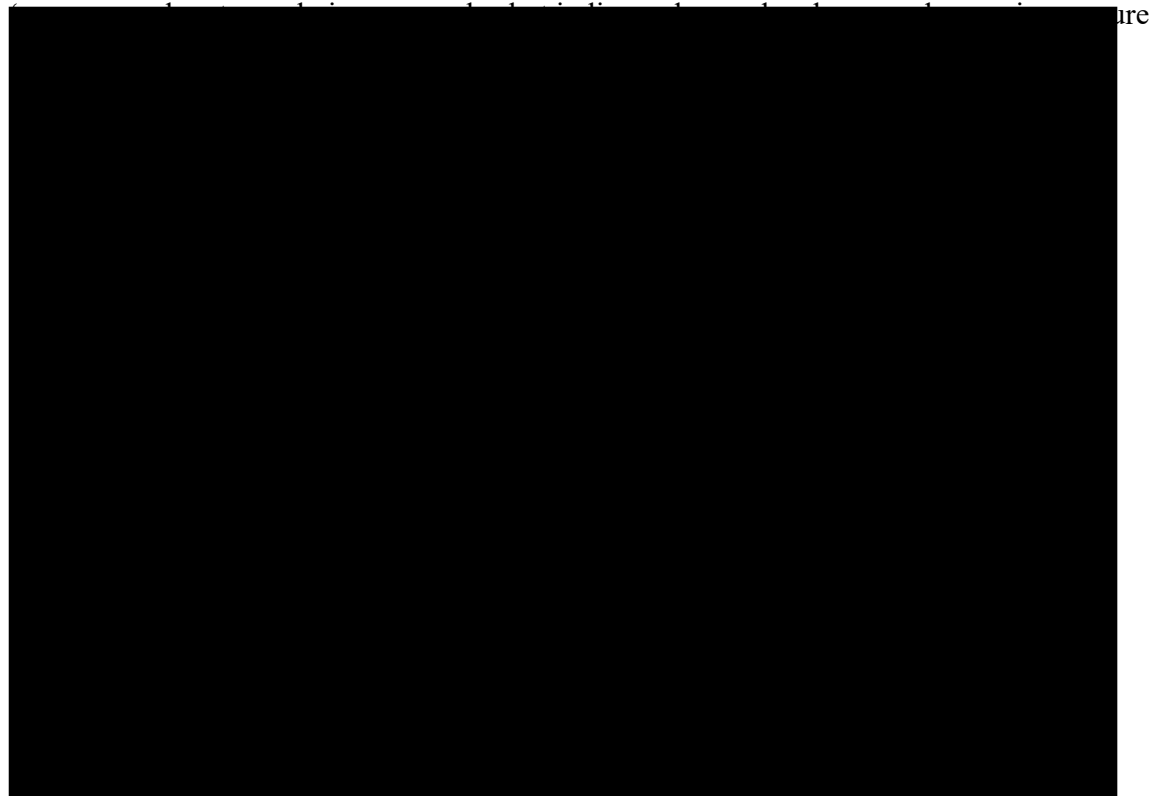
<sup>103</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.90.

<sup>104</sup> On prayer and ceremony see also: Achsah Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton: Literature, Religion, and Cultural Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Peter Kaufman, ‘“Much in Prayer”: The Inward Researches of Elizabethan Protestants’, *The Journal of Religion*, 73.2 (1993), 163–82; Kaufman, *Prayer, Despair, and Drama* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature*; Ramie Targoff, ‘The Performance of Prayer: Sincerity and Theatricality in Early Modern England’, *Representations*, 60 (1997), 49–69; Targoff, *Common Prayer*. On prayer on stage, see John Cox, ‘Stage Prayer in Marlowe and Jonson’, *Comparative Drama*, 50.1 (2016), 63–80; Cox, ‘Shakespeare’s Prayers’, in *Shakespeare and Renaissance Ethics*, ed. Patrick Gray and John Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.123–39; Joseph Sterrett, ‘Re-reading Prayer as Social Act: Examples from Shakespeare’, *Literature Compass*, 10.6 (2013), 496–507; *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Elizabeth Williamson and Jane Hwang Degenhardt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

<sup>105</sup> Brian Cummings, ‘Prayer, Bodily Ritual and Performative Utterance: Bucer, Calvin and the *Book of Common Prayer*’, in *Prayer and Performance*, pp.16–36 (pp.18, 24).

diagrams with the attentive habits of domestic devotion.<sup>106</sup> As scripts for performances, then, their printed punctuation is absolutely as readable for instructing time and enacted movement as Bourne's pilcrows, Burrows's square brackets, Maguire's &c.<sup>107</sup>

Matthew Brown writes of what he calls the 'thick style' of popular devotional print in early modern America that 'Western literacy's prescribed eye movement, its descending gravity, can always be defied for expressive purposes, by, say, the direction of a line of text'. On the title page of Lewis Bayly's runaway-success devotional handbook *The Practice of Piety*, Brown argues that—almost like the + in earlier prayer books which signs the cross—lettering travelling diagonally upwards represents, *enacts*, for its reader a travelling upwards, by reading, towards heaven; images read continuously down the page offer 'a form of preparatory humiliation, a proper abasement for the reader, pulled downwards as the Pious Man, Aaron, Moses, and Hur are pulled down to kneel'.<sup>108</sup> Brightman writes that the *Preces*



<sup>106</sup> Helen Wilcox, 'Your Suit is Granted: Performing Prayer in Early Modern English Poetry', in *Prayer and Performance*, pp.154–68 (pp.154, 155).

<sup>107</sup> On contemporary prayers in print or manuscript which 'specified that they had to be read out loud in order to gain their full spiritual benefit', see Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (London: Routledge, 2007), p.17. In *Decorating the 'Godly' Household* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), Tara Hamling uses domestic manuals to 'reconstruct pious practice' involving reading aloud (pp.115–17). On 'potential scenario[s] for the reading out of domestic prose within the household', see also Catherine Richardson, 'Domestic Manuals and the Power of Prose', in *Oxford Handbook of English Prose*, pp.484–501 (p.487).

<sup>108</sup> Matthew Brown, 'The Thick Style: Steady Sellers, Textual Aesthetics, and Early Modern Devotional Reading', *PMLA*, 121.1 (2006), 67–86 (p.75). See also Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

<sup>109</sup> Brightman, 'Introduction', lx.

Do gaps, large margins, indents, short lines, create a space for 
{

Reading  
Speaking
 slower, too?

Here we might, as against Ramist pedagogic haste, remember William Kempe's injunction that one word slowly and 'exactly learned will bring more fruit then twentie words rawlie passed ouer'.<sup>110</sup>

On the whole, Brown's kinetic word-painting with typography does not seem an entirely convincing analogue for the *Preces*—but it does read towards an idea about thinking metaphorically with the space of the page which might be more so. Drucker's 'Diagrammatic Writing' pursues, it's useful to recall here, 'a critical, descriptive language of the rhetorical effects of spatial relations that address graphical features'. '*Hierarchy, juxtaposition, embedment, entanglement, enframing, interjection, branching, recursion, herniation, extension, penetration*'.<sup>111</sup> Lord, be Thou *within* me, *above, beneath, before, behind, round about*; and above, beneath, behind, below on the spaces of the page, too. John Wesley has studied what he calls the 'gestural poetics' of Andrewes's sermons, 'as mediated by the preacher's acquaintance with the academic stage', thinking about the 'dynamic and interpretive interaction between movement and emotion', and 'the manner in which delivery is written into his sermons'.<sup>112</sup> What Wesley finds built into the sermons are, in essence, semantically legible stage directions. Andrewes was a vocal supporter of 'the unpopular act of bending the knee upon each mention of Jesus in the liturgy';<sup>113</sup> and where Martin Bucer's 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* had eradicated all small black crosses (despite retaining, Cummings argues, 'many other forms of outward ritual'),<sup>114</sup> McCullough has found shadowy crosses still lingering in the chiasmic rhetoric of Andrewes's three surviving Good Friday sermons.<sup>115</sup>

It's worth noting too that in 1635—some years before his *Preces* translation—Drake had written a commendatory verse in Latin for the preface of Robert Shelford's *Five Pious and Learned Discourses*, 'a tract whose arguments for free will and Laudian ceremonial made it notorious'.<sup>116</sup> This book begins in homage to Cambridge as Shelford's alma mater—and

<sup>110</sup> Kempe, *Education*, F2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Drucker, 'Diagrammatic Writing', pp.83, 98.

<sup>112</sup> John Wesley, 'Acting and *actio* in the Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes', *Renaissance Studies*, 23.5 (2009), 678–93 (pp.678, 680, 682).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p.682.

<sup>114</sup> Cummings, 'Prayer', p.26.

<sup>115</sup> Peter McCullough 'Lancelot Andrewes's Transforming Passions', *HLQ*, 71.4 (2008), 573–89.

<sup>116</sup> John Walter, 'Drake, Richard', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/67856>> [accessed online 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019]. On Andrewes and Laud, see Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant–

Drake's poem comes a page after one by Pembroke Laudian and devotional poet Richard Crashaw (the first appearance in print of his 'On a treatise of charity'). Drake's copy of the *Learned and Pious Discourses* is still in Pembroke College Library. In the first of the five discourses, 'A Sermon Shewing How we ought to behave our selves in Gods house', Shelford set out at length the gestural poetics of reverence 'beseeming Gods house'—

at the entring in, before we take our seats, to bend the knee, and to bowe our body to him, toward the more usuall and speciall place of his residence or resemblance, which is the high Altar or the Lords table<sup>117</sup>

and 'To rise up from our seats when the Articles of our faith are read [...] by way of reverence'—'because the Creed is the summe of Christs Gospel' and *also* because 'our gesture of standing, which argues constancie in our hearts, best becomes us at that time, to testifie before God and the world, that we will stand up in defence of it'. Shelford's provocative arguments for ceremonial bowing and standing at precise points of the liturgy slip wonderfully between quotation and interpretation, performance and imitation, literal and metaphorical—making space, movement, and their relationships of sequence radically legible, radically semantic:

Standing therefore is the fittest and comeliest of all gestures for the professing of our faith, and putting us in minde of being constant in it. For as we stand in the faith, so without the faith we cannot stand: therefore the Apostle saith, *By faith ye stand*, Take away from man his faith, and presently he falls. Faith is a mans rock; and as long as he stands upon it, fall he cannot.

[...]

After our bowing to God, followeth our falling on our knees in prayer. For seeing Gods house is principally for prayer, therefore next after our holy salutation it is fit to fall down unto him in our places, and humble our selves more lowe, in regard of the benefit we begge of him. [...] And so frequent was this manner of praying in the primitive Church, that Eusebius reporteth of S. James, *That his knees were benumbed, and like camels knees, by reason of his often and much kneeling to God in supplication: from which his singular sanctity he was called IUST.*<sup>118</sup>

---

Garde Conformity at the Court of James I', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.113–33.

<sup>117</sup> See Arnold Hunt, 'Shelford, Robert', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65825>> [accessed online 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019]; Robert Shelford, *Five pious and learned discourses* (London, 1635), D1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Shelford, *Five pious and learned discourses*, D3<sup>r</sup>–D4<sup>r</sup>.

The word ‘humble’, with *humus* (ground, earth) in it, as ‘lowe’—and actual, physical ‘low’—therefore as standing for the word and quality of ‘humble’ back the other way is just the kind of serious joke Andrewes would have liked (and so are the camels’ knees). Here, as in Drucker’s diagrammatics, spatial relations are semantic structures ‘meaningful as *forms*’—‘a kind of poetics or *poiesis*’.<sup>119</sup>

But if, like Drucker’s, the *Preces*’ diagrams are ‘performative’—ought prayer manuals, generally, to be as didactic or prescriptive as play-scripts? ‘Formal’ is a complicated word around early modern prayerbooks. As Ben Burton puts it, ‘If you think “formalism” is a dirty word today, try living in early modern England’—where the term was used by nonconformists and separatists as ‘a term of abuse for clergy who supported or conformed with the ceremonies, vestments, and Episcopal government prescribed by the Elizabethan Church of England’, and also—worse—by satirists, ‘to denote hypocrites or dissemblers in worship’.<sup>120</sup> The very printing of the *Preces* manuscript makes it, though, something of a manifesto for the merits of formalism in prayer. As McCullough notes, their presentation in 1648 is ‘precisely as an antidote to extempore prayer and preaching’;<sup>121</sup> Drake offers ‘*the general inspection of these His set and sacred Forms*’, explicitly that, ‘*as you are convinced of His Pietie, so you may learn His Judgment concerning Ex tempore Conceptions, and undigested Praiers*’ (A9<sup>v</sup>–A10<sup>r</sup>). These, ‘*being used by Him, in His most secret conference with His God, not only acquaints us with the Devotion of His soul, but also gives us an example, how Earth maie traffick and communicate with Heaven*’ (A8<sup>v</sup>), trumpeting, as Brightman puts it, ‘a monument of [...] devotion, in which he first tested for himself what he has bequeathed us’.<sup>122</sup> ‘If ever any merited to be The *Universall Bishop*’, reads the motto under the engraving facing the frontispiece to the *Private devotions*, ‘this was He Great *ANDREWES*’.

Katrin Ettenhuber writes (in relation to Donne’s approach to worship—where, as for Andrewes, ‘both the sermon and the prayer were part of a much more complex liturgical and social choreography’) that common prayer ‘can be described as a true realisation of spiritual identity’, because

<sup>119</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.88.

<sup>120</sup> Ben Burton, ‘Forms of Worship’, in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Ben Burton and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.56–72 (pp.56–57). See also Richard Strier, ‘How Formalism Became a Dirty Word, and Why We Can’t Do Without It’, in *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements*, ed. Mark David Rasmussen (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp.207–16.

<sup>121</sup> Peter McCullough, ‘Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626–1642’, *The Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 401–24 (p.411).

<sup>122</sup> Brightman, ‘Introduction’, xxiii.



it bypasses individual frailties, lends order and structure to devotional energy through the patterns of institutional ritual and thus establishes a dialogue between the best possible version of the Christian subject and the object of prayer, God.<sup>123</sup>

The printed *Preces*, particularly by way of their diagrammatics, are a complex choreography: they lend order and structure to devotional energy, for sure, but their braces also incorporate an openness to individual interaction. They demand proper concentrating, I would argue, precisely because they have choices built in: synonym stacks—choose-your-own-adventure commonplacéd psalm fragments—act as crowbars for prying open one man's set forms to repeated quotidian, or weekly, use by a multiplicity of people and occasions. Within bounds still comfortingly formulaic, they pit gentle variation and an element of active choice against the perils of rote habituation and hypocritical recitation, obliging readers to feel personally implicated in and responsible for the words they speak, and their preciser shades of meaning. Motivating an interactive contingency which damps the risks of 'formalism', they create the *Preces* as a document of performance dependent on an enabling actor: each permutating reading is particular and deliberate to the instant of its occasion, individual and specific.

Still thinking, then, about how to read glue. Joan Webber has famously expounded on the mysteries of Andrewesian construction work by describing his sermons as 'held together [...] firmly by ellipses'. In Webber's view, the sermons' constant elisions are fundamental to their cultivating of a difficult hold on attention, 'remov[ing] the possibility of relaxation' by weaving a prose where 'there seem to be no soft places'.<sup>124</sup> The notion of 'soft places' for attention is intriguing and preoccupying; it seems—particularly in transferring thinking about sermons across to the printed prayers—to have something to do with Bringham's typographical inducing of the ideal readerly 'state of energetic repose'. It is not unlike that use ascribed, in Juliet Fleming's account, to printers' flowers for 'help in reading', 'imprecisely said to "rest the eye", or, alternatively, to "focus" concentration'.<sup>125</sup> Theologian and literary critic Thomas Merrill's concept of what he calls 'God-talk' is identifiable, he says, by its 'open texture', a 'surface riddled with holes', where 'deficiency in connectives' and crucial gaps in the middle of assertions 'are repositories of religious mysteries'.<sup>126</sup> In the search for 'soft places', elisions are interesting because they are gaps—the riddling holes of

---

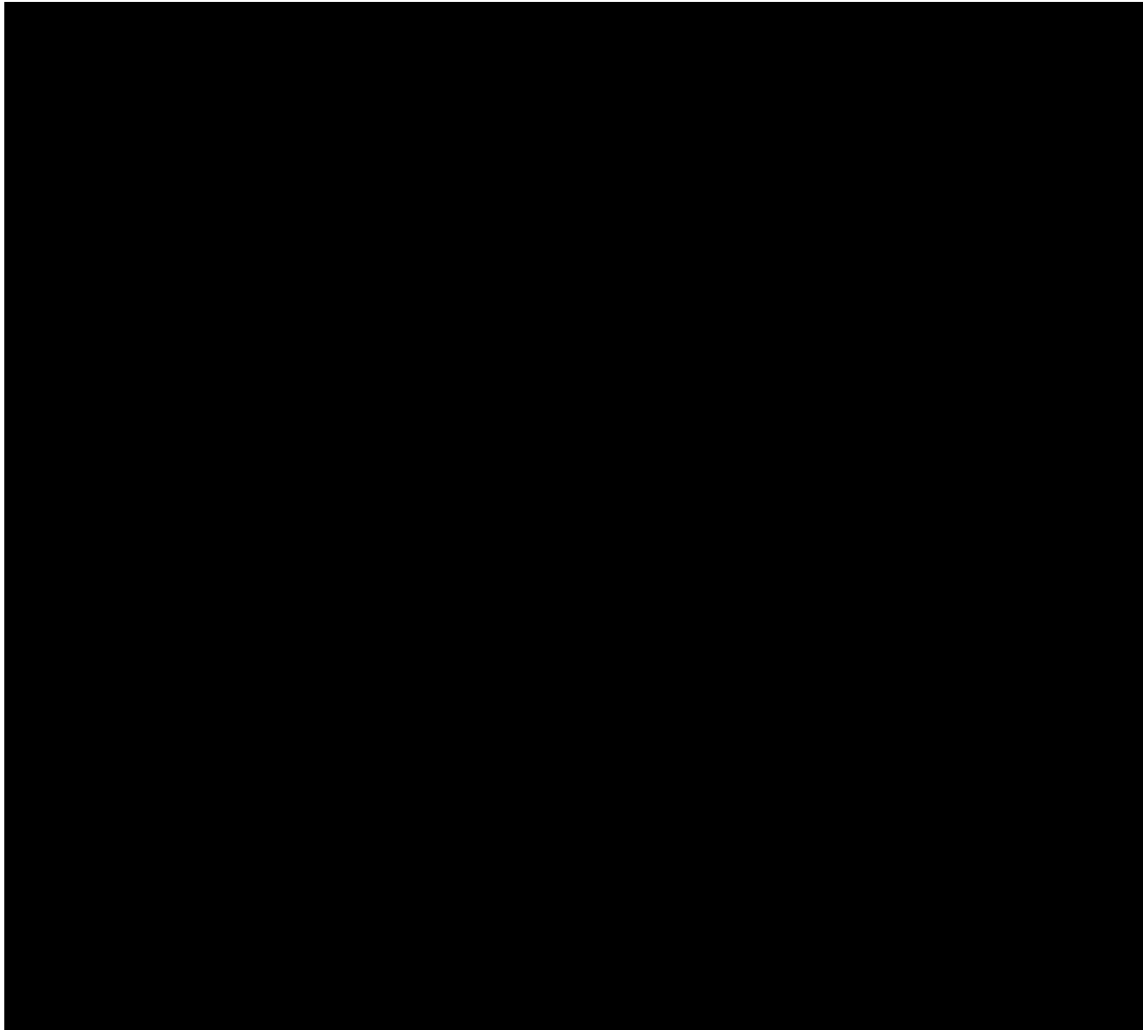
<sup>123</sup> Katrin Ettenhuber, 'Prayer in Context: The Dynamics of Worship in Donne's *Encaenia* Sermon (1623)', in *Prayer and Performance*, pp.141–53 (pp.142, 144–45).

<sup>124</sup> Joan Webber, 'Celebration of Word and World in Lancelot Andrewes' Style', *JEGP*, 64.2 (1965), 255–69 (pp.348, 339).

<sup>125</sup> Juliet Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', *Word and Image*, 22.2 (2006), 165–87 (p.169).

<sup>126</sup> Thomas Merrill, *Christian Criticism: A Study of Literary God-talk* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1976), p.69. See also Merrill, *Epic God-talk: Paradise Lost and the Grammar of Religious Language* (London: McFarland, 1986).

matter left out—which screw syntax up tighter, make more demand, not less, on reading-focus. It is almost too obvious to remark that prayers, being shorter, ask less of continuous attention than do sermons. But they might also ask a greater intensity: if the challenge on concentration where, in the sermons, ‘a whole series of clauses may share a common subject or verb’ is considerable,<sup>127</sup> this is nothing compared to trying to work out how to transform into utterance the visual dovetailing on any single page of Drake’s *Preces*.



51)

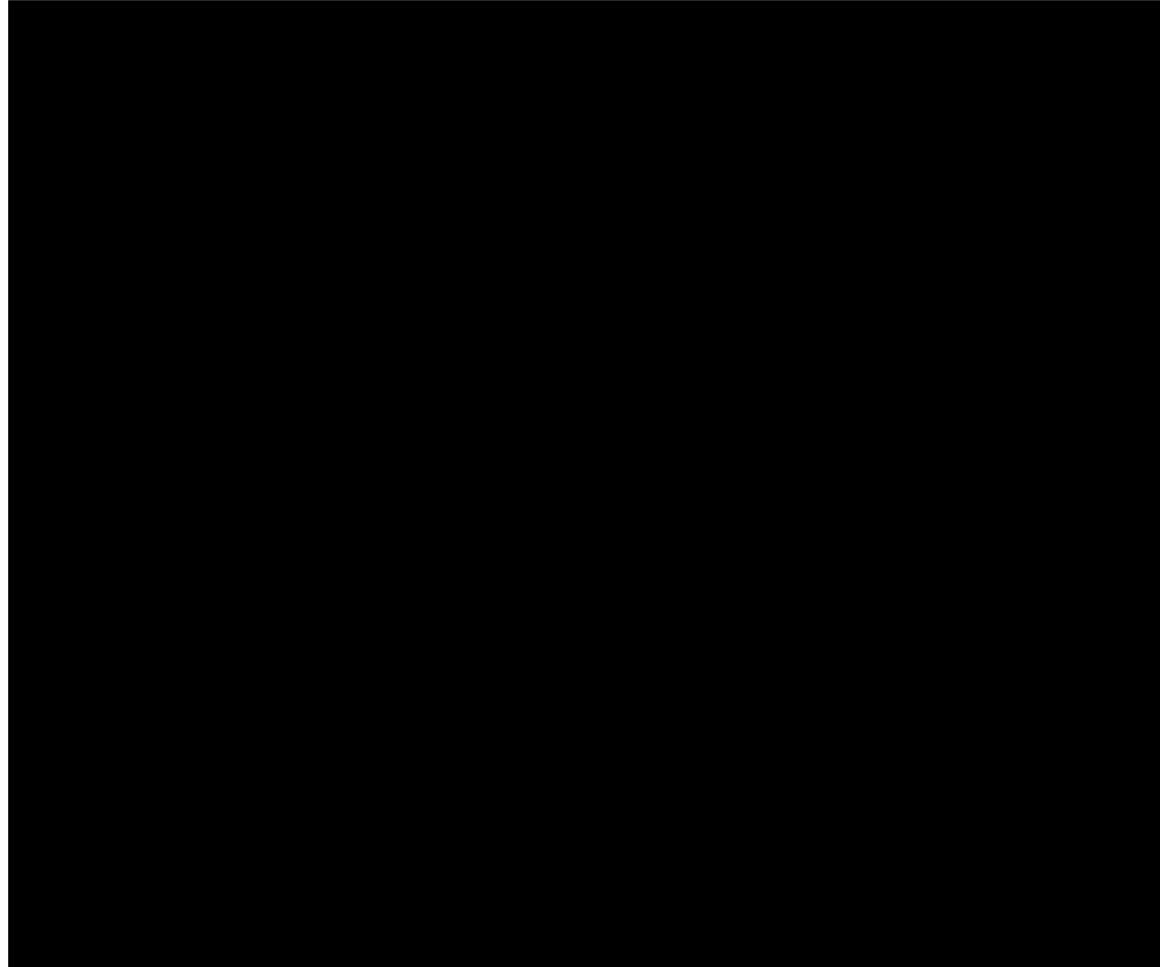
sermon), Ettenhuber examines the ways in which Donne ‘turns prayer into an affirmation of communal identity not simply through the formal convention of speaking in the first person plural, but by crafting an address to God that expressed the corporate vision of his legal audience’.<sup>128</sup> Effie Botonaki, reading Protestant spiritual diaries—an important source for the daily routine of seventeenth-century devotional duties, where the ‘birth and form of the diary is inextricably linked to Protestantism and [...] to the Protestant duty of self-examination’—writes that, ‘For the enemies of extempore prayers the major issue in this debate was not what

---

<sup>127</sup> Webber, ‘Celebration’, p.258.

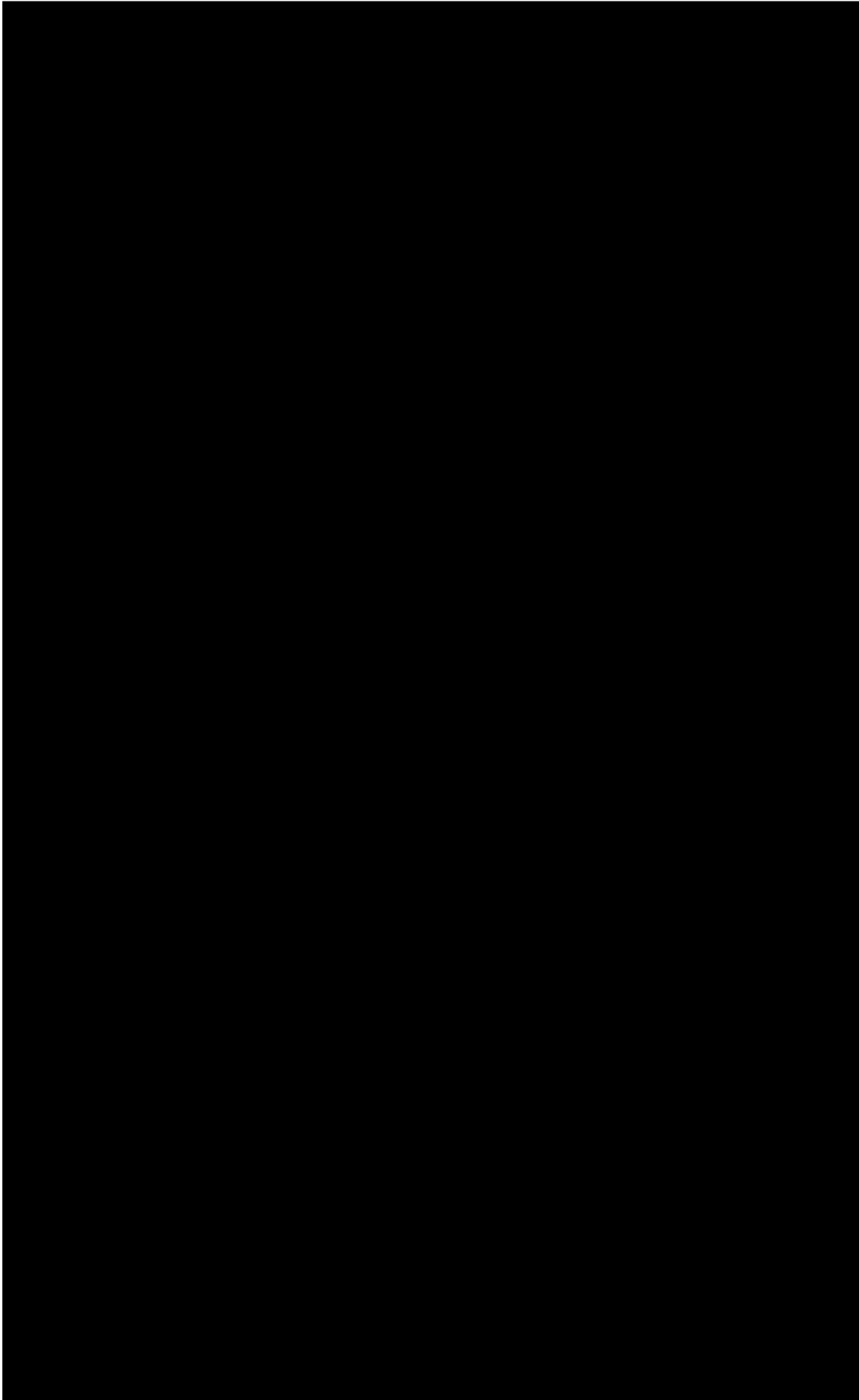
<sup>128</sup> Ettenhuber, ‘Prayer in Context’, p.142.

kind of prayers would be more effective, but who would be in control of the believers' contact with God'.<sup>129</sup> More than gaps or elisions, I'd argue, 'soft places'—or loose ones—in the text's formal weave are like the use of a first-person plural, or a space left for taking control of self-examination. Blair records earlier predecessors of Ramist branching diagrams, some of which 'left blank spaces for the bracket to be filled in by hand'.<sup>130</sup> In a section of the *Private devotions*—'A Form of Praier', nicely oxymoronic, 'for all the World, and particularly for our special Relations' (M5<sup>r</sup>)—which happens to include a much higher concentration than usual of biographical detail (Andrewes's parishes, his Cambridge college,



<sup>129</sup> Effie Bottonaki, 'The Protestant Diary and the Act of Prayer', in *Prayer and Performance*, pp.126–40 (pp.126–27). Most of the treatises against extempore prayers appeared towards the middle of the seventeenth century, exactly the time of the proliferation of printed *Preceses*.

<sup>130</sup> Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p.145. Abridgment, which I will think about much further in the second part of this thesis, asks similar filling-in engagement. On books with space for filling-in as life-writing, see work by Adam Smyth, especially 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *ELR*, 38.2 (2008), 200–44 ; 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp.125–33; *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For thinking more specifically with bible-reading as a move towards an emergent writing culture, see Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012); and 'Assistances and Encouragements in the Ways of Piety: Conceptions of Private Devotion in Early Modern England', *ANQ*, 24.1–2 (2011), 1–10. On writing in prayerbooks, Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).



Moments like this show how the *Preces*' printed formalism constitutes a guiding by patterns which is never totally prescriptive, offering the space to speak and the structure to do it in but not entirely the content, a skeleton cognitive form for filling in with the reader's own. 'Public discourses of attention', as David Marno writes, 'virtually always rely on a dichotomy between a desirable ideal of paying attention, and an unfavourable notion of being distracted'.<sup>131</sup> In order to cultivate a tight hold on close attention and reading involvement—to avoid participation dreary or drowsy, or the unthinking rote performance so disquieting to reformation liturgies—devotional set forms must be involving on both a personal and an occasional basis. Ettenhuber writes of where, in the *Essayes*, 'Augustine serves as a conduit for [Donne's] devotion', in a 'gesture [...] implicated in a complex pattern of imitation and emulation'.<sup>132</sup> The soft structures on the *Preces* pages—prayers specifically crafted, in their first incarnation, to one man's devotional use and practice—offer a complicated kind of intramural anti-formalism which ensures the durability of the form on a larger scale, porous places receptive to individual personalisation, crucial to developing and enacting an active, meaningful relationship with the text, in just such a complex pattern of imitation and emulation.

### Performing no time

'Soft places' for performed prayer then, empowered by braces, are a kind of diagrammatic 'or' which engages our attention and concentration by demanding decision-making, making possible multiple various iterations over repeated, habituating time. Typographies, though, often function in multiple simultaneous capacities: there seems no getting away from the fact that on the page 'or' is not the only way braces work. Writing on Andrewes's preaching, Joseph Moshenska describes 'the unfolding and the smaller-scale rhythms of the sermon itself', the 'temporal unfurling of the sentences and the words which constitute it', as a speaking form which 'both emerges through and organizes devotional time'.<sup>133</sup> The sermon's ready fit to particular calendrical occasionality also means it can be seen as both emerging through and organising time on still larger temporal scales: McCullough has argued cogently

---

<sup>131</sup> David Marno, 'Easy Attention: Ignatius of Loyola and Robert Boyle', *JMEMS*, 44.1 (2014), 135–61 (p.136). On paying attention at prayers and sermons, see also John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.128; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.60–116; Ceri Sullivan, 'The Art of Listening in the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Philology*, 104.1 (2006), 34–71; and *The Rhetoric of Conscience*, pp.157–192.

<sup>132</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, p.122.

<sup>133</sup> Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures*, pp.52, 56.

for the effects and motivations of Laud and Buckeridge's posthumous arrangement of Andrewes's *XCVI. Sermons* by liturgical feast day as ingenious Laudian propaganda.<sup>134</sup>

Sermons in performance—even visibly, on account of the hourglass—developed a strict uniformity of length and, correspondingly, a predictable arc of attentive expectation for their auditors. Prayer, of course, goes by different time schemes: pace Ryrie (and regardless, for a moment, of the aspiration's realistic practicality) the definition of devotion familiar to early modern worship from Augustine's *Confessions* states that 'our prayer should be unending, *preces sine intermissione*; or [like] the beautiful finale to *De trinitate*, where the ultimate prayer is said to be like an unending desire consisting of a single endless word'.<sup>135</sup>

Whether by sermons or prayers, the question of how and what it means to use time well is an important one for Andrewes. But while a spoken sermon is clearly affected by the formal constraints of performance contexts, a printed page is clearly not. Where Eric Griffiths, with different historical circumstances in mind, described the sermon (Newman's) as 'a syntactic exercise in patience',<sup>136</sup> the printed *Preces* are none such: although they might seem visually to resemble Moshenska's 'cascading series of short paratactic clauses',<sup>137</sup> what they manifest in reality is a multitasking cognitive voracity—everything, all at once, every which way. Detailing remedies against distraction in *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, Andrewes says that

[It] is ordained to do but one thing at once, for whatsoever would be thoroughly done would be done alone: the reason is, because we are *res, creatures*, and if two things be done at once, and together, one will be done imperfectly, because our thoughts will be distracted between both, for part of our thoughts will be taken of, when they are set upon several objects, so that we cannot wholly intend two things at once.<sup>138</sup>

Lossky, however, describes the experience of Andrewes's prayers as instilling

an acute sense of the sanctification of every moment of time, without however being driven into a kind of atemporal ecstasy. This history of time subsists. But it is not the only time that is real. The time of salvation—the liturgical year—is just as real, if not

---

<sup>134</sup> McCullough, 'Making Dead Men Speak'.

<sup>135</sup> Cummings, 'Prayer', p.30.

<sup>136</sup> Eric Griffiths, 'Newman: The Foolishness of Preaching', in *Newman After a Hundred Years*, ed. Ian Ker and Alan Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp.63–91 (p.82). Qtd Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures*, p.52.

<sup>137</sup> Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures*, p.57.

<sup>138</sup> Lancelot Andrewes, *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine At Large: or A Learned and Pious Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (London, 1650), pp.262–63.

more so. And the two times interpenetrate one another in the constant relationship of man to God.<sup>139</sup>

The feeling of multiplicity and saturation, of vast subsisting import and back-and-forth interpenetration, is familiar to any reader of the *Preces*: a praying Andrewes spinning temporal plates, like the preaching Andrewes spinning etymological ones, is ‘ever alive to the possibilities of polysemy’.<sup>140</sup> Visually, then, the *Preces* diagrammatics turn sequences of words which sermons would cause to unfold progressively, chronologically, over a period of measurable, countable time, into images which exist all at once in the blink of an eye—not an ‘or’ but an ‘and’. The *Preces* on the page consummately swindle Griffiths out of his ‘exercise in patience’, and in doing so confound the linear—accretive, left-to-right—temporality of words designed and intended to be spoken off the paper—or punctuation marks as signs for time-bound performance.

Where the *Preces* braces are concerned, this is not simply a truism about the spaces on any material pages which purport to speak temporal performance: it is also a question specifically bound up in the aspirations of logical diagrams. Ramist curricula and their logical textbooks aim, as an advertised ideal, to offer self-explanatory, compendious, summary information at a glance, in an instant—pandering to autodidactic encyclopaedic impatience by proffering what Hetherington calls an ‘epistemic gestalt’, where ‘the idea of the encyclopedia is a desire for a total vision of knowledge’, grasped as an all-at-once.<sup>141</sup> Ramist ‘compendia’, as Peter Mack says, and Howard Hotson explains on a wider scale in his *Commonplace Learning*, ‘were seen as a way of learning degree-level subjects rapidly’.<sup>142</sup> This is a fiercely efficient, no-nonsense attitude to value-for-time-and-space in reading economies—and its methods bank on making a lot of information cohabit, condensed, in a small space.<sup>143</sup>

If all-at-once (or ‘gestalt’) is central to logical pedagogical methodology, it is also crucially important for certain realms of theological thinking. In some places in the *Preces* it seems as though everything contained in the brace really does have to be there all at once (possible-world various options for different performed iterations are not really an option). This seems particularly—and not incidentally, I think—the case where the nature of the

---

<sup>139</sup> Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p.29.

<sup>140</sup> Read, ‘Lancelot Andrewes’s Sacramental Wordplay’, *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 36.1 (2007), 11–31 (p.22).

<sup>141</sup> Hetherington, ‘Poetics of Coherence’, p.7.

<sup>142</sup> Peter Mack, ‘Ramus and Ramism: Rhetoric and Dialectic’, in *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts*, pp.7–25 (p.22). I will think about this aspect of Ramism at greater length in my third and fourth chapters.

<sup>143</sup> Kearney, *Scholars*, pp.48–49.

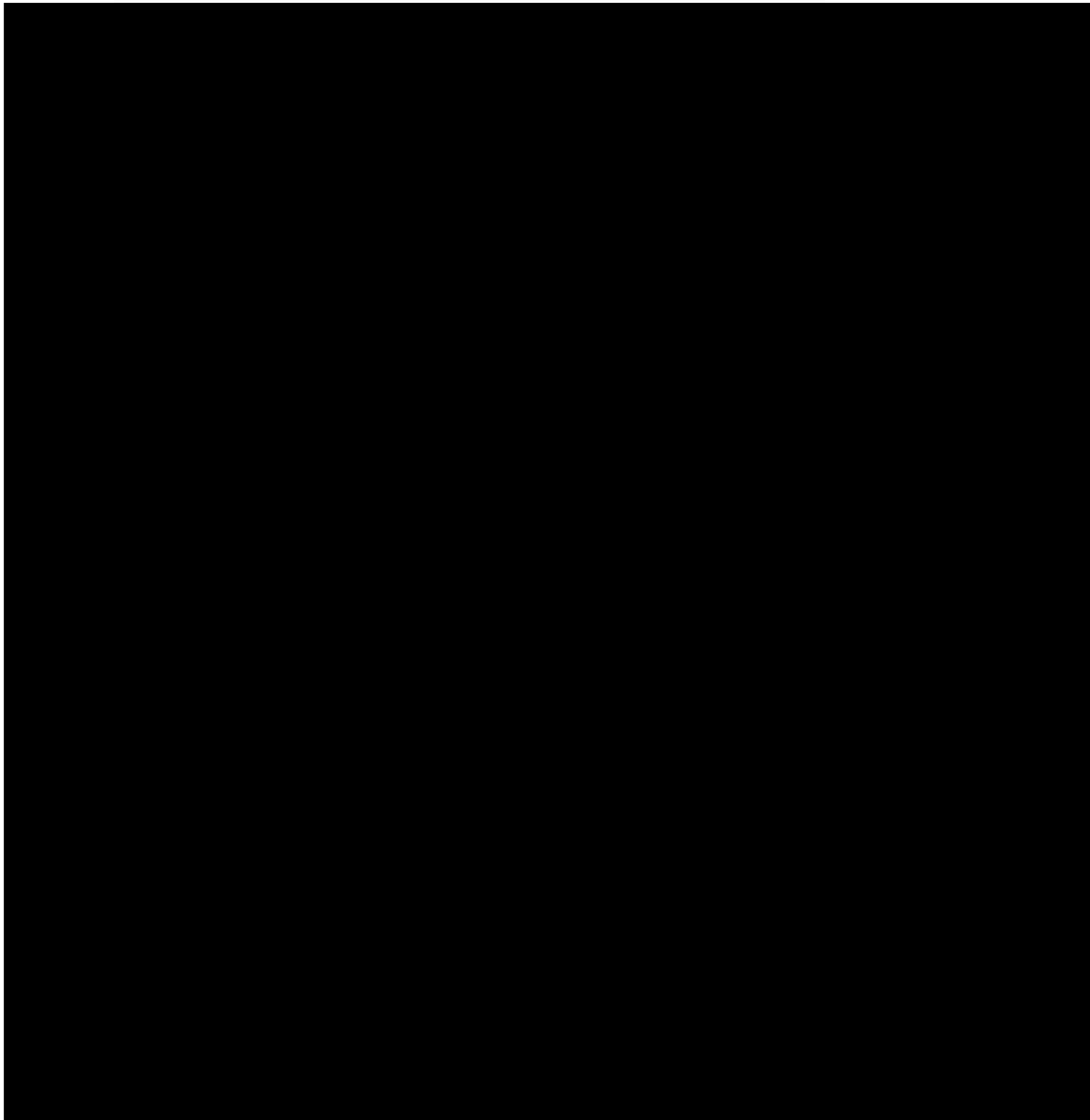




<sup>146</sup> *XCVI. Sermons*, Aaaa5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, K5<sup>v</sup>. Qtd. Noam Reisner, 'Textual Sacraments: Capturing the Numinous in the Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes', *Renaissance Studies*, 21.5 (2007), 662–78 (p.669).

Logic books themselves are far from unconcerned with the compared nature of the gestalt qualities of God and man: these are often used, by Fraunce for example, as case studies for examining the component parts of different kinds of arguments. Here's a page from near the beginning of the *Lawiers Logike*—an example quoted by Fraunce from Friedrich Beurhusius and Omer Talon (both well-known European disciples of Ramus) illustrating how the outcome of arguments 'may bee altered, changed, and diuersly considered, either in the same things diuersly compared, or in one thing referred to diuers':<sup>148</sup>



*Preces* show—perform, diagrammatically—those places of thought where for conceiving of certain notions of divinity and our relationship with what is divine, more is more, and more is always right, and never enough. Here all the exploded component parts on show make

---

<sup>148</sup> Fraunce, *Lawiers Logike*, C4<sup>r</sup>–C4<sup>v</sup>.

manifest what synecdoche usually makes invisible by standing-for, in small space. These pages thus begin to teach how much we need to work to see, in synecdochic compressions encountered elsewhere, where we might read only ‘Lord and Father’, or commend to him, at the surface of our voices, only our ‘spirit’—and where an awareness of all else encompassed by the abridgment is only the start.

### Diagrammatic Sentences

‘The ende of Grammer is to speake congruouslie’, writes Macilmaine (of rhetoric, eloquently; logic, well and orderly).<sup>149</sup> While aspiring to holistics, logical diagrams are also interested in the parts that stick the wholes together—in showing the workings (the hierarchies, dependencies, juxtapositions; the organising and disposing mechanisms) of diagrammatic syntax as a machine for making and testing meaning. Melanchthon—and his ‘Philippist’ seventeenth-century heirs and disciples of the textbook—believed it ‘of utmost importance [...] that students know how to work out the dialectical structure of statements’, since only ‘in this “bare” form’ can we discern whether they are valid or not’.<sup>150</sup> Since we are so easy and familiar with the structures of speech and thought which we use naturally every day as not to notice them, he argued, it is vital that we find ways to make ourselves aware of these forms which enable our learning and understanding. Ramist logics are not always explicitly reverent towards the smaller elements of language which build arguments—Fraunce, for example, ‘excepts’ from vital notice in scrutinising arguments (along with ‘copious and Rhetoricall phrases’) ‘those woordes which doo but bind and knit together the parts of speech, as coniunctions, which signifie no seuerall and distinct thing in nature’.<sup>151</sup> Nonetheless, their teachers remain always implicitly attentive to a sentence’s different kinds of attachment mechanisms, the ‘congregatiue’ words for ‘joyning’,<sup>152</sup> or which ‘gatherethe’; the ‘coniunctions’ and ‘disiunctions’ of different propositions classified as ‘compounde’, ‘connexiue’, ‘segregatiue’, or ‘vnioynynge’—which, respectively, join together ‘moe sayinges then one’; make ‘the connexion necessarye’ between antecedents and consequents; ‘discerne’ between ‘disagreeable argumentes’; and unjoin ‘partes opposed’ according to their ‘necessarye opposition and disiunction’.<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>149</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, B6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> Volkhard Wels, ‘Melanchthon’s Textbooks’, p.148.

<sup>151</sup> Fraunce, *Lawiers Logike*, D1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>152</sup> Fenner, *Logike*, C3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>153</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, E6<sup>v</sup>–E8<sup>v</sup>.

The problem of words which bind and knit together, but ‘signifie no seueral and distinct thing in nature’, though, is no small issue for cultivating devotional attitudes of concentration. Ong has excellently dubbed certain of such mechanisms of expression ‘logical nuisances’: words like ‘white’ and ‘runs’, he writes,

are in a way logical nuisances in that they cannot, as they stand, be the direct subjects of discourse [...] “whiteness” can; we say that whiteness is a quality [...] “Running” can; it is an action [...] only white things exist, just as running does not exist, only running things.

It follows that ‘to be made the subject of a sentence—and anything being investigated must be expressed in a term fitted for use as the subject of a sentence—the adjective has to be converted into a substance’. And, he remarks, ‘the economy of the human mind bears inexorably towards substances’.<sup>154</sup> In normal circumstances such words as ‘white’ or ‘runs’—or ‘is’, ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘in’, ‘not’, ‘his’, ‘or’—cannot easily be persuaded to the forefront of our noticing. One crux here is that from the perspective of dialectic it is precisely these nuisance words which often represent the most critical structuring mechanisms for argumentative expression—the words which absolutely *cannot* be elided for making or proving meaningful statements. The other is that God, too, is something of a logical nuisance. Stanley Fish, reading *The Temple*, proposed that in a sacramental view of reality like George Herbert’s, where all things are signs of God, the conventional subordinations and dependences of normal syntactical systems cannot be allowed to maintain.<sup>155</sup> Following up John Macquarrie’s ‘interesting notion that there is something odd or unusual about the conduct of language when it is used for religious purposes’, Merrill warns of the ‘inevitably reductionist procedure of talking about one language-game as if it were subject to the rules of another’.<sup>156</sup> The determined hypostatizing—the making word flesh—of *all aspects* of language is a particular characteristic of Andrewes’s preaching (also manifest in his ‘gestural poetics’). Noam Reisner writes of a ‘sustained, reflexive metaphor’ running through the sermons by which, ‘[l]ike a preposition or an adverb that is grafted onto a noun or verb, the Word, which is made flesh in Christ, can only be grafted to one’s soul and further one’s salvation through the act of learned sacramental preaching’. ‘Andrewes’, he concludes, ‘is in the final analysis the human

---

<sup>154</sup> Ong, *Ramus*, p.68.

<sup>155</sup> Stanley Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature* (London: University of California Press, 1972), p.159.

<sup>156</sup> Merrill, *Christian Criticism*, pp.24–25.

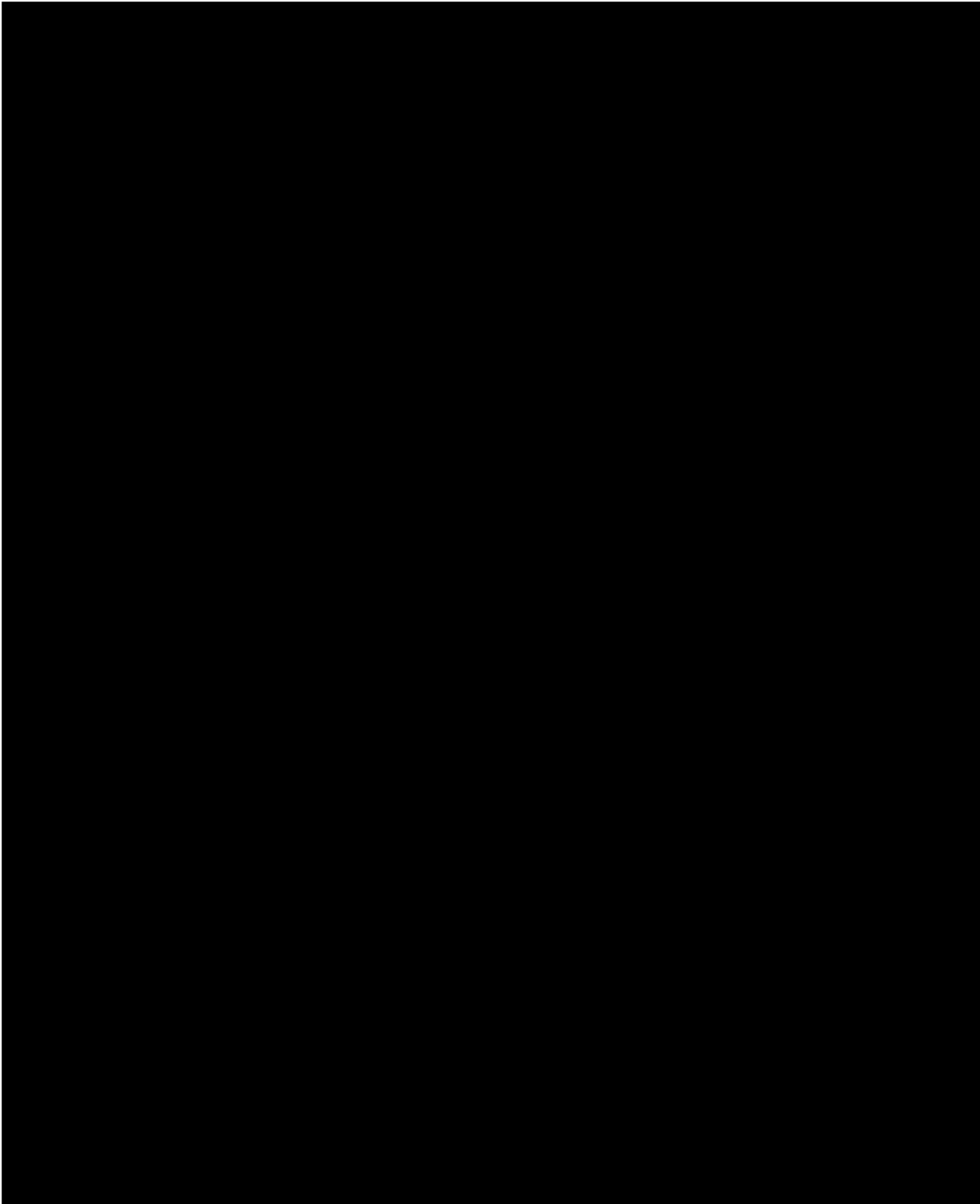
<sup>157</sup> Reisner, 'Textual Sacraments', p.678.

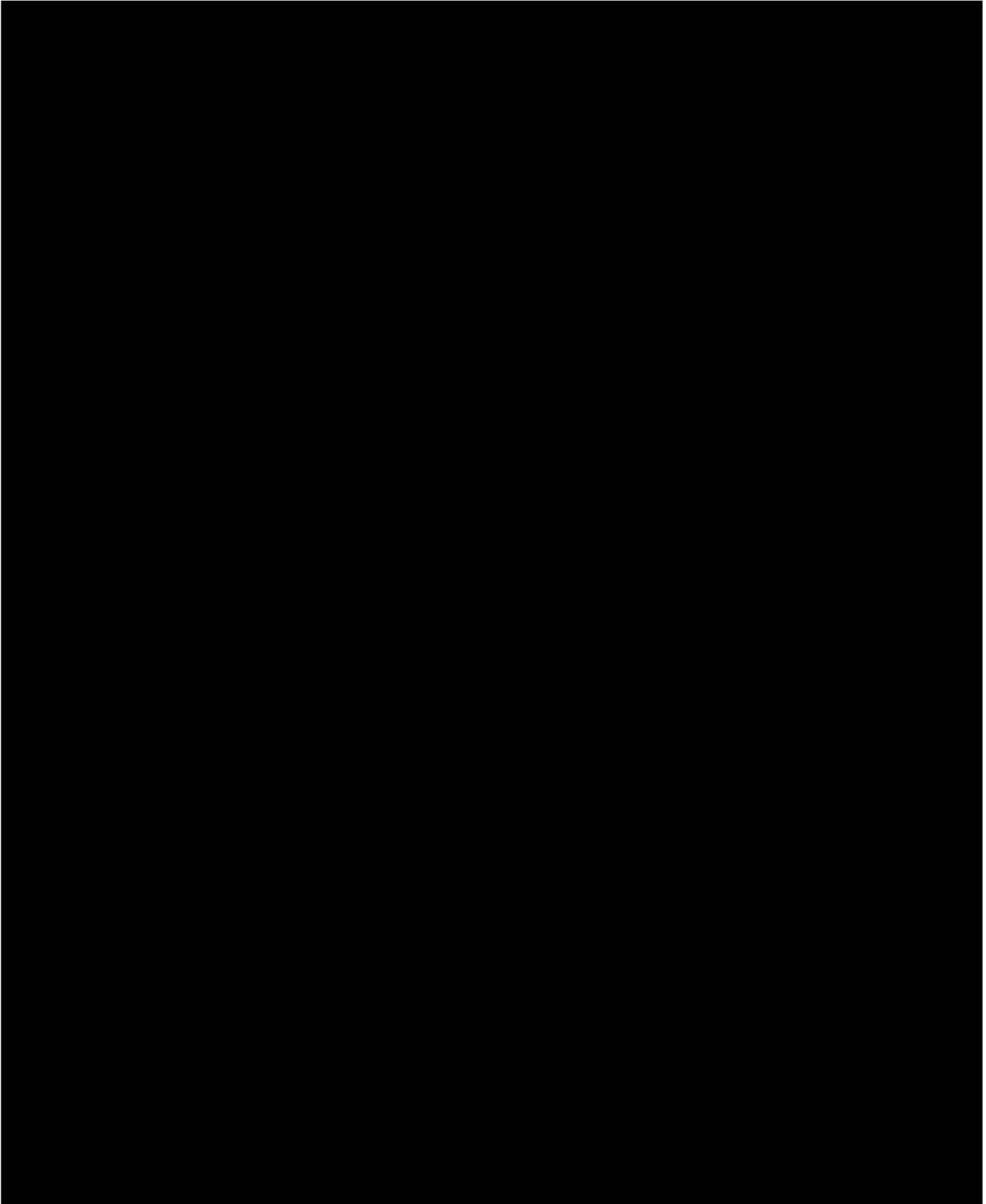
<sup>158</sup> Drucker, 'Diagrammatic Writing', p.96.

<sup>159</sup> Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, pp.42–70 (p.48).

<sup>160</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, p.61. Quoting from Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.38.

<sup>161</sup> Fleming, 'How to', p.171.





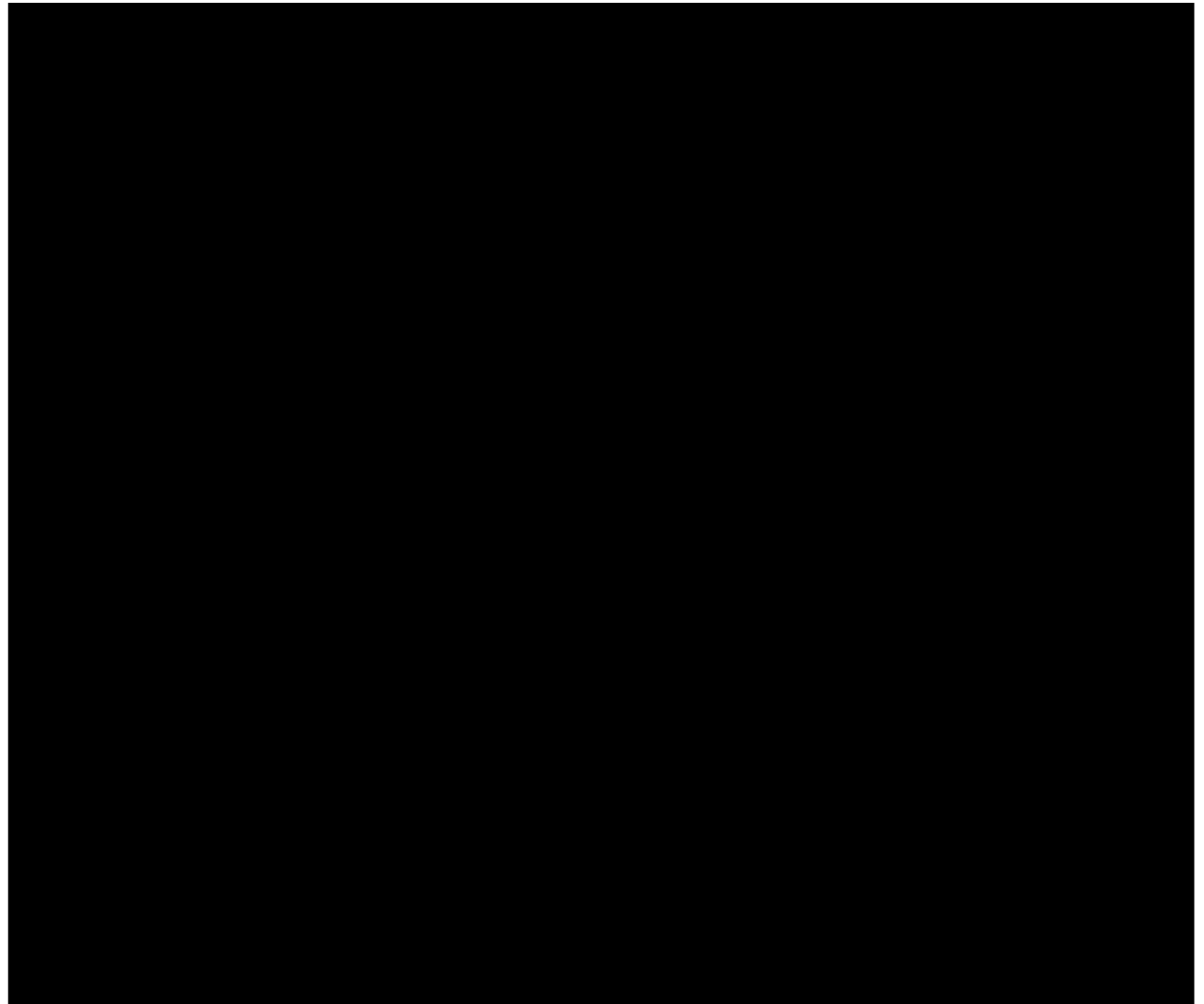
(particularly ‘To’, ‘From’, and ‘In’) often create a dynamic sense of imaginary spaces—a pervasively diagrammatic thinking by semantic spatial relations—even when it’s not really (‘literally’, perhaps—although reading legible page-space confuses this word) spaces they are talking about.

O Lord, deliver me *from* Scorns, from Flattering, from Pride, from Dangerous counsel—a life *in* Sadness, Distraction, Violence. At times, indeed, the very texts of the prayers seem miniature exercises in the tessellating of syntactic elements into and around each other, to come up with a devotional gesture made up of their matter and directions (all italics original):

LEt us lift up our  
hearts unto the  
Lord, as it is very meet,  
right, and our bounden  
dutie, that we should *in* all,  
and *for* all Things,  
*at all Times, in all Places,*  
by all *Means*, ever, everie  
where, everie waie. (F1 v)



Hearts lifted up—in Things and *for* them, *at* Times, *in* Places, *by* Means: the elements which make up good prayer and good grammar organise themselves in relation to one another always by, to use Drucker's language, graphical organisation, structural relation—movements of language made, by a Laudian gestural poetics of the page, 'meaningful *as forms*'.



are presented with what looks, horizontally, rather like a list of imperative commands. 'This Text', preached Andrewes in 1610, 'besides that it is a *Commandement*, it is also a *Thanksgiving*'.<sup>162</sup> And vice versa: when we ask God for the grace to act in a certain way we are always, at bottom, following orders as well as making requests: once shown how to read like this, we can cast off the training braces, and begin to see such a possibility latent within every infinitive action we see. These pages represent a height of cognitive multitasking with dissonant parallel planes which, alarming to our own delimited earthly logic of grammar, is by no means abhorrent to God-talk.

---

<sup>162</sup> XCVI. *Sermons*, Aaaa3<sup>r</sup>.

‘God’s *doings* are many’, preached Andrewes in November 1606, ‘and not all of one size.’

The Prophet *Zacharie* speaketh of a *day* of *small things*; and, even in those small, we must learn to see GOD, or we shall never see Him in greater, Yet, so dimme is our sight, that unlesse they be great, commonly we see Him not[.] [...] The truth is, all that GOD doth, all His *workes* are *wonderfull*; seeme *small* to us, because they be *usuall*: His *miracles* are no more *mervailous*, then his *ordinarie workes*, but that, we see the one daily, and the other, not.<sup>163</sup>

When prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions, definite articles are scattered as usual through speech, multiplicity makes them invisible—but here the enabling powers and responsibilities which are always held by such assumed and unassuming particulates are constantly foregrounded, singularity not so much urging syntactical peripheries forward as placing them on attention pedestals, forcing the notice of human minds which ‘bear inexorably towards substances’. The *Preces* pages in this way mark out a diagrammatic poetics which makes positioning a legible and interpretable aspect of printed language, urging both *reading space* and *reading for space*, and paying proper attention to the syntactical scaffolding of prayers and how to read them. Here syntax becomes more than a metaphor for where habit undermines our attention to the small but fundamental thoughts and actions of quotidian devotion, offering miniature scale versions of cause, effect, dependency, hierarchy, visible within the arc of a sentence. What this mise-en-page builds is a true grammar of prayer, a prayer of grammar, which makes manifest and comprehensible the diagrammatic structures of language as a way of knowing and way of learning, in relationship and discourse with God.

### Invisible Braces

In her analysis of the early modern visual interface, Reid argues after Fleming that the common treatment of printed ‘design features’—‘woodcuts, engravings, page borders, arrangements, initials, inscriptions, and blank spaces’—as paratextual units functioning discretely from the texts they inhabit ‘omits the rich interplay between text and image’ which means that ways of reading taught by one easily cross over into our experience of the other.<sup>164</sup> Stallybrass, too, has described the haunting presences of absent ‘invisible’ letters and images in early modern printed bibles, and ‘the contradictory claims of a reading that doesn’t see and

---

<sup>163</sup> *XCVI. Sermons*, Iiii2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> Reid, *Reading by Design*, p.15.

a seeing that doesn't read'.<sup>165</sup> In the final part of this chapter I want to argue that once you've been taught, by branching diagrams, how to read texts like this, you don't need the braces anymore. 'Layout, composition, and conventions of textual meaning-production' are taken in the design trade, says Drucker, 'as heuristics, not as hermeneutics':

This distinction is important, because I would argue that the *acts of making that form the basis of production are grounded in poetic expression and rhetorical argument*.<sup>166</sup>

Ingrained thinking by diagrams, in other words, has poetic and rhetorical expression on either side of its happening ('we seem unable to articulate our intuitions or interpretations of formal characteristics in literature except by recourse to [...] "spatial" constructs').<sup>167</sup> If spaces can perform as metaphors, metaphors can perform spaces too. In outlining his concept of 'invisible punctuation', Lennard quotes Eliot's remark that his own *Four Quartets* 'includes the absence of punctuation marks, when they are omitted where the reader would expect them'.<sup>168</sup> Sometimes absent braces, set up by expectations and particular syntactic constructions, are very present in early modern logic books.

*Argumentes are many times known by their proper notes and markes, as shall after appeare: which if they be wanting, they must bee known by the rules, which doe set forth euery sort of Argumente*.<sup>169</sup>

Once you've learnt the proper notes and marks, you know the rules for setting forth. Macilmaine's Ramism is perhaps most notable for this phenomenon: containing no actual braces at all, this *Logike* uses connectives and deictics—verbal arrows, pointers, joiners, separators—to lead us through perfect ekphrases of diagrammatised argument and taxonomy. Of, for example, 'Contrarie negatiues'—

when one affirmethe and the other denyethe the same. And are parted into denying and deprying argumentes.

Denying argumentes are contrarie negatiues, of the which the one denieth euery where: as, Just, not iust: a beast, not a beast: blood, not blood.

And, branching off these next,

---

<sup>165</sup> Peter Stallybrass, 'Visible and Invisible Letters: Text versus Image in Renaissance England and Europe', in *Visible Writings: Cultures, Forms, Readings*, ed. Marija Dalbello and Mary Shaw (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), pp.77–98 (p.96).

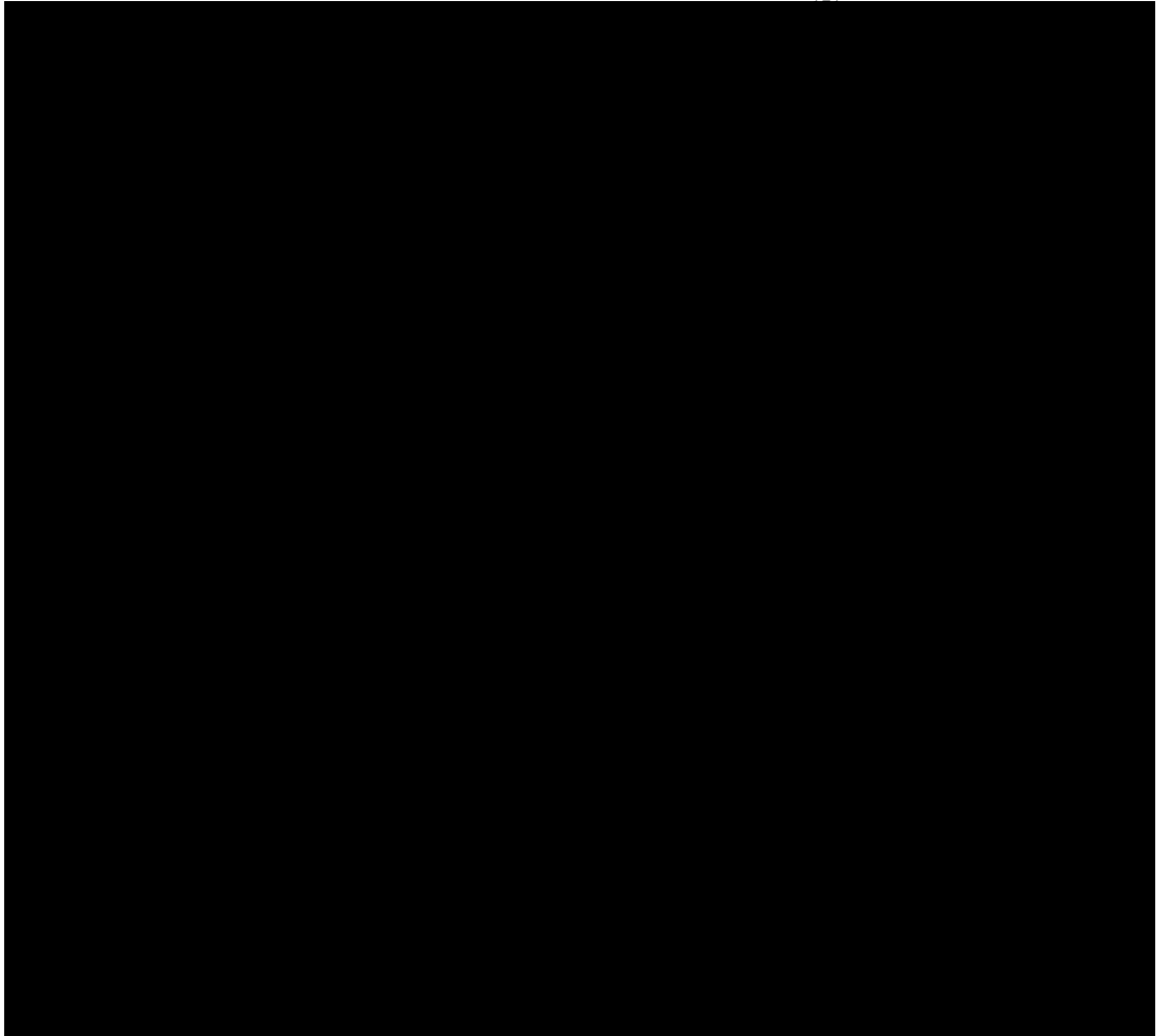
<sup>166</sup> Drucker, 'Diagrammatic Writing', p.85.

<sup>167</sup> Mitchell, 'Diagrammatology', p.622.

<sup>168</sup> Lennard, 'In/visible Punctuation', p.126–27.

<sup>169</sup> Fenner, *Logike*, B1<sup>r</sup>.

Depryuing argumentes are contrarie negatiues: of the which the one denyethe vpon that subiecte only, in the which the other which affirmethe, is naturally contained. And the affirmatiue is called the habite, the denying argumente, the priuation. So mouing and quietnes: Sobrietie and dronkennes<sup>170</sup>



pages are, of course, a tenet of preaching methodology and its logical forebears—Andrewes's sermons are full of them. When she writes that 'the semiotics of Ramist method is basically figurative', Goeglein is describing not the typography of logical textbooks, but rather their use of poetic examples;<sup>172</sup> nonetheless, in and out of literal and metaphorical—as they travel ever between the two themselves—the line holds good. 'Wordes', says Macilmaine, 'are nothing els but notes of matters signified': once you've seen enough diagrams, you can read words by them, without them.<sup>173</sup>

---

<sup>170</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, C4<sup>v</sup>, C5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> Fenner, *Logike*, B1<sup>r</sup>; Macilmaine, *Logike*, B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> Goeglein, 'Reading', p.226.

<sup>173</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, D2<sup>r</sup>.

Although the ‘page kinetics’ of Ferrell’s ‘How-to’ books refer more often than not to a *really* material interactiveness—flaps to unfold, wheels to spin, pop-ups, tipped-in strips for pasting—she also argues that ‘the aims of the Protestant page did render the act of reading into the crafting of concepts designed to transcend the material bounds of books’.<sup>174</sup> Pondering how to relate different ‘concept[s] of spatial form’ to one another—in comparing, for example, the ‘morphology of the folktale’ to designs of crystalline growth, or structures of syntax—Mitchell asks, ‘Are all these analytic models properly regarded as “spatial forms,” or is the term applied literally in some cases and metaphorically in others?’.<sup>175</sup> Drucker is right that while the study of diagrams may necessarily cross disciplinary lines, nonetheless ‘the question “What is a diagram?” can’—and probably should—‘be answered differently depending on the disciplinary context’.<sup>176</sup> Though the importance of diagrammatic form to logic, and the importance of braces to the printed *Preces*, seem separately inarguable, then—how sensible, really, is the comparison of methods? How justifiable to find systems of logical pedagogy carried by curly braces over into prayerbooks? ‘Similarities in form’, Blair argues of branching diagrams, ‘can mask different uses’.<sup>177</sup>

But I’d argue that, more often, different uses can mask similar forms’ analogous workings. ‘In short’, as Randall McLeod says, while endeavouring to differentiate crucially between *photo*-facsimile and *type*-facsimile of versions of ‘Easter wings’, sometimes ‘reading is too deep—it is not sufficiently *superficial* to report the evidence, which lies, after all, on the surface’.<sup>178</sup> Prayer is caught up always in negotiations between familiarity and unfamiliarity. As I have argued in this chapter, sometimes the arrangement of words on pages in the printed *Preces* (and the poetic kinds of thinking such *mise-en-page* encourages) is designed to surprise us into (re)discovering the strange, hardworking, and extraordinary in what becomes too habituated to catch our notice in everyday devotional practice. At the same time, as will be my contention throughout this thesis, pedagogy by way of familiar forms and familiarising forms is an invaluable way of working out how Andrewes and Spenser do their literary teaching. Carolyn Miller writes of the Aristotelian topos that ‘To be rhetorically useful [...] as well as comprehensible, novelty must be situated. Rather than offering the

---

<sup>174</sup> Ferrell, ‘Page *Techne*’, p.115.

<sup>175</sup> Mitchell, ‘Spatial Form’, p.539.

<sup>176</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.86.

<sup>177</sup> Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p.145.

<sup>178</sup> Random Cloud, ‘FIAT FLUX’, in *Crisis in Editing: Texts of the English Renaissance*, ed. Randall McLeod (New York: AMS Press, 1994), pp.61–173. (p.87).

radically new it must occupy the border between the known and the unknown’;<sup>179</sup> Brightman describes the *Preces*’ mosaic-work as one which ‘constructs new forms on old models’.<sup>180</sup> As we will see in Spenser’s manoeuvrings of sacred parody, where pedagogy and persuasion is concerned, good attention paid to the wrong thing can sometimes be hijacked by the right—but this is much more likely to work well by offering new ideas in familiar templates already primed for thinking with.

This principle is well understood by early modern logic books: ‘that the matter may be more easily vnderstanded we must vse some familiar example’, explains Macilmaine in his defence of ‘the illustration of the methode by examples of artes’.<sup>181</sup> Hetherington argues that early modern pedagogues ‘frequently stressed the importance of presenting the neophyte with familiar ideas, using them as a platform from which to advance to more difficult material’. ‘Texts which teach’, he goes on, ‘do so because they present information to the mind in a way fitted to the mind’s capacity to receive it’.<sup>182</sup> More than anything else, the *Preces*—where ‘the skilful setting [...] makes the jewel, and gives it its chief beauty and serviceableness’—is a work of poetic organisation which proves the formal poetic work of organising and disposing. Not bound by contents, one-size-fits-all Ramist diagrams promote teaching and learning by infinitely portable and reusable forms—which teach, rather than a specific lesson, a way of thinking about all lessons, and beginning to manage to read differently all texts that come after them. Ong made it gospel that ‘At the heart of the Ramist enterprise’ is found ‘the drive to tie down words themselves [...] in simple geometrical patterns’—in what is ‘fundamentally an attempt to deal with the activity of the mind’.<sup>183</sup> ‘If you remoue the forme’, Ramist logic (via Fraunce) teaches, ‘it is impossible for the thing formed to consist’:

Such is euery thing, as the forme permitteth it to bee

The forme is the fountayne of actions.<sup>184</sup>

Curly braces in the printed *Preces* order, arrange, dispose, show things the same and show things different. They press at the conventions of mise-en-page, and experiment with establishing new—more wonder-ful and wondering—ones, at once performing time and performing no time at all. They scrutinise dependencies, hierarchies, relationships,

---

<sup>179</sup> Carolyn Miller, ‘The Aristotelian *Topos*: Hunting for Novelty’, in *Rereading Aristotle’s Rhetoric*, ed. Alan Gross and Arthur Walzer (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), pp.130–49 (p.141). Qtd. Hallett, ‘Printed *Loci*’, p.92.

<sup>180</sup> Brightman, ‘Introduction’, liii.

<sup>181</sup> Macilmaine, *Logike*, F7<sup>v</sup>–F8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>182</sup> Hetherington, ‘Poetics of Coherence’, pp.25–26, 152.

<sup>183</sup> Ong, *Ramus*, pp.89, 107.

<sup>184</sup> Fraunce, *Lawiers Logike*, G4<sup>v</sup>.

proximities, and make us look closer at different parts of sentences, turning ever in and out of a hard and fast ‘literal’ and ‘metaphorical’—so that once you’ve learnt their rules, you can read them in without the notes and marks. Read alongside the English logic books they can’t help but resemble, they put a persuasive case for a renaissance diagrammatics which helps instruct a prayerful state of mind, enabling the performance of devotion, and also its proper consideration.

**Of parts well measured, with meet disposition:  
Praying in the *Fowre Hymnes***

Gift better then him selfe, God doth not know:  
 Gift better then his God, no man can see;  
 This gift doth here the giuer giuen bestow;  
 Gift to this gift let each receiuer bee.  
 God is my gift, himselfe he freely gaue me;  
 Gods gift am I, and none but God shall haue me.

—Robert Southwell (1595)

But surely, it will be objected, all this “spatial form” is merely metaphoric.  
 We don’t *really* have diagrams in our heads which somehow correspond to  
 the form or meaning of literary works. This is the point where we must  
 suspend our disbelief if we are to make progress.

—W.J.T. Mitchell (1980)<sup>1</sup>

‘I resolued at least to amend, and by way of retractation to reforme them’, writes Spenser in the dedicatory epistle which prefaces the *Fowre Hymnes* in 1596. ‘I knew the *Organon* to be confusde, / And I reduc’d it into better forme’, said Marlowe’s Ramus. Here in Spenser’s final publication, the ends of good writing are declaratively shaping and reshaping: beauty, in this poetry about beauty, is explicitly constituted by organisation, arrangement, and the

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert Southwell, ‘The Natiuitie of Christ.’, *Saint Peters complaynt. With other Poems.* (London, 1595), G1<sup>v</sup>; Mitchell, ‘Spatial Form’, p.554.



putting of things into frames—engirthing, containing, outlining, walling, encompassing. The *Hymne of Beautie (HB)* here tells of the ‘worlds great workmaister’ who,

To make al things, such as we now behold  
It seemes that he before his eyes had plast  
A goodly Paterne to whose perfect mould,  
He fashiond them as comely as he could,  
That now so faire and seemely they appeare,  
As nought may be amended any wheare.<sup>2</sup>

‘Clearly’, wrote Mitchell, ‘the entire vocabulary of formalism is riddled with spatial concerns’.<sup>3</sup> And—in precisely the anxious, riddling sense with which we have begun to complicate the word ‘formalism’ in the context of early modern prayer which is also poetry—so it is here.

Observations and investigations of Spenserian religious attitudes incline to ratchet around the *Faerie Queene*. To strike up a scholarly conversation with a statement like ‘That Spenser was in more than one sense a Protestant poet is scarcely debatable’,<sup>4</sup> we are well equipped for scuffling at length about both the ‘Protestant poet’ and the ‘more than one sense’.<sup>5</sup> Since the 1990s, a prevailing ‘sense of Spenser’s own slipperiness’—as propounded most influentially by Darryl Gless—has set the stage for a rich documentation of the epic’s interactions with early modern scripture and theology. If it would seem blinkered to write about the *Faerie Queene* without knocking up first of all against Spenser’s putative theologies, the vice versa seems almost equally true. The Protestant-poet Spenser we have reached is one who sets interpretive puzzles as heuristic lessons in hermeneutic faith, teaching ways of reading scripture and its paratexts by writing something just as hard, and with the same kinds of hard

---

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Spenser, *Fowre Hymnes, made by Edmund Spenser* (London, 1596), p.14. Further references given in text.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, ‘Spatial Form’, p.547.

<sup>4</sup> Harold Weatherby, *Mirrors of Celestial Grace: Patristic Theology in Spenser’s Allegory* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p.3.

<sup>5</sup> Darryl Gless, *Interpretation and Theology in Spenser* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Anthea Hume, *Edmund Spenser: Protestant Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Carol Kaske, *Spenser and Biblical Poetics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); John King, *Spenser’s Poetry and the Reformation Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Richard Mallette, *Spenser and the Discourses of Reformation England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957); John Wall, *Transformations of the Word: Spenser, Herbert, Vaughan* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988). Anne Lake Prescott cheerfully and helpfully synthesises these viewpoints (and adds to them her own commentary, primarily regarding calendrical allusions in the *Shepherd’s Calendar* and the *Amoretti*) in ‘Complicating the Allegory: Spenser and Religion in Recent Scholarship’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 25.4 (2001), 9–23. See more recently Margaret Christian, *Spenserian Allegory and Elizabethan Biblical Exegesis: A Context for the Faerie Queene* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Andrew Hadfield, ‘Spenser and Religion—Yet Again’, *SEL*, 51.1 (2011), 21–46.

structures in it—not so much ‘present[ing] information to the mind in a way fitted to the mind’s capacity to receive it’<sup>6</sup> as giving us a way to be able to begin to perceive how limited is that capacity available to us, when we try to comprehend divinity. Though Spenser is always considered scriptural, he is much less often thought of as devotional.<sup>7</sup>

Although this thesis will end, then, with a chapter on the *Faerie Queene*’s ‘Arguments’ in formal conversation with the psalter and the Geneva Bible, this chapter will aim strongly to put the case that the *Fowre Hymnes* is the best place to start. For considering Spenser as a writer of (Ramistic) whole systems and artistic unities, this set of poems represents a critical paradigm. For figuring what it is that reading Spenser can tell us about the strategies and schematics of early modern poetry as prayer—its narrativizing of changing thought, its likes and unlikes, the rendering of the ordinary extraordinary, the development of active sight and concentrated attention—it offers an endlessly complicated model of the perplexities of devotional imitation as performed by the space-time stanzas of diagrammatic poetry. If criticism rarely strays far from agreement with the notion (here Jon Quitslund’s) that ‘In Spenser’s poetry [...] thinking was never entirely separate from attitudes and acts of faith’,<sup>8</sup> the *Hymnes* is a text where poetry, thinking, and faith cohabit entirely unambiguously and indisputably. Performing, enacting—and also, always, intending instruction: this remains a question about shared cultures of education, and how Spenserian notions of how to organise quotidian faith by a printed book (real or imaginary) might speak back to Andrewes’s.

What Kenneth Borris calls in the *Hymnes* his ‘most discursive philosophical and theological reflections’ also show Spenser at his most explicitly scriptural, their position in the Spenser canon ‘analogous to *De Doctrina Christiana* in Milton’s’—perhaps, Borris argues, with even more interpretive value.<sup>9</sup> Harold Weatherby writes that ‘Spenser’s eucharistic imagery in the “Hymne of Heavenly Love” reminds us more than anything in the *Faerie Queene* of the sacramental language of the Counter-Reformation’; ‘Such imagery’, he says, ‘more nearly anticipates Crashaw (or some of Herbert) than looks back to the *Faerie Queene*’.<sup>10</sup> The aligning of genres is helpful. The kind of reading that since Martz has more

---

<sup>6</sup> Hetherington, ‘Poetics of Coherence’, p.152.

<sup>7</sup> Spenser has been—particularly in the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*—considered in relation to the *Book of Common Prayer*. See William Johnson, ‘Spenser’s *Amoretti* and the Art of the Liturgy’, *SEL*, 14.1 (1974), 47–61; Daniel Gibbons, ‘Rewriting Spiritual Community in Spenser, Donne, and the Book of Common Prayer’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 54.1 (2012), 8–44; James Lambert, ‘Spenser’s *Epithalamion* and the Protestant Expression of Joy’, *SEL*, 54.1 (2014), 81–103.

<sup>8</sup> Jon Quitslund, ‘Thinking About Thinking in the *Fowre Hymnes*’, *Spenser Studies*, 24.1 (2009), 499–517 (p.502).

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Borris, ‘Reassessing Ellrodt: Critias and the *Fowre Hymnes* in *The Faerie Queene*’, *Spenser Studies*, 24.1 (2009), 453–490 (p.453).

<sup>10</sup> Weatherby, *Mirrors*, p.170.

often seemed pertinent to Southwell, the Sidneys, Lanyer, Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan, I'd like here to help seem crucially sensible for Spenser too: that apparently too-straightforward basis in religious sources sometimes cited, as we will see, as the reason for finding particularly the third of the *Hymnes* overlooked as 'something of a bore'<sup>11</sup> is exactly what will here prove them foundational to a consideration of Spenser's wider work of devotional comprehension by means of literary and poetic devices. In recent scholarship, the *Hymnes* have been most often approached as a means of theorising Spenser's Neoplatonism across his oeuvre—and although this chapter will not engage directly with the current renaissance, led by Borris, in Spenserian Neoplatonist studies, the sense of this poetry as a theoretical roadmap with 'broad interpretive value' for a wider Spenserian poetic is one I'd like to take up, while thinking, instead, about attitudes of devotion.<sup>12</sup>

In the first part of this chapter I will use the *Hymne of Heauenly Loue* (HHL), and its narrativizing of the Incarnation, to present the *Hymnes* as more kin than has usually been articulated with the scholarship of divine accommodation as poetic work and theological wrangling in *Paradise Lost*. Here, I will argue, the teleology invested in the space of the page by Spenser's diagrammatic poetic worries at the difficult hierarchies of the Trinity as it was (perhaps not always) understood by Spenser's early readers. Continuing to think about how we might approach devotion by synchronic and diachronic reading, 'diagrammatic writing' helps map what is particular about Spenserian storytelling—and begins to distinguish its 'spatial poetic' from the more commonly cited 'pictorial' one of the *Faerie Queene*.

Setting this third hymn back in its context of four to think about well-wrought poetic wholes, and how to draw attention to their form, I will go on to think about Spenser's much-discussed prefatory epistle, and its value for decoding the *Hymnes*' narrative of 'retractation' as a form of large-scale metanoia—an extraordinary action of self-sacred-parody which stands, I will argue, quite as important as the 'Letter to Raleigh' for putting together a Spenserian didactic poetics. Spenser has long been established as the ultimate poet of well-

---

<sup>11</sup> Feisal Mohamed, 'Renaissance Thought on the Celestial Hierarchy: The Decline of a Tradition?', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65.4 (2004), 559–582 (p.575).

<sup>12</sup> For investigations of Spenserian Neoplatonism in or through the *Fowre Hymnes*, see initially Jefferson Fletcher, 'A Study in Renaissance Mysticism: Spenser's "Fowre Hymnes"', *PMLA*, 26.3 (1911), 452–75; Josephine Bennett, 'The Theme of Spenser's "Fowre Hymnes"', *Studies in Philology*, 28.1 (1931), 18–57; Sears Jayne, 'Ficino and the Platonism of the English Renaissance', *Comparative Literature*, 4.3 (1952), 214–38; Robert Ellrodt, *Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser* (Genève: Droz, 1960); Jon Quitslund, 'Spenser's Image of Sapience', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 16 (1969), 181–213 and *Spenser's Supreme Fiction: Platonic Philosophy and The Faerie Queene* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Elizabeth Bieman, *Plato Baptized: Towards the Interpretation of Spenser's Mimetic Fictions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988). The most recent book-length study of Spenserian Neoplatonism is Borris's—although this is concerned rather with the *Faerie Queene* than the *Hymnes*: Kenneth Borris, *Visionary Spenser and the Poetics of Early Modern Platonism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

wrought urns, poetic unities, and harmonious wholes: considering all four *Hymnes* at once offers an opportunity to interrogate this critical impulse. The final part of this chapter will present small-scale Spenserian workings of poetic likeness and unlikeness—repetition, iteration, non-equivalence—as means of thinking through (both enacting and instructing) the broken cycle of the gift which constitutes thankfulness in early modern prayer, whereby we can never offer adequate repayment for what we have been given by divine grace. It is my contention throughout this thesis that turning thinking literary is a valuable way of approaching cruxes of faithful understanding: here the problematic ‘insteads’ of the *Hymnes*’ overarching narrative and its smaller rhetorical choreographies play out poetically the complex workings of substitution in acts of devotion which can only ever offer, in attempted reciprocation, a performed ‘in lieu’.

### **The *Hymne of Heauenly Loue*: Incarnational Diagrammatic**

Feisal Mohamed argues that ‘[t]he most conspicuous fault’ of the critical emphasis on Neoplatonism in writing on the *Hymnes* is ‘its tendency to overlook as irrelevant the relatively straightforward Christian primer that comprises the *Hymne of Heavenly Love*’.<sup>13</sup> This third hymn, described by C.S. Lewis as ‘a straight account of the Creation, Fall, and Redemption, such as any child in a Christian family learns before he is twelve’,<sup>14</sup> I will here put the case is the *Hymnes*’ heart. Such ‘straight accounts’, done up in Spenserian poetic bends, are precisely the literary wrangling this thesis considers as ways of performing and enacting the cognitive struggles of prayerful thought—particularly that second set of morning meditations in the Ignatian tradition described by Martz in *The Poetry of Meditation*, setting forth the daily contemplation of the life and suffering of Christ.<sup>15</sup> Gordon Teskey has called the third hymn ‘a masterly summary of Christian doctrine and ethics that is so complete [...] that Milton could have depended on it alone’ (Teskey thinks Milton read this poem early on and remained unconsciously influenced by it for the rest of his life).<sup>16</sup> In its final stanzas Leigh DeNeef has found ‘not merely an exhortation to meditate’, but the reconstructing of ‘a full preparatory meditation in the conventional Loyolan form’, where—as for those exoskeletons we have found in braces on the pages of the *Preces*—‘because these exercises

<sup>13</sup> Mohamed, ‘Renaissance Thought’, pp.572–73. See also Mohamed’s book, *In the Anteroom of Divinity: The Reformation of Angels from Colet to Milton* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p.376. Qtd. Mohamed, ‘Renaissance Thought’, p.575.

<sup>15</sup> Martz, *Poetry of Meditation*, pp.26–27.

<sup>16</sup> Gordon Teskey, ‘A Retrograde Reading of Spenser’s *Fowre Hymnes*’, *Spenser Studies*, 24.1 (2009), 481–97 (p.484).

were so popular during the late sixteenth century, the poet need only reproduce the bare outlines of the meditation in order to direct his readers to the symbolic implications of that form'.<sup>17</sup> 'It will help to remember', DeNeef cautions, 'that the contemplations of poets are never identical to those of saints for the simple reason that the demands of artistic creation are not the same as those of salvation';<sup>18</sup> in drawing out the ecclesiastical intertexts for the 'compartmentalization of public and private worship [...] enacted in the organization of Spenser's hymn sequence', Mohamed notes that 'The difference between Hooker and Spenser, of course, is that Spenser is a poet'.<sup>19</sup> Poetry, though, has ways of speaking back to God-talk.

'More forms and formats of writing contain and make use of diagrammatic features than is generally realised', writes Drucker.<sup>20</sup> As we have seen in the *Preces*, figuring out the Incarnation in the context of devotional reading demands asking questions of words arranged on printed pages about hierarchies, equivalences, linear narrative, all-at-once and how to try to comprehend it. In the *Hymnes* we can begin to ask these questions through a kind of devotional diagrammatics where the forms and their mechanisms are more outwardly 'poetic', and where the braces are all imaginary. A good place to begin in the *HHL* is with the telling of Christ's life and death on earth. Narrative temporalities, here, insist on a right chronology:

Beginne from first, where he encradled was  
In simple cratch, wrapt in a wad of hay

And then—

From thence reade on the storie of his life,  
His humble carriage, his vnfaultry wayes,  
His cancred foes, his fights, his toyle, his strife,  
His paines, his pouertie, his sharpe assayes,  
Through which he past his miserable days,  
Offending none, and doing good to all,  
Yet being malist both of great and small.

---

<sup>17</sup> Leigh DeNeef, 'Spenserian Meditation: The *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*', *American Benedictine Review*, 25.3 (1974), 317–334 (pp.320, 322).

<sup>18</sup> DeNeef, 'Spenserian Meditation', p.321.

<sup>19</sup> Mohamed, 'Renaissance Thought', p.581.

<sup>20</sup> Drucker, 'Diagrammatic Writing', p.91.

And looke at last how of most wretched wights,  
 He taken was, betrayd, and false accused,  
 How with most scornefull taunts, & fell despights  
 He was reuyled, disgrast, and foule abused,  
 How scourgd, how crownd, how buffeted, how brused;  
 And lastly how twixt robbers crucifyde,  
 With bitter wounds through hands, through feet & syde. (32)

Some of these lines, with the *Preces* in mind, one might certainly try reading with invisible braces.

	humble carriage, vnfaulty wayes, cancred foes, fights,	How with most	scornefull taunts, fell despights
His	toyle, strife, paines, pouertie, sharpe assayes,	He was	reuyled, disgrast, foule abused,
He	taken was, betrayd, false accused,	How	scourgd, crownd, buffeted, brused;

**Devotions. 99**

**I** Belceve in God,  
 I. The Father  
 Almighty,  
 Maker of Heaven,  
 of Earth.  
 II. J e s u s Christ,  
 His only begotten  
 Son,  
 Our Lord.  
 † Who  
 was { Conceived by the  
 Holie Ghost,  
 † Born of the ever-  
 virgin Marie,  
 † Suffered under Pon-  
 tius Pilate,  
 was { Crucified,  
 † Dead,  
 † Buried.  
 \* Who

**100 Meditations and**

\* Who  
 † Descended into Hell,  
 † Rose from the Dead,  
 † Ascended into Hea-  
 ven,  
 † Sitteth on the Right  
 hand,  
 † Shal com thence a-  
 gain,  
 † To judg Quick,  
 the Dead.  
 III. The Holie Ghost.  
 The { Holie } Church,  
 { Catho- } lic  
 { Communion of  
 Saints.  
 The Forgiveness of  
 Sins.  
 The Resurrection of  
 the Bodie.  
 The

**Devotions. 101**

**The Life Everlasting.**  
 [The Articles of Christ's  
 † Humiliation,  
 \* Exaltation.]

**A** Nd now what is  
 my Hope?  
 Art not Thou, O  
 Lord?  
 Surely my Hope is  
 from Thee. *Psal.* 39.8.  
 In Thee, O Lord,  
 have I put my trust. *Psal.*  
 38.15.  
 Let me never be con-  
 founded. *Psal.* 25.1.

Let

(Private devotions, F8<sup>r</sup>–F9<sup>r</sup>)

Their organising connectives, however—instructing reading of a story always through progression from one ‘thence’ ‘through which’ to the next, ‘and lastly how’—are, like the small superscript numbers on the *Preces* pages above, insistently diachronic.

If this, towards the end of the hymn, is a telling of the Incarnation by time, *HHL* begins (following the introductory stanzas) with lines which consistently imagine time absolutely as comprehensible only by way of space:

Before this worlds great frame, in which al things  
Are now containd, found any being place,  
Ere flitting Time could wag his eyas wings  
About that mightie bound, which doth embrace  
The rolling Spheres, & parts their houres by space,  
That high eternall powre, which now doth moue  
In all these things, moued in it selfe by loue. (25)

Prepositions in this hymn—in a way which I hope to show is typifying of Spenserian poetics—are insuppressibly ambivalent about space-time and its back-and-forth puns: ‘Before’ a frame, here, ‘houres’ are to be parted ‘by space’; the movement of eternal power is contained within things; Time wags its wings *about* a mighty, embracing bound. In a poem which won’t decide if earthly time is a metaphor for divine space, or space for divine time, God begets of himself an eldest son and heir, and crowns him ‘with equall honour’:

With him he raignd, before all time prescribed,  
In endlesse glorie and immortall might,  
Together with that third from them deriued,  
Most wise, most holy, most almightie Spright (25)

As above, were it not for the fact that we need all the repeated syllables (all the *mosts*) to fill out the stanza’s metre—a nontrivial matter, and one I will come back to in my final chapter—the last of these lines is easy to imagine in synchronic braces. The equal crowning at the end of the previous stanza seems to abjure hierarchy; ‘endlesse’ and ‘immortall’ refuse earthly temporalities—while yet remaining unable, in their situating parenthesis, to stop thinking in terms of ‘time prescribed’, and wondering at the time before it was. ‘Deriued’ has both hierarchy and chronology inscribed in its argumentative movement—readers of all four *Hymnes* have met divine derivations already, in *HB* (here temporal words underlined, spatial in bold):

For when the soule, the which deriued was  
At first, **out of** that great immortall Spright,  
 By whom all liue to loue, whilome did **pas**  
**Downe from the top** of purest heauens **hight**,  
 To be embodied **here**, it then tooke light  
 And liuely spirits **from** that fairest starre,  
 Which lights the world **forth from** his firie carre. (17)

Equal thrones notwithstanding, one element of this version of the poeticised Trinity, where one of three is derived from another, clearly comes ‘first’, and sits (at ‘the top’) higher up. These are legible aspects of diagrammatic writing which our reading, trained by accommodations built of spatial metaphors, finds it very difficult to stop interpreting semantically.

*HB* describes earthly beauty thus:

How vainely then doe ydle wits inuent,  
 That beautie is nought else, but mixture made  
 Of colours faire, and goodly temp’rament  
 Of pure complexions, that shall quickly fade  
 And passe away, like to a sommers shade,  
 Or that it is but comely composition  
 Of parts well measurd, with meet disposition. (15)

By comparison—is the Trinity, or are the attributes of God, a mixture? A composition? A copious list? A disposition? Does ‘a straight account of the Creation, Fall, and Redemption’ properly constitute a linear narrative? Or an image? A diagram? In Book 15 of *De Trinitate*, as Lewis Ayres relates,

Augustine returns a number of times to the same paradox. He lists many attributes of God—eternity, blessedness, and others—gradually whittles his list down to three, and asks, “Is this the Trinity?” The answer is no, simply because this threefold list is also reducible to one[.]<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Lewis Ayres, ‘Augustine on the triune life of God’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, ed. Eleanore Stump and David Vincent Meconi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.61–77 (p.75).



	wise		My	guide	
Most	holy			God	
	almightie	Spright	(25)	victor	
				king	(12)

According to Augustine, ‘The relationships that Father, Son, and Spirit have toward each other are not’, like those of human beings, philosophically ‘accidental’—but rather ‘essential, eternally constitutive’ (this known by theologians as *relatio subsistens*, a ‘subsisting/existing relation’).<sup>22</sup> The unity of the divine three ‘results in a constant harmonious cooperation’, and utter inseparability.<sup>23</sup> Read describes how in his ‘Christ’s bloody sweate’, Robert Southwell—‘the fount and origin of devotional verse’—‘upsets chronological progression in favour of [...] typological logic’—enacting by rhetoric the poet’s belief ‘that Christ’s sacrifice is not a historical event but a present and continuing’—a synchronic—‘reality’.<sup>24</sup> The ‘mystery of the Incarnation’, Robert Carballo says, ‘functions above all other Christian mysteries as both a loose organizational principle and an element of thematic unity in much of Southwell’s work’.<sup>25</sup> Spatially, temporally, and syntactically, the Trinity is a concept we need accommodating help with—and in *HHL*, the organisational principles and the wonted ‘unity’ of Spenserian forms and their temporal narratives test its polyvalencies by diagrammatic poetics.

‘*Space*,’ proffers Anne Prescott—‘Is it homogenous? Are there sacred areas in which space does not behave like secular space?’ Theologians, Prescott is right, ‘knew that there was more than one way to conceive of space’.<sup>26</sup> So do poets. Metaphorical proxemics—in immaterial, imaginary spaces—is a live issue in the study of poetic devotion. Debora Shuger is preoccupied in her pivotal *Habits of Thought* with the problem of perceived distance from God, as is R.V. Young in *Doctrine and Devotion*.<sup>27</sup> Lossky’s Andrewes, too, is much concerned with ‘spatial and extraspatial realms’, with the frightening wordy voids of ‘ex’ and

<sup>22</sup> Ayres, ‘Triune life of God’, pp.70–71. See also Ayres, ‘Christology as Contemplative Practice: Understanding the Union of Natures in Augustine’s Letter 137’, pp.190–211, and Rowan Williams, ‘Augustine’s Christology: Its Spirituality and Rhetoric’, pp.176–89, both in *In the Shadow of the Incarnation: Essays on Jesus Christ in the Early Church in Honor of Brian E. Daley*, ed. Peter Martens (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008).

<sup>23</sup> Ayres, ‘Triune life of God’, pp.67–68.

<sup>24</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, pp.62–63, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Carballo, ‘The Incarnation as Paradox and Conceit in Robert Southwell’s Poetry’, *American Benedictine Review*, 43.3 (1992), 223–32 (pp.224–25).

<sup>26</sup> Anne Lake Prescott, ‘Why Argument over Communion matters to Allegory: Or Why are Catholics like Orgoglio?’, *Reformation*, 6.1 (2002), 163–77 (p.165).

<sup>27</sup> Debora Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), e.g. p.19; Young, *Doctrine and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Poetry*, e.g. p.186.

‘ab’.<sup>28</sup> As Thomas Davis argues of the Reformation’s Calvinist discourse surrounding eucharistic presence, though there is no denying the importance of a ‘strong spatial element’ in Calvin’s writing on the body, on ascension, the space of heaven, ‘there is at least reason to entertain the hypothesis that [he] did not mean space literally’—rather that ‘the talk of such space is actually an accommodated way of reading’.<sup>29</sup> ‘Distance’, here, ‘is a metaphor for separation[:] separation from Christ is not a function of physical removal, but it is that language of physical removal that best conveys to the human mind the reality of separation’.<sup>30</sup>

It follows, I want to argue, that arrangement, or enraungement, in the *Hymnes* functions both as an objective correlative for poetic and narrative beauty, and as an active, teaching instrument of divine poetic accommodation. Borris writes that ‘accommodation’—which he describes as the ‘traditional technique of theological discourse [...] whereby divinity, despite being transcendent, may be provisionally represented to assist human insight’—has been ‘much considered by Miltonists but little as yet by Spenserians’.<sup>31</sup> Divine accommodation as a tool for reading is most often associated with Calvinist exegesis:<sup>32</sup> ‘As nurses commonly do with infants’, Calvin writes in the *Institutes*,

God speaks “baby talk” to us: thus such forms of speaking do not so much express clearly what God is like as accommodate the knowledge of Him to our slight capacity. To do so He must descend far beneath his loftiness.<sup>33</sup>

For thinking out (and justifying thinking out) theological cruxes through literature, such forms of speaking to slight capacities, and their related textual structures, are as useful in the *Hymnes* as in *Paradise Lost*.<sup>34</sup> Among the most oft-quoted lines of the *Hymnes* is this couplet, from *HB*:

---

<sup>28</sup> Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p.56.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Davis, *This is my body: The Presence of Christ in Reformation Thought* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), pp.129, 136.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.136–37.

<sup>31</sup> Borris, *Visionary Spenser*, p.19.

<sup>32</sup> On Calvinist accommodation see Arnold Huijgen, *Divine Accommodation in John Calvin’s Theology: Analysis and Assessment* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); R. Ward Holder, *John Calvin and the Grounding of Interpretation: Calvin’s First Commentaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp.45–50. On the early history of accommodation, see Stephen Benin, *The Footprints of God: Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993).

<sup>33</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.13.1. Qtd. in *Readings in Calvin’s Theology*, ed. Donald McKim, p.29.

<sup>34</sup> On Miltonic accommodation see esp. Paul Cefalu, ‘Incarnational Apophatic: Rethinking Divine Accommodation in John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*’, *Studies in Philology*, 113.1 (2016), 198–228. See also Michael Bryson, ‘The Mysterious Darkness of Unknowing: *Paradise Lost* and the God Beyond Names’, in ‘*Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books*’: *Essays on the 1667 First Edition*, ed. Michael Lieb and John Shawcross (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), pp.183–212; Neil Graves, ‘Milton and the Theory of Accommodation’, *Studies in Philology*, 98.2 (2001), 251–72; Michael Lieb, *Theological Milton: Deity, Discourse, and Heresy in the Miltonic Canon* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2006);

For of the soule the bodie forme doth take:  
For soule is forme, and doth the body make. (17)

This presentation of the soul as pure, creating form—generator of its own lesser formal reflection in the mortal body—and the receptive transitivity of the materialising interface in its rhyming words, is a striking valorisation of accommodatedly perceptible human shapes. ‘If you remoue the forme’, Fraunce’s Ramism has already taught us, ‘it is impossible for the thing formed to consist. Such is euery thing, as the forme permitteth it to bee’.<sup>35</sup> Or perhaps, as the form permitteth our minds to understand, or to learn it. Onwards in this hymn,

Yet oft it falls, that many a gentle mynd  
Dwels in deformed tabernacle drownd,  
Either by chaunce, against the course of kynd,  
Or through vnaptnesse in the substance fownd,  
Which it assumed of some stubborne grownd,  
That will not yield vnto her formes direction,  
But is perform’d with some foule imperfection. (18)

To hold clear of transmogrifying prefixes, the work of forming needs right materials and careful expertise; imperfect performance of unapt substance yields deformed tabernacles which—though dwellings in theory temporary, movable—can be hard to break out of. As we will see, scholarly reception of the *Hymnes* shows unequivocally that the four plus their meta-narrative—as an ‘artistic unity’—ensue a kind of fetishization of form and organised disposition (and an attendant marking of like and different, deformations and lesser shadows) in their reading and its narrative dynamics. ‘Form’, here, has direction; ‘kynd’ has ‘course’.

The first account in the *Hymnes* of ordering and disposing comes in the *Hymne of Loue* (HL), in the wonderful description of the wrangling of fire, earth, air, and water by the God of Love taking his first wandering flight like fresh Eagle through the world.

Then through the world his way he gan to take,  
The world that was not till he did it make;  
Whose sundrie parts he from them selues did seuer,  
The which before had lyen confused euer.

---

C.A. Patrides, ‘Paradise Lost and the Theory of Accommodation’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 5 (1963), 58–63; Joad Raymond, *Milton’s Angels: The Early-Modern Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.162–88; Leland Ryken, *The Apocalyptic Vision in Paradise Lost* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp.7–24.

<sup>35</sup> Fraunce, *Lawiers Logike*, G4<sup>v</sup>.

The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,  
 Then gan to raunge them selues in huge array,  
 And with contrary forces to conspire  
 Each against other, by all meanes they may,  
 Threatning their owne confusion and decay:  
 Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,  
 Till Loue relented their rebellious yre.

He then them tooke, and tempering goodly well  
 Their contrary dislikes with loued meanes,  
 Did place them all in order, and compel  
 To keepe them selues within their sundrie raines,  
 Together linkt with Adamantine chaines;  
 Yet so, as that in euery liuing wight  
 They mixe themselues, & shew their kindly might.

So euer since they firmly haue remained,  
 And duly well obserued his beheast;  
 Through which now all these things that are contained  
 Within this goodly cope, both most and least  
 Their being haue, and dayly are increast (3–4)

‘Raunge’, particularly near ‘array’, is a word which brilliantly might be roving or lining up (although it’s worth remarking that across Spenser’s poetry this is one of the only instances of the latter; the *Faerie Queene*, inevitably, is full of roving). Interacting agents which ‘raunge them selues in huge array’—where ‘them selues’ are push-me-pull-you self-alienating pronouns never quite certain who they are affiliating with<sup>36</sup>—cannot manage well their relationships with one another, and find their differences, in disarray, setting them at conflict and confusion. Arrangement into the good order and disposition of sundry requires a disinterested active party to govern the moving parts.

To ‘relent’—a word which Spenser uses only very rarely as a transitive verb—is to dissolve, melt, soften (melting down in order to harden into adamant). The work of curly-bracket, branching-diagram thinking at the intersection of difference and likeness is figured in this poetry in the active ‘tempering’ of ‘loued meanes’—mediators, channels of communication between unlike elements which console and arbitrate common ground,

---

<sup>36</sup> For another example of this, see below, p.122.

discover similarity. What, once again, is the difference between ‘mixture’, ‘complexion’, ‘composition’, ‘disposition’, and ‘proportion’ (*HB*, 15)? ‘Yet so, as that in euery liuing wight / They mixe themselves’—good mixing here is a question of self-aware separateness: these elements are able eventually to live alongside by knowing in what order to keep themselves discrete, linked with adamantine bonds by being compelled to keep within sundry rains (where ‘rains’ are divisions that run between strips of land, borders of small separate domains: borders, like seams, always join together and keep apart in exactly equal measure). By the time we reach the final *Hymne of Heauenly Beautie* (*HHB*), still arrangement and enrrangement—the skilful setting that makes the jewel<sup>37</sup>—remain the requisites for the ‘true’ perception of the beauty of celestial things. In the true fair of heaven, ‘where happy soules have place’—‘More faire is that, where those *Idees* on hie / Enraunged be, which Plato so admired’ (38).

Form, then, arrangement, is both accommodated and accommodating metaphoric space. Jennifer Downer has written of timekeeping in Herbert that ‘What distinguishes human consciousness from the divine is that God experiences all moments at once’.<sup>38</sup> Are Spenser’s poetic arrangements designed to be experienced synchronically or diachronically, all-at-once, or in a line? Paul Cefalu describes Adam in *Paradise Lost* enacting, or attempting, ‘the step-wise process of Dionysian pedagogy’ whereby, gradually, by degrees, ‘one can progress from [...] shadowy types to truth’.<sup>39</sup> In *HHB*, mounting aloft, ‘by order dew’, we are able at last from up above to ‘looke on the frame / Of this wyde *vniuerse*, and therein reed’—

First th’Earth, on adamantine pillers founded,  
Amid the Sea engirt with brasen bands;  
Then th’Aire still flitting, but yet firmly bounded  
On euerie side, with pyles of flaming brands,  
Neuer consum’d nor quencht with mortall hands;  
And last, that mightie shining christall wall,  
Wherewith he hath encompassed this All. (36)

‘All acquired knowledg’, Ettenhuber quotes Donne writing in the *Essayes*, ‘is by degrees, and successive; but God is impartible, and only faith which can receive it all at once, can

---

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter 1 above, p.50.

<sup>38</sup> Jennifer Downer, ““Disorder’d Clocks”: Time, Grace, and the Mechanics of the Soul in George Herbert’s “Even-song””, *George Herbert Journal*, 38 (2014), 41–53 (p.49). Qtd. Raphael Lyne, ‘Reading for Evidence of Faith in Herbert’s Poems’, *RES* (forthcoming), 1–19 (p.13). See also Max Engammare, *On Time, Punctuality, and Discipline in Early Modern Calvinism*, trans. Karin Maag (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>39</sup> Cefalu, ‘Incarnational *Apophatic*’, p.216.

comprehend him'.<sup>40</sup> By gradual, stepwise climbing, 'First' to 'Then' to 'last', we can begin to conceive reading a divinely encompassed All. This hymn begins with instructions for such learning looking:

Beginning then below, with th'easie vew  
Of this base world, subiect to fleshly eye,  
From thence to mount aloft by order dew,  
To contemplation of th'immortal sky (36)

The hierarchies it teaches us to see are only perceptible 'by degrees', by means of diachronic hindsight comparison:

For farre aboue these heauens which here we see,  
Be others farre exceeding these in light [...]  
  
And as these heauens still by degrees arize,  
Vntill they come to their first Mouers bound,  
That in his mightie compasse doth comprise,  
And carrie all the rest with him around,  
So those likewise doe by degrees redound,  
And rise more faire, till they at last ariue  
To the most faire, whereto they all do striue. (37)

Here Platonic stepladders, their working defined by upward progression, *cannot* function synchronically. Over the course of the next two stanzas we follow from 'Faire is the heauen where happy soules haue place' through to 'More faire is that, where those *Idees* on hie / Enraunged be'—on to 'Yet fairer is the heauen, in which doe raine / The soueraine *Powres*', 'And fayrer yet, whereas the the royall Seates / And heauenly *Dominations* are set': 'These thus in faire each other farre excelling' (38). If in the *Preces* 'great' and 'very great' could not be synonyms, so here pedagogy is by accumulating comparison—perception of each new thing based on knowledge of the previous, the lesson enraunged, diachronically, in right order from one thing to another. Here loving, like looking, also goes by chronological hierarchies. Christ demands nothing back except right (temporal) order of loving:

As he himselfe hath lou'd vs afore hand,  
And bound therto with an eternall band,

---

<sup>40</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, p.129.

Him first to loue, that vs so dearely bought,  
And next, our brethren to his image wrought. (30)

And so too the *Hymnes*' account of the redemption has necessary temporal progression built into it: 'he our life hath left vnto vs free, / Free that was thrall, and blessed that was band' (30). Free>thrall and blessed>band (*both* chronologically and hierarchically—we cannot appreciate the transformation without the untransformed thing first).

Outlining the features of a 'diagrammatic writing space', Drucker explains that if a diagram—in Martin Gardner's formulation—is 'an image that *works*, that does something', 'then it provokes a reader's engagement through its structures and the relations they express'. What is more,

The principles of diagrammatic thinking are not exclusive to graphical expressions[.] [...] A concept of the hierarchy of power relations or kinship relations, for example, can be understood diagrammatically and expressed visually, but the relations of subordination, exclusion, proximity, prohibition and taboo do not depend on graphical forms for either their enactment or their apprehension in a human community.<sup>41</sup>

Liturgy, and prayer, are supposed to *work*, to *do something*, too. And so does poetry. In Ferrell's How-to books, 'Tracing a diagram or unfolding a table created a new relationship, not only between learners and their teachers, but also between Protestants and theological knowledge';<sup>42</sup> as we have seen in English logics, such tables and diagrams need be neither visual nor material. Expressions of the Trinity and the Incarnation are fundamentally concerned with the structures of spatial and temporal kinship relationships which are not necessarily literal (in any way we could really understand it), but rather literary—diagrammatics (hierarchy, proximity, narratology at once synchronic and diachronic) as apparatus of accommodation ('in a human community').

Tim Ingold writes in *Lines* that 'Reading the chart is a matter not of following a storyline but of reconstructing a plot'.<sup>43</sup> In Acheson's second chapter, 'The "Way of Dichotomy"', she reads *Paradise Lost* to outline a relationship between 'a logic of Protestantism' and 'the epistemology of the book', as found in Milton's thought. Dichotomous tables, she argues, are crucial here for comprehending theological cause and effect, and characterising the

---

<sup>41</sup> Drucker, 'Diagrammatic Writing', pp.90–91.

<sup>42</sup> Ferrell, 'How-To Books', p.605.

<sup>43</sup> Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007), p.113.

relationship between plot and narrative.<sup>44</sup> In my fourth chapter I will consider temporally the difference between plot (including dramatic ‘plots’) and narrative in the *Faerie Queene*, by reading the summary ‘Arguments’ at the beginning of each chapter which draw a great extent of action into a small space. By its energetic metaphorical kinetics, I want to argue, Spenserian poetics ‘powerfully instantiates’, as Acheson puts it, ‘central concepts of Protestant theology’.<sup>45</sup> Creation, Fall, and Redemption is sometimes a storyline, for the *Hymnes*’ poetic prayer and the way it aims to catch devotional attention, and sometimes a plot. I want now to take a few steps back, to think about the larger chronology and hierarchy of the *Fowre Hymnes* as a storyline and a plot, and as a devotional poetic whole.

### **All *Fowre Hymnes* at once**

The printed *Preces* and their posthumous afterlives established Andrewes as a foundational figure in the tradition of English private prayer and its critical memories. At once a script and timetable for individual devotional practice, and an insight into Andrewes’s own, they represent—complicatedly—both a way to learn about the writer’s devotional life (a relic of it, to admire), and a manual to begin to imitate it. The *Fowre Hymnes* were printed by William Ponsonby, along with *Daphnida*, in 1596, a year after Southwell—‘precursor of devotional poets’<sup>46</sup>—had been hung, drawn and quartered, proclaiming himself, at his execution, the same age as Jesus Christ. Like the *Preces*, the *Hymnes* play an oddly quiet, bathetic coda to a life’s large writing, somehow proffering and yet never quite making good on a promise to unlock the earlier magnum opus. Ponsonby, moreover—‘one of a rare breed of Elizabethan stationers who blended their commercial instincts with genuine literary discrimination’—strikes quite as interesting a figure as Humphrey Moseley, in the realm of printed design instructing reading.<sup>47</sup> In a case taken up again more recently as part of Fleming’s tripartite investigation into the acrobatic legibility of printers’ flowers,<sup>48</sup> Wendy Wall described in *The Imprint of Gender* how editions of Samuel Daniel’s *Delia* and Spenser’s *Amoretti* for which Ponsonby was responsible in the early 1590s cast printers’ lace as leitmotif of the English sonnet, creating books which spoke their intertextual generic affiliations at a glance, by the

<sup>44</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, pp.51–88 (p.73). For a different (earlier, German) angle, see Berthold Kress, *Divine Diagrams: The Drawings of Paul Lautensack (1477/78–1558)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2014).

<sup>45</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, p.60.

<sup>46</sup> Carballo, ‘Incarnation as Paradox’, p.224.

<sup>47</sup> Michael Brennan, ‘Ponsonby, William’, *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp.554–55 (p.554).

<sup>48</sup> Fleming, ‘How to Look at a Printed Flower’; ‘How Not to Look at a Printed Flower’, *JMEMS*, 38.2 (2008), 345–71; ‘Changed Opinion as to Flowers’, in *Renaissance Paratexts*, pp.48–64.



look of the page.<sup>49</sup> The bulk of Ponsonby's publications around the printing of the *Hymnes* were Protestant tracts and sermons; nonetheless, this volume—'a neat quarto with expensive paper and handsome and clear roman type', 'more carefully printed than any other of Spenser's works printed in his lifetime'—appears, as Hadfield has argued, very much as 'an advertisement of the poet's skill', in 'conspicuously lofty literary form'.<sup>50</sup>

'As early as 1579', Patrick Cheney posits, 'Spenser recognized that writing court poetry would "disillusion" him, and he postulated divine poetry as the "fitt" method for closing his career'.<sup>51</sup> As was clear by the *Preces*' paratexts, as readers and critics we are often inclined to want lasts to mean something—to function as a kind of encapsulated retrospective on what they click shut as a cohesive accumulated writing project. In last works we hope to find 'summes' of a career in texts—compacted, revealing, expandable-out-and-backwards, offering an 'insight' with hindsight 'into [Spenser's] poetic method'.<sup>52</sup> 'Authors', writes Mitchell, 'often have a rather clear and literal picture of where a work fits in their oeuvre or in a family tree of similar modes and genres, and these "career images," from the abstractly diagrammatic to the picturesque, deserve serious investigation at least as heuristic guides'.<sup>53</sup> The career-oriented literary Spenser drawn by Cheney and Richard Helgerson—'convinced of his manifest literary destiny', and who 'sought to manage his publications and their posterity from the *Calender* onward'<sup>54</sup>—is a critical figment which strongly encourages the approaching of a later work as paratextual reading instructions for what came before.<sup>55</sup>

Even bearing this deliberately in mind, just as the *Preces* showed an unusually intimate quotidian portrait of a great preacher at daily prayer, the *Hymnes* is a text which has seemed particularly irresistibly, beyond mere lastness, to have a biographical trajectory of Edmund Spenser, poet, written into it. This is chiefly on account of its dedicatory epistle—the address

---

<sup>49</sup> Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp.23–111. See also Steven Mentz, 'Selling Sidney: William Ponsonby, Thomas Nashe, and the Boundaries of Elizabethan Print and Manuscript Cultures', *Text*, 13 (2000), 151–74; Michael Brennan, 'William Ponsonby: Elizabethan Stationer', *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography*, 7 (1983), 91–110; *Spenser Encyclopedia*, pp.554–55. Steven Galbraith's pioneering work on Spenser and the history of the book sadly stops short of the *Hymnes*.

<sup>50</sup> Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*, p.351; Einar Bjorvand, 'Spenser's Defence of Poetry: Some structural aspects of the *Fowre Hymnes*', in *Fair Forms: Essays in English Literature from Spenser to Jane Austen*, ed. Maren-Sofie Rostvig (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1975), pp.13–53 (p.26).

<sup>51</sup> Patrick Cheney, *Spenser's Famous Flight: A Renaissance Idea of a Literary Career* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p.199.

<sup>52</sup> William Johnson, 'Spenser's "greener" Hymnes and Amoretti: "Retractation" and "Reform"', *English Studies*, 73.5 (1992), 431–43 (p.431).

<sup>53</sup> Mitchell, 'Diagrammatology', p.26.

<sup>54</sup> Borris, 'Reassessing Ellrodt', p.472.

<sup>55</sup> Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System* (London: University of California Press, 1983).

to the Countesses of Warwick and Cumberland at the start of the volume which ‘invites careful parsing, which it has received from almost everyone who has written on the *Hymnes*’.<sup>56</sup> Though quoted, it’s true, at a tellingly high frequency in the relatively small body of *Hymnes* criticism, it is worth having a section of this in front of us:

Hauing in the greener times of my youth, composed these former two Hymnes in the praise of Loue and beautie, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age & disposition, which being too vehemently caried with that kind of affection, do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then hony to their honest delight, I was moued by the one of you two most excellent Ladies, to call in the same. But being vnable so to doe, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolued at least to amend, and by way of retractation to reforme them, making in stead of those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall loue and beautie, two others of heavenly and celestiaall. (Aii<sup>r</sup>)

It is perhaps unsurprising that this short letter has been preoccupying to readers of the *Hymnes*. The critical Spenser figure is definingly a code-writer, and we like having the Harvey letters and the ‘Letter to Raleigh’ on the desk for decryption work, too. Jane Grogan writes of that paratext—exemplary of the fictional familiar letter as ‘stalwart of the humanist genre’—that ‘despite its unstable textual status’ it represents ‘a crucial guide’ to Spenser’s didactic poetics, a ‘miniature exemplification of the improving fictions it espouses’.<sup>57</sup> The *Hymnes*’ epistle, I would argue, contains just such a legible guide to Spenserian devotional poetics.

One of its obvious effects, in the conventional way of paratextual dedications and their teasing situating of writers and their allegories among real networks of friends and flatteries—the ‘Letter to Raleigh’ is sometimes viewed as ‘an interpretational aid that explains the historical allegory [...] in the manner of *roman à clef*’<sup>58</sup>—is to muddle the movements of a real life strangely into poems which do not seem otherwise particularly autobiographical (compared with, say, the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*).<sup>59</sup> However, the *Hymnes*’ epistle is also telling another story at the same time. Setting aside what it might or might not tell us about

---

<sup>56</sup> Quitslund, ‘Thinking’, p.502.

<sup>57</sup> Jane Grogan, *Exemplary Spenser: Visual and Poetic Pedagogy in The Faerie Queene* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp.34, 17.

<sup>58</sup> Andrew Zurcher, ‘Getting it Back to Front in 1590: Spenser’s Dedications, Nashe’s Insinuations, and Raleigh’s Equivocations’, *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 38.2 (2005), 173–240 (p.174).

<sup>59</sup> Though as Richard McCabe notes, ‘Even when couched in the common tropes (and that is precisely what they are) of “affection” or “service”, the mere fact of a dedication does not constitute evidence of a patronal relationship’. *‘Ungainefull Arte’: Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.2.

Spenser's relationship with friends, patrons, publishers, the most important framing proposition here is that of the four poems which follow, the first and second come from the beginning of Spenser's writing life, and the third and fourth from the end, offered in the spirit of reparations for the juvenile poet's unthinking misfirings: where the printed *Preces* involved the words and spaces of their texts into consideration of the time taken reading them (and reading them out) on each reiterative occasion—a developing of that 'self-conscious temporalization of the reading act' described by Ettenhuber in Donne—the epistle to the *Hymnes* insists that we read across what follows the framework of a much more protracted temporal narrative of writing.<sup>60</sup>

Since Robert Ellrodt's 1960 *Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser*—where Ellrodt made the case that Spenser really wrote all four hymns at once, at the time of their publication in 1596—*Hymnes* criticism has situated itself on a spectrum of disagreement as to whether or not the epistle is to be taken seriously as fact. Hadfield's view that it is 'most likely that the story we have here [...] is true and the first two hymns did circulate in manuscript and then were revised to fit into a coherent whole'<sup>61</sup> is one I am happy broadly to follow here—though in no sense as an argumentative sink or swim, and perhaps indeed rather as an argumentative sink or swim that this isn't one at all: while it is clear why the question of the letter's sincerity might have high stakes for critics reading visibly-developing philosophical thinking out of the different hymns into Spenser's other writing, my argument will need to stake equally high that it doesn't matter. Early modern paratexts—from imprints to errata lists—are, frequently, utterly part of the fiction or the poetic.<sup>62</sup> Here's Grogan on the Letter's self-contradictions and false promises, its frequent off-kilter with its own stated story:

[T]o seek strict veracity in a fictional work which openly subjugates historical chronology to the affective liberties of imaginative literature is to miss the point. The Letter's aim, it seems, is not to furnish an accurate *précis* of Spenser's poetics but to entice, poke and point readers towards a deeper understanding of the poetics of the poem [...].<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, p.10.

<sup>61</sup> Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*, p.48.

<sup>62</sup> On imprints see Helen Smith, "'Imprinted by Simeon such a signe': Reading Early Modern Imprints", in *Renaissance Paratexts*, pp.17–33. On errata lists see: Ann Blair, 'Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector', in *Agent of Change*, pp.21–42; Arthur Freeman, 'Octavo Nonce Collections of John Taylor', *The Library*, 5.1 (1963), 51–57; Seth Lerer, *Error and the Academic Self: The Scholarly Imagination, Medieval to Modern* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Smyth, *Material Texts*, pp.75–136.

<sup>63</sup> Grogan, *Exemplary Spenser*, p.33.

Being unprepared to encounter later writing by Spenser under the plausible rubric of this same principle of the ‘value of fiction’ seems at risk of precisely this missing the point. I would like here to take the epistle seriously as a formal framework for the *Hymnes* which, whether truth or fiction, has had enormous consequences for reading them, setting the poetry which follows very much in a story about Spenser’s poetic life which has time and hindsight tacked into it, firmly in a chronological frame of writing styled as crooked diptych—or palimpsest, with the shadows shining through.

This thesis is interested in narratives and presentations of totalizing visions—purporting summations—of textual practice, why they are appealing, what we hope to learn from them, and how they might alter our reading habits. ‘To what extent’, asks Borris, ‘was the full hymnic cycle conceived and published to adjust the reception of his previous publications; to provide a skeleton key to some prior allegorism; or to promote certain kinds of reflection about it?’<sup>64</sup> From within their scholarly niche, the *Hymnes* are widely presented not just as one of the best wrought urns in early modern poetry, but the best wrought urn by an always well-wreaking poet: the epistle allows critics to read across a whole lifetime of poetic vision a poetic sensibility they are already wont to find intensely preoccupied in individual texts by ‘seeking integration of individual consciousness with a world in which flux and cosmic order coexist’. ‘Even when his subject is frustration or fragmentation, Spenser’s poetry is structurally sound and coherent’, writes Quitslund: ‘In the *Hymnes*, if not in all of his works, one gathers that an intuitive sense of the whole preceded his articulation of its parts; all of the pieces take their places within a solid framework, a *kosmos*’.<sup>65</sup>

In a much more manageable space than the *Faerie Queene*—and a much more ostentatiously completed one as against that radical uncompletion—the *Hymnes*, then, are viewed as the totalizing poetic vision of a totalizing poetic visionary. In a consummately formalist reading of the *Hymnes* in 1975, Einar Bjorvand wrote of the epistle (he agreed with Ellrodt that its account ‘should not be taken at face value’) that ‘perhaps its most obvious effect is to put the reader on alert, watching keenly for implicit as well as explicit contrasts and cross-references within the subtly organised structure’.<sup>66</sup> Bjorvand’s reading has been influential, as has his view of the epistle as setting the first two hymns ostensibly apart in a way which in reality binds the whole existing textual object much more strongly together. As an instruction to read with a keen eye for structural patterning, the epistle renders the four poems a kind of New Critical poetic paradigm, ‘concerned’, above all, ‘with [...] artistic

---

<sup>64</sup> Borris, ‘Reassessing Ellrodt’, p.472.

<sup>65</sup> Quitslund, ‘Thinking’, pp.500–01.

<sup>66</sup> Bjorvand, ‘Spenser’s Defence’, pp.13–14.

unity'.<sup>67</sup> 'No less than Eliot's *Four Quartets*', says Quitslund, 'they call for interpretation in their entirety',<sup>68</sup> their 'essential unity and symmetry', in Charles Osgood's view, 'accompanied by an external symmetry'.<sup>69</sup> Cheney sets out the three theories of the *Hymnes* 'system' as 'progressive', 'dialectical' and 'typological'—'All', he writes, 'assert formal unity' of a 'carefully designed, contradictory artefact'.<sup>70</sup> A feat of '*discordia concors*',<sup>71</sup> they are considered a whole literary object whose structure tells a story of exemplary cohesiveness, which asks a reading of extraordinary formal interest.

### **In stead: Forms of poetry and prayer in lieu**

Early modern meditation, as we have already seen, is preoccupied by equivalence and substitution, and fraught by its own shortfalls of bait-and-switch. Prayer—and even more so, devotional poetry—finds itself always in the process of fashioning something to look like something else, in full, and precisely determining, knowledge of the fact that the likeness comes nowhere close. In considering Spenserian grappling with the striving unlikes of prayer and poetry, however, it is important first to acknowledge that—as has been noted by numerous of the *Hymnes*' readers over the years—with the epistle at their head, the *Hymnes* engage first and foremost in a bait-and-switch in somewhat more dubiously the wrong direction. Linda Gregerson begins her parallel reading of Spenser and Milton by scrutinising those 'inoculatory strategies' consciously adopted by English Protestant epics 'to distinguish a poem from an idol'. These include:

(1) the technical retraction or double-edged disclaimer, by means of which the poet at once undermines his fiction and reinforces its capacity to function as truth; (2) the self-reflexive gesture—a broken surface, a failed plot line, a conspicuous imperfection or authorial intervention—that announces the poem's artificial status and disrupts the illusion of wholeness;<sup>72</sup>

'Retraction' in print, a word replete with contradiction in Elizabethan usage, meaning 'a repetition as well as a correction or cancellation',<sup>73</sup> is always, like 'Confutation' and

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.14.

<sup>68</sup> Quitslund, 'Thinking', p.502.

<sup>69</sup> Charles Osgood, 'Spenser's Sapience', *Studies in Philology*, 14.2 (1917), 167–77 (p.167).

<sup>70</sup> See Cheney, *Spenser's Famous Flight*, pp.197–98.

<sup>71</sup> Bjorvand, 'Spenser's Defence', p.46.

<sup>72</sup> Linda Gregerson, *The Reformation of the Subject: Spenser, Milton, and the English Protestant Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.3–4.

<sup>73</sup> David Lee Miller, *The Poem's Two Bodies: The Poetics of the 1590 Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp.11–12.

‘Disputation’, a fallen mode of discourse—however honestly it wishes not to be, always (often knowingly, for all the good it will do), a genre of contagious and corrupted citation and paraphrase, wearily aware of its dependence at foundation on the very text it purports to nullify.

Spenser’s presentation of his own sacred poems in tandem with their profane counterparts in the *Hymnes* seems a less justifiably artless instance of this dilemma than most. In a preface to his first collection which Carballo calls ‘Southwell’s very own “apology for poesy”’,<sup>74</sup> the author opens by describing those ‘Poets’ who,

by abusing their talents, and making the follies and faynings of Loue the customarie subiect of their base endeuours, haue so discredited this facultie, that a Poet, a Louer, and a Lyer, are by many reckoned but three words of one significant.<sup>75</sup>

‘So far’, notes Read of this passage, ‘so reminiscent of Sidney, Aristotle, Plato’.<sup>76</sup> Southwell goes on to say of such good writers wasting their effort that,

because the best course to let them see the error of their workes, is to weaue a new webbe in their owne Loome, I haue here layd a few course threds together, to inuite some skilfuller wits to go forward in the same, or to begin some finer peece, wherein it may be seene how well verse and vertue sute together. Blame me not (good Cousin) though I send you a blame-worthie present: in which the most that can commend it, is the good will of the writer<sup>77</sup>

New webs in a known loom is a nice allegory for teaching by familiar templates. But Spenser’s *Hymnes* seems to offer a more blameworthy present to readers, where the good will of the writer does not seem necessarily available to commend it. Grogan comments of printed prefaces attached proliferatingly to humanist texts that many ‘sit uneasily—even disingenuously—with the works they comment upon’.<sup>78</sup> Whether or not they were really written earlier in Spenser’s life, the ‘greener’ hymns of love and beauty were certainly not published until 1596. As goes too for Herrick’s *Hesperides* (with works ‘both humane and divine’) or Donne’s *Songs and Sonets*—as Osgood noted of the *Hymnes* in 1917, ‘It has been remarked that instead of retracting or suppressing them, [Spenser] gave the two dangerous hymns even wider circulation than before by publishing them, and thus ran some risk of being

---

<sup>74</sup> Carballo, ‘Incarnation as Paradox’, p.226.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Southwell, *St Peters complainte Mary Magdal. teares. With other workes of the author R:S* (London, 1620), A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.40.

<sup>77</sup> Southwell, *St Peters complainte*, A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Grogan, *Exemplary Spenser*, p.37.

charged with insincerity'.<sup>79</sup> Like the damask papers used for censoring, which—as theorised by Fleming—often only drew attention to what they did not ever really hide, here, of the heavenly hymns overwritten on the earthly ones, 'not one so obscures the characters that nothing of the underlying text can be read'.<sup>80</sup>

One way we might understand this outrageous apophasis is as something more like an enacting, on the larger scale of a whole printed volume, of the metanoietic conversions, conversations and self-corrections that Read discovers speaking devotion in Herbert, where *metanoia* is 'a term not just of rhetoric but of theology'—'More than a penitent impulse, in other words: a fundamental cognitive reorientation'.<sup>81</sup> Spenser is more of a storyteller than Herbert is, with much more invested in the time-taking of narrative poetics. In offering the sacred hymns as a visible correction of the prophane ones, Spenser implicates readers in the narrative of a 'poetry of process' which, like Read's devotional *metanoia*, and Molly Murray's 'poetics of conversion', 'allows the poet to illustrate a process of emendation without entirely performing it: the erroneous element, for all that it has been corrected, remains'.<sup>82</sup>

Spenser's complicated act of written 'retractation' in the *Hymnes* (very different, goes the argument, from a simple 'recantation'—although it's also true that 'retractation or recantation' or 'recantation and retractation' are quite stuck-together in early modern usage)<sup>83</sup> has often been compared to Augustine's *Retractionum libri duo*—'the primary exemplar of [a] nuanced textual action [...] involving correction and revision'.<sup>84</sup> The copy in Pembroke Library of Erasmus's 1529 ten-volume edition of Augustine's works (which, overtaking Johannes Amerbach's 1505–06 *opera omnia* became the standard early modern edition of Augustine) had already been donated to the college by the time Spenser arrived in Cambridge.<sup>85</sup> This work is a chronological list by Augustine of his own works in the order he

<sup>79</sup> Osgood, 'Spenser's Sapience', p.167.

<sup>80</sup> Fleming, 'Damask Papers', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten*, pp.179–93 (p.183).

<sup>81</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.101.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp.102–3. See also Stephen Buhler, 'Pre-Christian Apologetics in Spenser and Sidney: Pagan Philosophy and the Process of Metanoia', *Spenser Studies*, 13 (1999), 223–43.

<sup>83</sup> Robert Cawdry's *Table Alphabeticall* (London, 1609) lists 'retract' simply as 'recant', and 'recant' as 'recantation' as 'an vnsaying of that which was before said' (H2<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>84</sup> Matthew Zarnowiecki, 'Spenser's Angels: Salvation, Retracting, and Superhuman *Poiesis* in *Fowre Hymnes*', *Spenser Studies*, 30.1 (2015), 75–103 (p.81).

<sup>85</sup> On this copy of Augustine, Erasmus's arrangement of it and Spenser's reading of it, see James Schiavone [sic, actually Schiavoni], 'Spenser's Augustine', *Spenser Studies*, 20 (2005), 277–81. Schiavoni discusses 'an Augustinian paradox of free will coexisting with predestination' reflected in the *Faerie Queene* (p.280). Schiavoni's article on free will is 'Predestination and Free Will: The Crux of Canto Ten', *Spenser Studies*, 10 (1992), 175–95. On early modern editions of Augustine more generally, see Katrin Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, pp.30–43, and Arnoud Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: the Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

thought he wrote them, with summaries. Erasmus in his complete edition moved the *Retractions* to the front of the book (putting the *Confessions* second). Following ‘the pronouncement of the Apostle when he says: “If we judged ourselves, we should not be judged by the Lord”’, Augustine begins the prologue to the *Retractions* like this:

For a long time I have been thinking about and planning to do something which I, with God’s assistance, am now undertaking because I do not think it should be postponed: with a kind of judicial severity, I am reviewing my works—books, letters, and sermons—and, as it were, with the pen of a censor, I am indicating what dissatisfies me. For, truly, only an ignorant man will have the hardihood to criticize me for criticizing my own errors. But if he maintains that I should not have said those things which, indeed, dissatisfied me later, he speaks the truth and concurs with me. In fact, he and I are critics of the same thing, for I should not have criticized such things if it had been right to say them.<sup>86</sup>

Where Spenser was moved to call in his earlier poems—and being unable to do so, ‘by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad’, resolved instead ‘at least to amend, and by way of retraction to reforme them’—Augustine says he has decided ‘to write this work that I might put it into the hands of men from whom I cannot recall for correction the writings I have already published’.<sup>87</sup> In the work of the *Retractions*, Miller writes, ‘Augustine sought to consolidate his diverse writings into an “authorized” corpus, purged of heterodoxy and chronologically ordered to reveal a continuous progress toward a perfect apprehension of the body of Christian truth’. He can correct the errata of his teaching ‘only by repeating the gesture that produced them’.<sup>88</sup> Interestingly—at slight remove from the devotional poet’s apologetic topos though still within the metanoietic realm, Augustine notes of his works written while a catechumen: ‘although I [...] was still puffed up with the usages of secular literature’, of these

many continue to be read with profit if some errors are overlooked [...] Let those therefore, who are going to read this book not imitate me when I err, but rather when I

---

<sup>86</sup> Augustine, *The Retractions*, trans. Mary Inez Bogan (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1968), p.3. Stylistically, I find this translation preferable to the more recent *Revisions (Retractiones)*, trans. Boniface Ramsey, ed. Roland Teske (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2010).

<sup>87</sup> Augustine, *Retractions*, p.5.

<sup>88</sup> Miller, *Two Bodies*, p.9, 11. On Augustine, see especially pp.9–12. On ‘The Retraction of Redcrosse’ in the *Faerie Queene*, see pp.82–92.



progress toward the better. For, perhaps, one who reads my works in the order in which they were written will find out how I progressed while writing.<sup>89</sup>

The chronological narrative of the whole, in other words, is worth reading not in spite but *because* of the too-earthly concerns of the earlier writings, and their visible difference from the later when all are set in juxtaposed, hierarchical coincidence. Here, as Ettenhuber finds in Donne's *Essayes*, 'professional self-fashioning and inward contemplation are inextricably interlinked'.<sup>90</sup>

In the *Hymnes*, Matthew Zarnowiecki argues, 'In representing and enacting both doubt and textual revision, and in creating a hybrid work, Spenser [...] engages in what I am calling a "superhuman poiesis"'.<sup>91</sup> This Spenserian idea of 'reformation'—'not corrective but additive: his second thoughts don't reject the first, but dilate upon them'<sup>92</sup>—also becomes a way of drawing attention to poetic form, and its particular powers for directing concentration. Where the *Preces*' mise-en-page retained visual memories of its ghostly predecessors and their instructions for kinds of reading, the *Hymnes*—two earthly poems' ostentatious overwriting by two heavenly ones—stand more obvious prototype for Martz's and Tuve's 'art of sacred parody', 'the campaign to convert the poetry of profane love into poetry of divine love'.<sup>93</sup> Martz and Tuve locate sacred parody definingly in Southwell and Herbert.<sup>94</sup> Though neither apply the idea to Spenser, it seems hard to imagine an apter space than the *Hymnes* for considering the possibility, and the workings, of amendment by formal usurpation—even, unprecedentedly in this case, the sacred parody amendment of *one's own prior work*. Quitslund writes that,

The second pair of hymns makes claims of a different sort on a reader's faith. Their frame of reference is more devotional than mythological and philosophical: reading them in concert with the author's intention requires a commitment to something beyond a suspension of disbelief.<sup>95</sup>

I think that this is right, and also that we could press the point still further: the second pair of hymns—in concert with the first pair, and with the author's paratextually stated intention—

---

<sup>89</sup> Augustine, *Retractions*, p.5.

<sup>90</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, p.109.

<sup>91</sup> Zarnowiecki, 'Angels', pp.78, 81.

<sup>92</sup> Quitslund, 'Thinking', p.502.

<sup>93</sup> Martz, *Poetry of Meditation*, p.184.

<sup>94</sup> Though both have written on Spenser elsewhere. See for a start Martz, 'Spenser's Amoretti: "Most Goodly Temperature"', in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Essays on Literature and Art* (London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp.100–14; Tuve, *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: Spenser, Herbert, Milton*, ed. Thomas Roche (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

<sup>95</sup> Quitslund, 'Thinking', p.503.

make claims on a reader's faith which are based in the conviction that poetry is a worthwhile way of learning to think, and specifically a worthwhile way of learning to think faith. Taken all four at once, the *Hymnes* coach a devotional cognition which demands confidence in and commitment to the value of literary reading as a basis for the work of religious belief and accommodated understanding.

Read writes of Herbert's metanoia that:

The corrective turn is not [...] simply an expression of humility, an acceptance of the possibility of human error; it facilitates a duality of thought which is neither tentative nor evasive, but creative.<sup>96</sup>

Dualities of thought are just what we need for thinking through the Trinity, as best we can by 'mediated, fallen modes of human knowledge'.<sup>97</sup> Spenser's deliberative reconditioning of old forms with new matter, as an ostensible act of denouncement, says something interesting and not very easy about his conception of poetic structures as containing and performing cognitive process. Miller argues that Spenser's 'retractation' 'perfectly expresses the metaleptic relation between the heavenly hymns and the earthly model they purport to imitate, correct, *and* supplant in a single gesture'.<sup>98</sup> Does it speak a belief in the possibility of that dual thinking which prayers in braces made incontrovertible and the kind of devotional diagrammatics the Incarnation most requires? Possibly. Depending on which direction we rehearse the argument, this possibility entails either the radical success of the *Hymnes*' pedagogy (post-*Hymnes*, all subsequent reading of love poetry becomes effective meditation upon the Fall and the Incarnation, and God's greater glory)—or, alternatively, not taking Spenser at his word at all (all meditations after the Fall cannot help but ring still corruptedly with earthly desires and distractions). This, of course, is always the sacred parody conundrum. This version is also more like 'multiplicity' than 'duality'. Tuve argues that 'any poem is, like a song, monodic'; 'Form,' she claims, 'can straddle two worlds without tension; it is conceptual identifications [...] which bring in the likelihood of ambiguous doubleness'.<sup>99</sup> Both of these statements are patently untrue.

Taking, for the moment, the former option (the *Hymnes* as successful pedagogical mechanism) in good faith, I would argue that the four poems as a coherent poetic system—as 'carefully designed, contradictory artefact', two earthly, two heavenly—constitute an

---

<sup>96</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.125.

<sup>97</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, p.16.

<sup>98</sup> Miller, *Two Bodies*, p.80.

<sup>99</sup> Rosemond Tuve, 'Sacred "Parody" of Love Poetry, and Herbert', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), 249–90 (pp.282, 265).

important statement about how to enable improving duality of thought through writing. (Divinely accommodating) meditation is concerned with furnishing a cranial space (mortal, postlapsarian) which, though unavoidably compromised, can be good enough. Spenser's self-sacred-parody in the *Hymnes* approaches the challenge of spiritual exercises with a particularly literary version of the very strategy of formalist pedagogy I found in my first chapter at work in the braced diagrams of the printed *Preces*: I see you have a space you like for thinking in; let me try helping you put this learnt capacity to better use. And while we're about it, with your literary reading on, we might begin to puzzle out some of the theological cruxes in what needn't be the oxymoron of a thinking faith. 'The dense "literariness" of such poetry [...] does not indicate a lack of intense or sustained engagement with religious controversy and conflict', Murray writes of 'especially the metaphysical poetry of Donne and Crashaw[,] perhaps the most ostentatiously "stylish" writing produced in the period'.<sup>100</sup> In Read's words, 'a trope or figure'—or a rhyme scheme, or an enjambed syntactical turn—'does not simply express a thought or belief that has already been had, and which is reducible to some literal paraphrase, but *constitutes* it—has in itself a form of cognitive content'.<sup>101</sup> Reading Donne reading Augustine in *Biathanatos*, Ettenhuber suggests that we might, 'At the risk of frivolity', call this text 'a serious exercise in moral and hermeneutic calisthenics'.<sup>102</sup> When Spenser 'corrects' *HL* by overwriting it (though still including it) with 'a straight account of the Creation, Fall, and Redemption, such as any child in a Christian family learns before he is twelve', by presenting the story in literary shapes and drawing attention to their recycled—beautiful, accommodating—forms he is both enacting and enabling (*constituting*) involved cognitive interrogations of faithful cruxes, both performing and instructing serious exercise in calisthenics poetic and devotional.

### **loue, like, kindness: Gifts and Imitation**

In Carol Kaske's images *in bono* and *in malo*, and Gregerson's 'instances' and 'counterinstances', we have a number of critical precedents for using structures learnt by reading scripture to read between the lines of *Faerie Queene* dichotomies.<sup>103</sup> In the *Hymnes*, too, the power of contrast by immediate, juxtaposing relation—when the text is all four poems at once, in a volume, as an 'artistic unity'—should not be overlooked: as heavenly

---

<sup>100</sup> Murray, *Poetics of Conversion*, p.4.

<sup>101</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.7.

<sup>102</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, p.160.

<sup>103</sup> Carol Kaske, *Spenser and Biblical Poetics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp.18–64; Gregerson, *Reformation of the Subject*, pp.7–8.

lights make earthly shimmers seem shadows, next to less holy verses, even moderately holy ones appear more so. We need both at once, then, side by side (synchronic), but we also need the metanoietic narrative movement from one to another (diachronic). Zarnowiecki's 'superhuman poesis' presents the idea that 'retractation is essential to the poem because it is an action that defines the human for Spenser':<sup>104</sup> in a space for contemplating incarnation and redemption, performative literary enactments of 'in lieu' and 'in stead'—of simile, translation, sacred parody—are worth paying attention to. This is not a text interested only by way of poetry in the changing shape of things, the comparing of earthly, heavenly, and human, sacrifice, inadequacy, the offering of one much better thing in place of or exchange for another.

This thesis has been interested from the start in reading by economies and their balance-sheets—in equivalence and changing shapes, the tricks and compromises involved in equivocating with time, and making something take up less space for more profit. The 'economy of salvation'—from the Greek *oikonomia*, meaning 'the way in which one's affairs are ordered'—describes a transaction by which God offers the means of salvation through faith in Christ, and human beings accept it through reason.<sup>105</sup> The phrase is traced by theologians to the fourth book of Irenaeus of Lyons' *Against Heresies*, and is useful for thinking out our relationship to the Trinity, and the nature—and the quotidian responsibilities—of human gratitude. If the *Hymnes*' poetic humilities seem sometimes kin with homiletic accommodation, at other times they prove a useful space for playing out the anxieties and machinations of inadequate prayer. If there is always some question about 'sacred parody', or poetry, as offered in place, 'in stead', of prayer—in a wider sense all prayer is already to great extent as 'in lieu' of a response it is never capable of fulfilling: amidst the unmistakable Spenserian allegorical figurations of self-illuminating lights, darker images, glittering reflections, it is not just that poetry is always a shadow of prayer, or that earthly hymns are shadows of divine ones—rather, prayer itself is always a kind of shadow.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> Zarnowiecki, 'Angels', p.75.

<sup>105</sup> Alister McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp.250–52 (p.251).

<sup>106</sup> On wider early modern and specifically Spenserian shadows, see Joseph Campana, 'Of Echo and Shadow: Reading John Hollander', *Spenser Review*, 48.1.15 (Winter 2018) <<http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/item/48.1.15>> [accessed 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019], n.p.; Joanna Craigwood, 'Diplomatic Metonymy and Antithesis in *3 Henry VI*', *RES*, 65.272 (2014), 812–30; Anthony Gash, 'Shakespeare's Comedies of Shadow and Substance: Word and Image in *Henry IV* and *Twelfth Night*', *Word and Image*, 4 (1988), 626–62; John Hollander, *The Substance of Shadow: A Darkening Trope in Poetic History*, ed. Kenneth Gross (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), ch.2.

‘What manner of thing’, Gregerson asks, ‘is a “likeness”?’<sup>107</sup> What efforts of likeness, I’d like to add, are like enough? When ought they, and when ought they not to be? Praise in the *Hymnes* often specifically characterises itself as an ‘in lieu’, a placeholding promise. *HL* ends with a hopeful petition for a happier future (does Spenser reach it, two hymns later?) in which the poet—unhampered by preoccupying pains and woes—would at last find himself able to ‘sing of thine immortall praise’,

An heauenly Hymne such as the Angels sing,  
 And thy triumphant name then would I raise  
 Boue all the gods, thee onely honoring,  
 My guide, my God, my victor, and my king;  
 Till then, dread Lord, vouchsafe to take of me  
 This simple song, thus fram’d in praise of thee. (12)

As David Marno has set out in relation to Donne’s writing, prayer finds itself often and problematically conflating praise with thanksgiving (as the pages of the *Preces* conflate thanksgiving with obedience) in response to Christianity’s radical disruption of the human gift economy. Large, unreciprocable gifts, Marno explains, always ‘pose a challenge [to] participation in the symbolic economy of the gift’. ‘Such a gift threatens to break the continuity of giving, receiving, and returning’, and hence ‘thanksgiving’ in such cases is ‘charged with a double task: it has simultaneously to acknowledge the interruption of the gift’s “natural” cycle and to reinstate it by replacing a return gift with the symbolic gift of the praise itself’; thus thanksgiving ‘turns into praise and reinstates the cycle of the gift by doing so’. But—

at the very beginning of Christianity, there is an attempt to radically interrupt the cycle, to cancel out the obligation for the rest of human history: Paul’s message of grace is a message about a free gift, a gift that was not deserved, because it could not have been deserved, and will not be reciprocated, because by definition cannot be reciprocated.<sup>108</sup>

In Cummings’s words, ‘The representation of grace’ in sixteenth-century writing ‘collapsed in on itself in the attempt to render it as [...] a radical, eschatological expression of God’s free gift’. ‘If grace is not free’, Cummings writes, ‘grace is not grace; such has been the self-negating formula since Paul to the Romans’—and it becomes, as such, ‘at once invisible trace

<sup>107</sup> Gregerson, *Reformation of the Subject*, p.20.

<sup>108</sup> Marno, *Death*, pp.60–61, 63.

and dangerous supplement, simultaneously grammatological and illegible'.<sup>109</sup> The *Hymnes*, I propose, contemplates poetically how a narrative of Christianity's 'unspeakable gift' has to be able to express by its structures a textual interaction essentially framed as exchange—of call and response, forth-and-back-and-forth, even dialogue—which never balances the double entry. Wilcox writes that 'the act of praying is [...] implicitly reciprocal', and 'The experience of prayer is the completion of a circle'<sup>110</sup>—but it is also an experience utterly underlined by the impossibility of reciprocation, completion, equivalence, or equilibrium.

In his recent study of print and patronage, Richard McCabe has argued for the 'inapplicability' of the work of Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu—and their 'systems of "generalized exchange" or "gift economy"'—for constructing a notion of the gift properly relevant for thinking with early modern writers and their aesthetic sensibilities. 'Even by the time of ancient Greece and Rome', McCabe writes, 'the nature of "reciprocation" was severely problematized and the relationship between giving and selling a matter of debate'.<sup>111</sup> Jennifer Richards writes of the Harvey-Spenser epistles that 'a letter functions as a gift; it demands a return salutation. By virtue of writing a letter, especially with a personal address, an interlocutor is engaging in a trusting, social relationship'.<sup>112</sup> In the grain of Spenser's poetry we can find another important way of thinking through the literary-devotional gift cycle which demands a return, and its tricky likes and dislikes.

In the *Hymnes*, I want to argue, the same words, repeated, often mean something completely different the second or third time around. Or rather, they mean the difference. 'As human beings should know well enough', writes Ayres out of Augustine, 'learning to love [...] always carries with it the darker presence of promises unfulfilled, misjudgments, and heartbreak caused':<sup>113</sup> visible likeness in *HHL*—and indeed the *Hymnes* entire—seems often above all to perform a particular devotional non-reciprocation by critical verbs and nouns. 'Mice most assuredly sounds like mice', W.K. Wimsatt quoted T. Walter Herbert writing, in 'One Relation of Rhyme to Reason'—but the ear, and more importantly (said Wimsatt) the *mind* asks, 'what of it?'<sup>114</sup> However much readers of the *Hymnes* may try 'All other loues' to 'renounce and vtterly displace, / And giue thy selfe vnto him full and free, / That full and

---

<sup>109</sup> Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, pp.49–50.

<sup>110</sup> Wilcox, 'Performing Prayer', p.156.

<sup>111</sup> McCabe, 'Ungainefull Arte', p.2. See Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls, (London: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>112</sup> Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, p.123.

<sup>113</sup> Ayres, 'Triune life of God', p.72.

<sup>114</sup> W.K. Wimsatt, 'One Relation of Rhyme to Reason: Alexander Pope', *MLQ*, 5.3 (1944), 323–38 (p.324). See also Ants Oras, 'Intensified Rhyme Links in "The Faerie Queene": An Aspect of Elizabethan Rhymecraft', *JEGP*, 54.1 (1955), 39–60.

freely gaue himselfe to thee' (33), here, crucially, 'giue' can never reciprocate 'giue', and 'loue' never equals 'loue'. Again and again in this poem, amidst language of debts, prices, estimations and 'approving', successions of 'loue' and 'loue' proceed one another across and up-and-down the page, seeming like, never correlating or corroborating:

Yet nought thou ask'st in lieu of all this loue,  
But loue of vs for guerdon of thy paine. (30)

'Guerdon'—as either noun or verb—is 'reward, requital, or recompense';<sup>115</sup> it is a word entangled in desert and deserving, which keeps accounts, and complicates theological reckoning. Spenser uses it throughout his career, including many times in the *Faerie Queene*. Often, Spenserian 'guerdon' is, as here, associated with grace and grief (see *Colin Clout*), or pain (see the *Complaints*). In 'November' of the *Shepheardes Calender*, it appears apparently positively in its first instance (as gain, and gift, compensation):

The fayrest May she was that euer went,  
Her like shee has not left behind I weene.  
And if thou wilt bewayle my wofull tene:  
I shall thee giue yond Cosset for thy payne:  
And if thy rymes as rownd and rufull bene,  
As those that did thy *Rosalind* complayne,  
Much greater gyfts for guerdon thou shalt gayne,  
Then Kidde or Cosset, which I thee bynempt:

E.K. glosses this 'guerdon' as 'Guerdon) reward' but then goes on to use the word troublingly differently in the gloss to the emblem:

Which is as much to say, as death biteth not. [...] For though the trespasse of the first man brought death in to the world, as the guerdon of sinne, yet being ouercome by the death of one, that dyed for al, it is now made (as Chaucer sayth) the grene path way to lyfe.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> 'guerdon, n.', *OED* <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/82234?result=1&rskey=r2oE9d&>> [accessed 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019].

<sup>116</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The shepheardes calender conteyning twelue aeglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes [...]* (London, 1579), pp.45, 48.

How to understand ‘loue for guerdon of thy paine’, where sometimes ‘guerdon’ is great gifts won by rhyming, and sometimes ‘death’ is the ‘guerdon of sin’? Too straightforwardly transactional, ‘guerdon’, either way, has little properly to do with grace.<sup>117</sup>

It is worth quoting at some length and thinking in some detail about *HHL*’s setting-out of instructions for the order of our engagement in this broken gift cycle of non-reciprocal loving:

Him first to loue, great right and reason is,  
Who first to vs our life and being gaue;  
And after when we fared had amisse,  
Vs wretches from the second death did saue;  
And last the food of life, which now we haue,  
Euen himself in his deare sacrament,  
To feede our hungry soules vnto vs lent.

Then next to loue our brethren, that were made  
Of that selfe mould, and that selfe makers hand,  
That we, and to the same againe shall fade,  
Where they shall haue like heritage of land,  
How euer here on higher steps we stand;  
Which also were with selfe same price redeemed  
That we, how euer of vs light esteemed.

And were they not, yet since that louing Lord  
Commaunded vs to loue them for his sake,  
Euen for his sake, and for his sacred word,  
Which in his last bequest he to vs spake,  
We should them loue, & with their needs partake;  
Knowing that whatsoere to them we giue,  
We giue to him, by whom we all doe liue.

Such mercy he by his most holy reede  
Vnto vs taught, and to approue it trew,  
Ensampled it by his most righteous deede,

---

<sup>117</sup> On Spenser’s engagement in the *Faerie Queene* with ‘the true extent of human autonomy in relation to God’s power’, particularly in relation to Pelagianism in the Reformation and its poetry, see James Ross Macdonald, ‘The Redcrosse Knight and the Limits of Human Holiness’, *Spenser Studies*, 30.1 (2015), 113–31 (p.114); Schiavoni, ‘Predestination and Free Will’. On ‘rustic Pelagianism’ see Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p.37.



Shewing vs mercie miserable crew,  
 That we the like should to the wretches shew,  
 And loue our brethren; thereby to approue,  
 How much himself that loued vs, we loue. (31)

As we have seen in the *Preces*, liturgical reading has clocks and calendars built into it: we are bound to imitate (however latterly and lesserly) both hierarchy and chronology of the love we have received by answering ‘first’ with ‘first’ (and ‘after’ with ‘after’, ‘next’ with ‘next’). By an outside-in double Spenserian syntax which only poetry’s dualities of thought in lines and measures can hold persuasively together-and-apart, God, in the first two lines above, is rendered rubric, object, and example: great right and reason—justice and rationality—it is to love him first, indeed, as he did us; and to love, first, him, who is himself great right and reason. Glossing tangles one into endless commas and parentheses; Spenser’s lines hold the binding paradoxes and oxymorons of faith instant. That God’s love shows us whom and how by being itself the rule book manifests a difficult transitivity whereby the object and the direct object pronoun are both the verb too, ‘simultaneously grammatological and illegible’.<sup>118</sup>

‘There is something odd or unusual about the conduct of language when it is used for religious purposes’:<sup>119</sup> here again, for comparison, is the penultimate stanza of Southwell’s ‘The Natiuitie of Christ’, which was my epigraph:

Gift better then him selfe, God doth not know:  
 Gift better then his God, no man can see;  
 This gift doth here the giuer giuen bestow;  
 Gift to this gift let each receiuer bee.  
 God is my gift, himselfe he freely gaue me;  
 Gods gift am I, and none but God shall haue me.<sup>120</sup>

This painful polyptotonising—its claustrophobic lexicon, and the bewildering hugeness of too much it has to mean, the battering pinballing between the verbs and nouns of giving, gift, given, giver, and the inescapable inadequacy and limitless gratitude of speaking the role of receiver in such language games—is in Spenser too. Though participation in the gift economy is entirely reliant on reflection and imitation, still an echo is not usually a satisfactory answer.

<sup>118</sup> Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, p.50.

<sup>119</sup> Merrill, *Christian Criticism*, p.24.

<sup>120</sup> Southwell, *Saint Peters complaynt*, G1<sup>v</sup>.

The impossible prayer-logic of this intransitive transitivity also makes the dance between ‘giving’, ‘lending’, and ‘having’—and their temporalities—interesting here. How to move the unanswerable, unspeakable gift around? ‘The food of life’, says this hymn, ‘now we haue / Euen himselfe in his deare sacrament, / To feede our hungry soules vnto vs lent’: our life, having been given as gift, and its sustenance, we *have now* (and is this now for always?); our souls are only lent us (is this different from ‘having now’?).

The meanes therefore which vnto vs is lent,  
Him to behold, is on his workes to looke

Although the borrowing economy is definitely distinct from the gift one—entailing a different kind of indebtedness—there seems, too, a sense in which it might, in fact, more accurately resemble the workings of grace. Read and Moshenska have discussed the rhetorical sleight of hand of Thomas Cranmer’s ‘as it were’ which evades and obscures an absolute positioning on the believer’s literal-metaphorical sensory relation to the physical God through the sacraments.<sup>121</sup> Spenser’s ‘Euen himselfe’ seems also to contain a lot of poetical eucharistic thinking-out—meaning, perhaps, at once any or all of: equally, evenly, as much himself in the sacrament as when plainly the ‘Eternall King of glorie, Lord of might’; exactly, precisely himself there. ‘Euen’ is both spatial and temporal (‘even now’, ‘even by’: close at hand and always simultaneous). Spenser in his wider poetry uses all these kinds of evens. ‘To even himself’, with gifts and debts in mind, also lingers. Getting even, we never can.

Thinking about the eucharist is further entangled here by the complicated work Spenser does in this passage—but also elsewhere in the *Hymnes*, and notoriously in the *Faerie Queene*—with pronouns. Cummings has described Luther’s ‘delicate use of relative pronouns’ as an instance of grammar providing ‘something more than a metaphor for [...] theological argument’, rather a means to figure and comprehend theological relation by way of the logical and syntactical.<sup>122</sup> ‘Selfe’, ‘we’, ‘they’ are not clear pointers in the *Hymnes*: our brethren, in the second stanza above, whom we must love ‘next’ (and also ‘next to’)—with spatial-metaphorical hierarchies and status reorientations of page and poetry always still in play—were made of ‘that selfe [same]’ mould as us—but also of a mould of ‘that selfe’ which is the ‘[him]selfe’ of the line above. By this anaphoric ellipsis, ‘self’ stands confusingly for ‘God’; this is paranomasia thrumming with difficult thinking about resemblance and non-identity.

<sup>121</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.25; Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures*, pp.37–41.

<sup>122</sup> Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, pp.95, 85.

As this stanza proceeds, the repeated ‘That we’ at the beginning of the third and seventh lines—as ‘them selues’ in *HHL*<sup>123</sup>—becomes an amazingly knotty form of distancing identification. In both its iterations, this construction might gloss most simply, in theory, as an elided ‘that/as we [were]’ (‘our brethren, made of the same mould and by the same hand as we were; redeemed with the self-same price that we were’). Actually, the poem’s formal expectations make it difficult to read the syntax like this: in a stanza which, as following one concerned with addressing the nature of ‘God’, now turns to ‘our brethren’ (‘Him first’, ‘Then next’), we read these two words at the start of lines much more naturally as a whole syntactic object fraught by a double deixis pointing in two directions at once—‘That we’, at once both them and us, away from, and towards, ourselves. We look like them, however we may stand on higher steps, and share their history however we esteem them light. How like is ‘like heritage’; how similar ‘the same againe’? These are the *Hymnes*’ strange mirrors and reflections. And here again—

254 *Meditations and*

Remember not, Lord,  
our offenses, nor the of-  
fenses of our Forefa-  
thers, neither take Thou  
vengeance on our sins;  
on { Their,  
Mine;  
Spare us, good Lord;  
Spare { Them,  
Me;  
Spare Thy people;  
and, in Thy people, Me  
Thy servant, whom  
Thou hast redeemed  
with Thy pretious  
Blood; and be not an-  
grie with us, forever.  
Be merciful,  
Be merciful,  
Spare us, O Lord,  
And be not angrie  
with

*Devotions* 255

with us, for ever.  
Be merciful,  
Be merciful,  
Have mercie on us,  
O Lord,  
And be not angrie  
with us verie fore,  
Not verie fore,  
O Lord.  
Deal not with me ac-  
cording to my sins;  
Neither reward me af-  
ter mine iniquities.  
But deal with me ac-  
cording to Thy great  
mercie,  
And reward me after  
the multitude of Thy  
compassions.  
Even according to  
that great mercie;  
N 2 And

(Private devotions, N1<sup>v</sup>–N2<sup>r</sup>)

Neither take Thou vengeance on our sins; on Their/Mine; Spare us good Lord; Spare Them/Me. Spare Thy people; and, in Thy people, Me. The handing-on of ‘loue’ to these

<sup>123</sup> See p.99 above.

same-not-quite-same brethren (Them/Me, ‘That we’) is a kind of displacing along the same lines as Marno’s disrupted poetic praising. ‘Knowing that whatsoere to them we giue, / We giue to him, by whom we all do liue’: that which we could never reach up to Christ, we must pass sideways instead (horizontal, adjacent, on the same level: ‘next to loue’ as ‘next-to loue’)—and the transformation that happens in the enjambment of the anadiplosis is just what happens when imitative iteration moves down a hierarchical rank. We know we are like God but less so—and should strive to be liker; we perceive we are like others on our level, and yet cannot help but wish ourselves superior. ‘*That we, how euer of us light esteemed*’—they are us, and we must love them nonetheless.

If the first stanza sets out God’s gifts and lendings to us, and the second and third that displaced, inadequate reciprocation which holds the performance of the gift-giving cycle shakily together, the final stanza of this page is about both how this performance is enabled, and what it productively enables, as a pedagogy for living. This is the way that loving others as redirected reciprocation might, it seems, plausibly do some good. In the whorly final couplet, God shows us an example of mercy:

That we the like should to the wretches shew,  
And loue our brethren; thereby to approue,  
How much himselfe that loued vs, we loue.

‘The like’ here is defined by its difference. We perform loving of our fellow man (in imitation of the love exemplarily shown us) in order to prove and approve (demonstrate, and estimate quantitatively the value of) how much we love him that loved us. All three instances of loving in this triangle definitively miss one another on the stairs. ‘Give’ needs an object—does ‘love’? Hard not to hear floating in the dual syntax deictics of the second and third line is—‘we love our brethren, to prove that *that amount that he loved us* (‘How much’), we can also love’. This, of course, is impossible; though it is worthwhile pondering how much. Like Andrewes’s, Spenser’s poetic elisions in the *Hymnes* offer heady spaces and possibilities for thinking-through—and devotional poetry, metrical paraphrase, has more than perhaps any other literary genre a vested interest in active processes of alteration and equivalence, and what happens when you change the forms of things.

If all we ever have to offer is an ‘in lieu’, it remains the case that imitation—aspiring resemblance—is a virtuous ambition. Though less so with prayer in mind, Spenserian ‘example’ is well-trodden critical ground. In a context where the devotional manuals fundamental to defining Martz’s ‘poetry of meditation’ tell of Christ how ‘men are changed

into him by loue, and conformetic of will', showing like is not only a way of showing love, but also a means of becoming.<sup>124</sup> In the earthly *HB* we hear of Lust's antithesis, 'gentle Loue, that loiall is and trew', which

Will more illumine your resplendent ray,  
And adde moer brightnesse to your goodly hew,  
From light of his pure fire, which by **like way**  
Kindled of yours, your **likenesse** doth display,  
**Like as** two mirroures by oppos'd reflexion,  
Doe both expresse the faces first impression. (19)

These mixings and commixings of different likes are among the most quoted of the *Hymnes*' stanzas. Herbert Grabes writes of the mazy mirrors in the seventh sonnet of the *Amoretti* that Spenser relies for his unconventional twists on first assuming his readers' ready knowledge of the mirror metaphor's conventional applications.<sup>125</sup> Here, too, reflection muddles the expected order of example and imitation. The hymner of love and beauty goes on:

But in your choice of Loues, this well aduize,  
That likest to your selues ye them select,  
The which your forms first sourse may sympathize,  
And with like beauties parts be inly deckt:  
For if you loosely loue without respect,  
It is no loue, but a discordant warre,  
Whose vnlike parts amongst themselues do iarre.  
  
For Loue is a celestiall harmonie,  
Of **likely** harts composd of starres concent,  
Which **ioyne together** in sweete sympathie,  
To **work ech others** ioy and true content,  
Which they haue harbourd since their first descent  
Out of their heauenly bowres, where they did see  
And **know ech other** here belou'd to bee. (20)

In a set of poems where tautness and coherence are all about the unity of two halves, this work of reciprocating and opposing reflection complicatedly proves two beloved by the way

---

<sup>124</sup> Luis de Granada, *Of prayer, and meditation [...]* (London, 1582), p.49.

<sup>125</sup> Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance*, trans. Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.175–76.

they resemble. In devotional interactions structured (or unstructured?) by the broken gift cycle of inadequate thanksgiving, a true ‘each other’ is what we might always wish for—in the certain knowledge of never attaining it. While aiming to love rightly *with* respect (and with respect to), and not to jar with unlike parts, what does it mean for Spenser’s poetic Christology that we are most apt to love things most like our selves? What is prayerful love by concent, or sympathie—and is it something we are capable of? Is ‘each other’ the right way to conceive of prayer’s dialogues?

Under the influence of Thomas a Kempis’s widely-translated *The Imitation of Christ*, as Alexandra Walsham explains, ‘affective identification with Jesus’ passion and martyrdom on the Cross as a means of mystical union with God came to be regarded as “the pinnacle of Christian discipleship”’.<sup>126</sup> I will think more about affective identification with the Passion in Andrewes’s sermons in my next chapter. *Imitatio Christi*, usually via Augustine, is an idea not at all foreign to Spenser scholarship.<sup>127</sup> Patrick Cullen begins his 1974 *Infernal Triad* by pleading that he knows a book on Spenser and Milton is doomed only ever to be read half of—but the *Hymnes* (although they are not at all Cullen’s primary concern) are a text where I hope to have shown it really does make sense to consider Spenser and Milton in some of the same sentences. In his aims to ‘make clear the Spenserian ancestry of Milton’s structure’, Cullen is interested in processes—at once literary and theological—of ‘imitation and metamorphosis’. His second chapter considers Red Crosse and Guyon both as ‘*microchristi* triumphing over the Errour usurping the garden of man’s mind, the one defeating the Dragon and his pride, the other the Woman and her intemperance’.<sup>128</sup> Taking up *imitatio Christi* in the *Faerie Queene* some years later, Weatherby argues that ‘ignorance of any Christian precedent for a literal *theosis* of the believer has probably hindered our hearing what Spenser is saying’: over the course of Book I, he suggests, the Knight of Holiness is literally ‘transformed from “*miles Christi*” into “Christ himself”’—‘That Spenser meant to startle is a possibility no one has taken into serious consideration’.<sup>129</sup> Weatherby goes further than I want to, but the idea that Spenser meant to startle with a thought about becoming Christ, or a

---

<sup>126</sup> Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Happiness of Suffering: Adversity, Providence, and Agency in Early Modern England’, *Suffering and Happiness in England 1550–1850: Narratives and Representations: A collection to honour Paul Slack*, ed. Michael Braddick and Joanna Innes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.45–65 (p.47).

<sup>127</sup> See for example, Michael West, ‘Spenser and the Renaissance Ideal of Christian Heroism’, *PMLA*, 88.5 (1973), 1013–32. On the ‘special character of Augustine’s understanding of Jesus Christ’, see Allan Fitzgerald, ‘Jesus Christ, the knowledge and wisdom of God’, in *Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, pp.108–21 (p.108).

<sup>128</sup> Patrick Cullen, *Infernal Triad: The Flesh, the World and the Devil in Spenser and Milton* (London: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp.xvii, 68.

<sup>129</sup> Weatherby, *Mirrors*, p.35.

becoming-Christ, seems right for thinking about *HHL*'s account of the Incarnation within the example-and-imitation structures of a devotional text and its instructions for mirroring-contemplation.

The martyred Southwell, of course—'becom[ing] Christ-like in the moment he enacts the imitative principles that govern his art'—was always engaged in aspiring imitation with a much greater level of commitment.<sup>130</sup> In the *Hymnes*, where we are exhorted—with strong diachronic narrative signposts—to 'reade on the storie of [Christ's] life', 'And looke at last' how he was crucified (32), here is the hoped-for effect of such looking-on:

Then let thy flinty hart that feeles no paine,  
Empierced be with pitifull remorse,  
And let thy bowels bleede in euery vaine,  
At sight of his most sacred heauenly corse,  
So torne and mangled with malicious forse,  
And let thy soule, whose sins his sorrows wrought,  
Melt into teares, and grone in grieued thought. (33)

Read finds in Herbert's 'Clasping of Hands' a 'riddling and disorienting riot' of 'I', 'me', 'mine', 'thou', 'thee', 'thine', which demonstrates a state of mind in the process of revision of its own absolute humility.<sup>131</sup> In *HHL*, riots of Spenserian pronouns set to muddling the nature of Christ, the three parts of the Trinity, of humans, of Angels, each in their distinct relation to the divine power to which they owe their existence, and which they aim ever after to emulate. Spenser's God, first of all, makes Christ:

That high eternall powre, which now doth moue  
In all these things, mou'd in it selfe by loue.  
It loued it selfe, because it selfe was faire;  
(For faire is lou'd;) and of it selfe begot  
Like to it selfe his eldest sonne and heire,  
Eternall, pure, and voide of sinfull blot,  
The firstling of his ioy, in whom no iot  
Of loues dislike, or pride was to be found,  
Whom he therefore with equall honour crownd. (25)

---

<sup>130</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.56.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p.110.

Next come Angels:

Yet being pregnant still with powrefull grace,  
And full of fruitfull loue, that loues to get  
Things like himself, and to enlarge his race,  
His second brood though not in powre so great,  
Yet full of beautie, next he did beget  
An infinite increase of Angels bright,  
All glistering glorious in their Makers light. (26)

The difference or the correlation between the four elements of ‘powrefull grace’ and ‘fruitfull loue’ (power, grace, fruitfulness, love) seems an important place for thinking about what constitutes divine generosity and generativeness—in a context when all is diagrammatically both himself and not, all divine at essence and yet organised rigidly within a hierarchy. Finally, ‘seeing left a waste and emptie place’ after the fall of puffed up angels, the Maker flows forth his goodness into ‘A new vnknown Colony’:

Such he him made, that he resemble might  
Himselfe, as mortall thing immortall could;  
Him to be Lord of euery liuing wight,  
He made by loue out of his owne mould,  
In whom he might his mightie selfe behould:  
For loue doth loue the thing belou’d to see,  
That like selfe in louely shape may bee. (28)

Forced to think harder than ever with the nature of ‘According to an heauenly patterne wrought’, telling the story of Creation at the same time as the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Redemption in the context of devotional poetry necessitates addressing seriously the question of whether like from like is multiplication or emphasis, circularity or forward movement—of narrativizing the written complications of simile, tautology, and byword. Within the goodly cope of earth in *HL*, air, water, fire, properly arranged, ‘both most and least’

they all do liue, and moued are  
To multiply the likenesse of their kynd,  
Whilest they seeke onely, without further care,  
To quench the flame, which they in burning fynd:  
But man, that breathes a more immortal mynd,



Not for lusts sake, but for eternitie,  
Seekes to enlarge his lasting progenie. (4–5)

Partly, as Zarnowiecki has drawn out, this makes *HHL* an investigation into the matter of human and heavenly—their different multiplying of like kinds in the space of different time-frames. In the next stanza,

man forgetfull of his makers grace,  
No less then Angels, whom he did ensew,  
Fell from hope of promist heauenly place,  
Into the mouth of death to sinners dew,  
And all his off-spring into thraldome threw (28)

What—temporally, spatially, narratively—is the hierarchy of ‘to ensew’? Down the line, ever imitating actions, this ensembler of angels (surely an ‘off-spring’ himself) generates his own off-spring—to throw into thraldom. What and how to make of the divine inclination of Spenser’s God to love to see things made, by himself, out of his own like mould?

By prayer, by emulation, affective identification, aspiring resemblance, still dwelling in our deformed tabernacles, we can go only so far, and give back so little; by accommodation we can learn only so much about the ways we cannot know. Raphael Lyne writes of Herbert that ‘Reading “Prayer (I)” is a linear experience because it has to be for its human readers’.<sup>132</sup> Though divinity is not beholden to linear narratives, our comprehension of it often is. And yet—the *Hymnes* often seem to offer, accommodatedly, glimpsed flashes of a different kind of possible reading. Mitchell, describing a ‘familiar pattern in literary criticism—the claim that we do, at least for a moment, “see the meaning” of a work, coupled with our inability to state it in a verbal paraphrase’, quotes from Northrop Frye’s *Anatomy of Criticism* on ‘the word meaning or *dianoia*’, which Frye says

conveys, or at least preserves, the sense of simultaneity caught by the eye. We *listen* to the poem as it moves from beginning to end, but as soon as the whole of it is in our minds at once we “see” what it means. More exactly, this response is not simply to *the* whole *of* it, but to *a* whole *in* it: we have a vision of meaning or *dianoia* whenever any simultaneous apprehension is possible.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> Lyne, ‘Reading for Evidence of Faith’, p.13.

<sup>133</sup> Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp.77–78. Qtd. Mitchell, ‘Spatial Form’, p.553.

Spenser has often been described as a ‘pictorial poet’. ‘Graphicality and diagrammatic properties’, though, Drucker explains, ‘are not interchangeable. Pictures are graphical but they don’t *work* in the same sense that diagrams do’.<sup>134</sup> Ferrell and Acheson agree that ‘The hardest-working images of this era were non-pictorial’.<sup>135</sup> In Spenser’s poetry, where formal arrangement codes for divine beauty, and enables polyvalent thinking about the space and time of devotional reading, it seems particularly true that ‘Position, placement, and sequence are all graphically coded features that constitute semantic value’.<sup>136</sup> By catching our eyes on the possibility of simultaneous apprehension, the *Hymnes*—like the printed *Preces*, and the aspiring ‘gestalt’ of English logics—often manage to convey, just for an instant, accommodated experiences of divine ‘instantaneous totality’.

Just as the Trinity, for us to comprehend its incomprehensibility, must be represented by a range of microcosmic poetic lessons in simultaneous synchronic and diachronic diagrammatics—by muddled pronouns, or identical rhymes, repetitions or syntactic puns—so too the *Hymnes*’ whole performative paratextual metanarrative of self-sacred-parody overwriting depends on the ‘earsts’ and ‘nows’ of continuous learning process, and *also*, at the same time, on always having all four—the ‘full hymnic cycle’ as ‘carefully designed, contradictory artefact’—in front of us at once, one textual object. Where Marlowe’s caricatured Ramus improved the *Organon* by changing its shape, Spenser did so by retaining the shape above all: both strategies draw attention to the consequences of literary form for communicating difficult matter, as both pedagogical instrument and pedagogical metaphor. Diagrammatics at once empower ‘in lieu’ prayers, and constantly underline their utter inadequacy; this, too, is in the work of Spenser’s polyptotonised broken gift-cycles—where the single word ‘loue’ or ‘giue’ may seem to demand only synchronic apprehension, but in actual fact speaks often the unspeakable processes of divine, narrative transformation—encapsulating both prayer time and story time; one thing replaced by another, lots heaped up within little.

Readers, at the close of the final hymn, are at last enabled to ‘see such admirable things’, and hear such heavenly notes, ‘As carries them into an extasy’—the superiority of these sights and sounds entirely defined by hindsight comparison with what came before, where ‘all that earst seemed sweet seemes now offense, / And all that pleased earst, now seemes to paine’:

---

<sup>134</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.91.

<sup>135</sup> Ferrell, ‘Page *Techné*’, p.13.

<sup>136</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.85.

Their ioy, their comfort, their desire, their gaine,  
Is fixed all on that which now they see,  
All other sights but fayned shadowes bee. (44)

In some ways, praying by the *Preces* first might make us want to draw the top line here into braces. For economy of page space and reading time; for the optical metaphor's gestalt. In others—not at all. Like the *Preces* pages spoken out, Spenser's stanzas need all their words in all the right places, with all the right repetitions, step by step, to fill out the rhymes and the heavy iambs. Like the Trinity, they have both at once a synchronic and a diachronic life which poetics helps us learn to start thinking about, and devotion helps us learn to start thinking might be serious.

## Patterns and Passions:

### Lancelot Andrewes's Imaginary Dimensions

The vertues and good parts of this honorable Prelate were so many, and those so transcendent, that to doe him right, a large volumn would be but sufficient, which I shall leave to some of better abilities to performe, which I shall (by way of an Epitome) onely point a finger at, in these heads which follow.

—Henry Isaacson (1650)<sup>1</sup>

This is a this is a this is a this.

—not Gertrude Stein<sup>2</sup>

Andrewes begins his first Good Friday sermon, given to Elizabeth's court in 1597, with the story of a question—one 'verie material, and to great good purpose', but not his own, in either voice or conception:

---

<sup>1</sup> Henry Isaacson, *An exact narration of the life and death of [...] Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester*, \*3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> 'Rose is a rose is a rose is a rose.' (Gertrude Stein, 'Sacred Emily', *Geography and Plays* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p.187).

That great and honourable Person the *Eunuch* sitting in his Chariot, and reading a like place of the Prophet *Esau*, asketh S. Philip: *I pray thee, Of whom speaketh the Prophet this? Of himselfe, or some other?* A question verie material, and to great good purpose; and to be asked by us, in all *Prophecies*. For, knowing who the Partie is, we shall not wander in the *Prophet's* meaning.<sup>3</sup>

Tracing Donne's 'complex textual topography' of collation, citation, comparison, synthesis, in his writing and preaching, Ettenhuber discusses the hermeneutic injunction that 'the best way of expounding Scriptures [is] by comparing one place with another', that 'a competent reader [...] takes the long and difficult road towards God by comparing—or traversing—the widest possible spectrum of biblical locations'.<sup>4</sup> Knowing who the party is, we shall not wander in the meaning: Andrewes's opening gesture towards 'That great and honourable Person' sitting in his chariot and reading is presumptively cool and collaborative in its scriptural cross-referencing—whether in print or performance, this sermon stands on little ceremony in bundling its audience into the midst of the Apostolic New Testament. What is more, Acts 8—where there together sit Saint Philip and the honourable Eunuch—comes from a chapter of scripture which is all about teaching scripture. Its key personalities are of three sorts—good preachers, flawed preachers, and the scattered people of the Church who need preaching to: thus, Simon—the figure of self-deluding self-aggrandisement, chastised by Peter for thinking that the power of miracles might be won with ready cash, who 'used witchcraft and bewitched the people of Samaria, saying that he himself was some great man'—is here set against Philip, whose signs and wonders are real and holy, whose baptisms divinely authorised. Philip is called from Jerusalem into Gaza by the Angel of the Lord, and on the way he crosses paths with 'a certain Eunuch of Ethiopia', reading Isaiah in his chariot—'But understandest thou what thou readest?', Philip asks him,

And he said, How can I, except I had a guide? And he desired Philip, that he would come up and sit with him.

So begins a bit of preaching expressly concerned with preaching—with Andrewes sitting up beside us as we read, and guiding our understanding. From its first beginnings, this is a

---

<sup>3</sup> Lancelot Andrewes, 'A Sermon preached at the Court, on the XXV. Of March, A.D. MXCVI.I. *Being GOOD-FRIDAY.*', *XCVI. Sermons* (London, 1629), p.333. Further references in this section will be given in the text.

<sup>4</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, pp.127, 116, 115.

sermon dizzyingly self-conscious about its own exegetical processes. But though Andrewes might half-agree to put on St Philip, our casting in the creditable ignorance of the Eunuch is not quite convincing. Not only does Andrewes's easy deixis expect—indeed, demand—that we recognise instantly the identity of 'That great and honourable Person', but the sense of the passage needs triangulating by two other elided scriptural reference points too. The sermon continues,

Now, if the *Eunuch* had been reading this of *Zacharie* (as then he was, that of *Esai*) and had asked the same question of *S. Philip*, he would have made the same answer. And as he, out of those words tooke occasion; so may we, out of these, take the like, *to preach IESVS* unto them. For neither of himselfe, nor of any other, but of IESVS, speaketh the Prophet this: and the *testimonie of IESVS is the Spirit of this Prophecie*.  
(333)

'So may we, out of these, take the like'. Orientation by way of places 'like' in this difficult opening asks us to be au fait with:

1. The verse of Acts in which the Eunuch actually sits (to understand the nature and significance of the relationship between Philip and the Eunuch, and to work out where we are supposed to stand in it)
2. The verse of Isaiah the Eunuch is reading (to understand the relevance, not to mention the subject, of the question, '*Of whom speaketh the Prophet this?*')
3. The 'like place' in Zechariah (to understand how—and how significantly—the verse is like Isaiah)

Of these three, only the last is ostensibly Andrewes's subject. This is a sermon for readers with book-wheels already whirling.

For readers of the printed version in the 1629 *XCVI. Sermons*, this opening paragraph is not the first instance of a stack of like texts which go by different names:

A  
SERMON  
PREACHED AT THE  
Court, on the XXV. of *March*, A.D.MDXCVI.I.  
*being GOOD-FRIDAY.*

---

ZACH. CHAP.XII. VER. X.  
Respicient in Me, quem transfixerunt.  
*And they shall looke upon Me, whom they have pierced.*

Here in the first place, at the top of the page, is a definite locating of the text as in a particular (and particularly political) time and space—an entreaty to read sermons with the kind of historical-prepositional attention enjoined from the late 1990s onwards by Ferrell, McCullough, and Jeanne Shami—more recently by Mary Morrissey and Emma Rhatigan (*to the Queen, at the Court, on a day whose occasionality is vitally at once singular and plural—the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1597, and all Good-Fridays*).<sup>5</sup> What comes beneath this is a different kind of address, by grid reference or postcode, as named and numbered part of a larger whole—Zechariah, Chapter 12, Verse 10—followed next by a naming of the text in Latin, underscored by the same words in English. These titles are alike but not identical, affiliated with one another but not the same. All refer finally to the same text, but each construes it in quite a different intertextual configuration, deriving and directing quite a different mode or model of reading.

Like the *Preces*' stacks of synonyms, and Spenser's identical rhyming, Andrewes's literary-hermeneutic work in the Passion sermons is, this chapter will argue, much preoccupied by the pitfalls and possibilities of difference in sameness. Here, initially—in the drawing up of the curtain on St Philip and the Eunuch—we find a preaching motivated predominantly by cultivating homogeneity in reading practice. Building scriptural allusions to scriptural allusions ever more inevitably into the corners of our eyes is partly a way of teaching biblical interpretation as Ettenhuber describes it, by constant intratextual collocation, whereby the reader should eventually have every part of scripture so easily and simultaneously at their fingertips that whole and part are no longer useful descriptive terms, and—with the same simultaneity that God and Christ are 'made *Synonymi*'<sup>6</sup>—every instance

---

<sup>5</sup> See particularly Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603–1625* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600–1750*, ed. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), esp. Ferrell and McCullough, 'Revising the Study of the English Sermon', pp.2–17; Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003); Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); see Emma Rhatigan widely on Donne's sermons at Lincoln's Inn, particularly "The sinful history of mine own youth": John Donne Preaches at Lincoln's Inn', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> XCVI. *Sermons*, Aaaa5<sup>v</sup>. See Chapter 1 above, p.72.

is a synecdoche.<sup>7</sup> Although each of the three biblical verses in play here do represent independent components of the sermon's polemic, the main function of the Eunuch in media res, I would argue, is to telescope them synchronous and coincident—and to confront us ultimately, by all three, with a scene of learning.

'Now, if the *Eunuch* had been reading this of *Zacharie* (as then he was, that of *Esai*) and had asked the same question of *S. Philip*, he would have made the same answer': Andrewes is concerned here with the possibility of encoding scriptural reading practice as theoretically exemplary. In a biblical system where texts point to one another by resemblance in kind—'a like place of the Prophet *Esau*'—and where the ability to recognise this is the key to asking the right ('the same') questions to trigger the right ('the same') answers, Andrewes presents reading skills as widely transferrable: provided we can correctly identify textual likeness, good exegetical training in one place should help us study another. And where, on Good Friday, more metaphorically apt to learn this lesson than at the foot of the Cross? 'In this sight, are all sights: So that, know this and know all' (335).

This sermon on *Respicient in Me* is the first of Andrewes's three Passion sermons at court. Having been promoted in 1597 from mid-Lent weekday sermons to both Ash Wednesday and Good Friday (taking over, respectively, from Alexander Nowell and Thomas Dove), he preached the crucifixion again in 1604, and in 1605—the second time on Lamentations, and the third on Hebrews.<sup>8</sup> Of course, sermons preached on annual occasions are more apt than other kinds of texts or performances strongly to resemble one another—but as McCullough has noted, these three sermons are among the most recognisably generic of Andrewesian sets:

No three sermons by Andrewes are so similar, to the point of the latter two repeating verbatim many passages from 1597. All three take texts (Zech. 12: 10, Lam. 1: 12, Heb. 12: 2) in which the main verb is 'look upon', and the object of that looking is the crucified Christ. Separately and collectively they deserve much closer study as exemplars

---

<sup>7</sup> 'intratextuality'—'the religious counterpart of intertextuality[,] the heaping up of references to other parts of the Bible'—is Eugene Kintgen's useful term for this religious reading-writing. (*Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), p.113.) Qtd. Chanita Goodblatt, *The Christian Hebraism of John Donne: Written With the Finger of Man's Hand* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2010), p.44.

<sup>8</sup> Peter McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.365. McCullough has some useful suggestions about the political-theological reasons for the seven-year gap.



of the post-Reformation attempt to convey in words what Catholic art achieved in painted, sculpted, and theatrical art forms.<sup>9</sup>

‘This is the chiefe *Sight*; Nay (as it shall after appeare) in this sight, are all sights: So that, know this and know all’, Andrewes said in 1604; ‘That, the chiefe *Theorie*:’ he pointed a year later, ‘Nay in this, all; so that, *see this*, and *see all*’ (366). McCullough’s remark is keen: this is one example of very many echoes between these three sermons. As a set, they offer a useful case study for a peculiarly Andrewesian, and peculiarly powerful, rhetorical figure of ‘repeating verbatim’.

Sermons on the Passion are concerned with pointing and looking. More than almost any other scriptural subject, we might expect them to demand that we experience a moment; with *imitatio Christi* in mind, their storytelling is expressly enargeiac, asking a fervoured and feverishly synaesthetic, multi-sensory combination of seeing and feeling by listening and thinking. ‘This day (I say)’, says Andrewes,

When every Scripture that is read soundeth nothing but this unto us: when by the office of preaching, IESVS CHRIST is lively described in our sight, and (as the *Apostle* speaketh) is *visibly crucified among us*: when in the memorial of the holy Sacrament, *His death is shewed forth until He come*, and the myserie of this *His piercing*, so many waies, so effectually represented before us. (334)

Against the heaped-up adverbial Whens of exacting deictic occasion, finite verbs here are only flickering—description in this sermon often overwhelms sentences out of progressive temporal action, rapt suspended by contemplating. It is the preacher’s defining literary task to make a few words last a sermon, to involve listening attention by means of methodical structure, thinking hard—both tacitly and out loud—about the cognitive interplay (and the competing cognitive allures) of fixity and momentum—‘constant’ and ‘instant’—in the drawing out of long-held focus on a single point. The occasion of the Passion compounds this challenge with the even more difficult charge, to the individual worshipper, of keeping a few crucial moments in mind, every moment, for a lifetime. The first part of this chapter will argue that as format and subject matter so conspire in the Passion sermons, the two come to metaphorise one another, Andrewes’s manoeuvrings of grammatical and rhetorical

---

<sup>9</sup> McCullough, *Sermons*, p.366.

compression and dilation both performing and interpreting the problematics of sustained meditative contemplation.

Enigmatic Andrewesian colons like the ones in the passage above show literary likeness and poetic strangeness in all the nervous wordy insufficiency of their dependent relationships. On Good Friday we must consider Christ's pain, and try to feel what it might have felt like: we will never come close; we mustn't stop trying. Out of this all-important chiefe *Sight*—in which, all sights—draw foundational questions of uneasy substitution in the interrelationships of pedagogical-exegetical texts which (like translations, confutations, and retractations) never stand alone, always pointing-at by half-pointing-away, and never quite absolving themselves of their own anxiously charlatan deixis—of *thises* not quite this, *likes* unlike, *heres* elsewhere. This constant weighing in the balances and finding wanting, I will go on to argue in the second part of this chapter, is enlivened by a pervasive Andrewesian preoccupation with scoping out the different—and heavily value-laden—sizes and dimensions of scriptural texts and their theological interpreters, as built into and measured against one another, both literally and metaphorically. Always, in expounding texts, Andrewes is seriously concerned with calculations of textual correspondence, in the prevailing currencies and hierarchies involved in measuring the largeness of a catechism, or distending a sermon out of a bible verse. By what hermeneutic ratios of proportion can we see the shape of one version of a text in the dimensions of the other? Which size comes first, and which one should we end up at—and how long should it all take?

The second of the Passion sermons addresses Lamentations 1:12:

*Have ye no regard, o all ye that passe by the way? Consider, and behold, If ever there were sorrow, like my Sorrow, which was done unto me, wherewith the Lord did afflict me in the day of the fiercenesse of His wrath. (349)*

This sermon—like the *Hymnes*, and like the *Faerie Queene*—is interested in what it means to 'consider', and the mutually collaborative transitive and transactional interaction involved in active looking and being looked at (as well as, slightly distinct, soliciting looking).

*Regard you not? If you did consider, you would: if you considered as you should, you would regard as you ought. Certainly the Passion, if it were thoroughly considered, would be duly regarded. Consider then. (351)*

Considering Andrewes's thoughtfulness about his listeners' attentive faculties in the Easter Day sermons, Joseph Ashmore writes that 'The meaning of "looking"' is 'considerably elasticised'.<sup>10</sup> Such elastic looking here, in the midst of prayer's broken gift-cycle, really does stand suitably in place (in lieu) of active doing—'Strange, he should not make request, *O deliver me*, or *Relieve me*: But only, *O consider and regard me*. In effect, as if he said; None, no *deliverance*, no *relief* do I seeke: *Regard* I seeke.' (362). Strange, but true. Interesting, too, with Spenser in mind, Andrewes sets *Regard* and *Consider* against other words for looking and thinking, carefully distinguishing between them, and setting evaluative store by their different qualities—

because, to *Behold*, and not to *consider*, is but to *gaze*; and *gazing* the *Angel blameth* in the *Apostles* themselves, we must do both: both *Behold*, and *Consider*: looke upon, with the eye of the body, that is, *Behold*; and looke into, with the eye of the mind, that is, *Consider*. (352)

*Behold*; *consider*; *gaze*; look upon; look into; the eye of the mind. '(*Pertaining*, and *Regarding*)', Andrewes writes later, 'are folded one in another, and goe together so commonly, as one is taken often for the other' (360). 'Pertaining', as a kind of looking folded into considering, is, I think, complicatedly and specifically sermon-bound—interested in the accommodating responsibilities of preaching, both iterative and occasional, to relevance and application.

Unlike the 1597 and 1605 sermons, the 1604 does not title itself first in Latin, but cites its pericope from Lamentations only in Andrewes's own English translation.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, the phrase—and particularly, the word—which will come most to define this sermon's concerns is a Latin one. It first appears, with Andrewes's translation and his crucial qualification, at the end of the second paragraph, and stays never far from sight for the rest of the sermon:

*Si fuerit sicut*; If ever the like were, (that is) never the like was. (349)

---

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Ashmore, 'Faith and Scriptural History in Early Modern Religious Writing' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2018), pp.77–78. Wall-Randell also uses the word 'elastic' to describe the 'nature of the space enclosed by the covers of a book' in *The Tempest*. (*The Immaterial Book*, p.17).

<sup>11</sup> Ashmore writes Andrewes 'would certainly have known that the Vulgate text reads, "*attendite et videte*"' (p.103).

This is a *Sicut*, a ‘just as’, hanging on a subjunctive *Si*, ‘if ever’. The see-saw pivot of the Englished phrase teeters across ‘(that is)’—equivocating, as ever, about equivalences always defensively self-conscious in anticipating their own flaws. If ever anything were like, then—  
—but nothing was, or will be, for,

It is a *Non sicut*, this: it cannot be expressed as it should, and as other things may: in silence, we may admire it, but all our words will not reach it. And though to draw it so farr, as some do, is little better then blasphemy; Yet on the other side, to shrink it so short, as other some do, cannot be but with derogation to his love, Who, to kindle our love and loving *Regard*, would come to a *Non sicut*, in his suffering: For, so it was, and so we must allow it to be. (356)

In its fugueing on *Sicut* and *Non sicut*, this sermon is even-more-than-usually fixated on likeness and as-ness, with how to express sufficiently something by its nature beyond sufficiency, and how to point in any one instance at something we should be looking at all the time. Is it ever enough—indeed, is it anything at all—to say, in the face of such insufficiency, ‘let it suffice’ (354)? To the Andrewes who centuries before J.L. Austin spent a whole chapter in his *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine* asking, ‘What a vow is. Whether a bare purpose without a promise. Whether a thing commanded may be the matter of a vow.’—and who added that, ‘To our vows then must be added performances, and [...] the purpose of performance is but one of the conditions required in a vow’<sup>12</sup>—the saying of things is certainly as dynamically significant as the regarding of them.<sup>13</sup> ‘Now, though this suffice not, nothing neer; yet let it suffice’ (354): even—perhaps especially—when prefaced with deprecating assurances to the contrary, coloured brashly coy in obvious-furtive litotes, the commanding optative ‘let’ is for Andrewes no small matter.<sup>14</sup>

[T]o give end to this Complaint, let us grant him his *request*, and *Regard* his *Passion*.

Let the *Rarenesse* of it: The *Neerenesse* to us: Let *Pitie*, or *Dutie*: *Feare*, or *Remorse*:

---

<sup>12</sup> Andrewes, *Pattern*, pp.250, 253.

<sup>13</sup> J.L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words: the William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, ed. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

<sup>14</sup> In his *The Imperative of Preaching: A Theology of Sacred Rhetoric* (Cambridge: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2002), John Carrick argues that ‘the essential pattern or structure which God himself has utilized in the proclamation of New Testament Christianity is the *indicative–imperative*’—and that there is ‘something quite foundational’ about ‘the theological and homiletical significance and value of [...] the *indicative*, the *exclamative*, the *interrogative*, and the *imperative*’ (p.5). An acute awareness about the particular powers of different grammatical moods to flush tone and incline voice is, as will become clearer in considering the *Pattern*, never far from Andrewes’s reading and writing.

*Love, or Bounty*: Any of them, or all of them: Let the justnesse of his *Complaint*: Let his affectionate *manner* of Complaining of this, and only this: Let the shame of the *Creature's regard*: Let our *Profit*, or our *Perill*: Let something prevaile with us, to have it in some *regard*. (363)

Andrewes plays in this sermon at letting the insufficient suffice and seeing what happens. To an extent of eccentric compulsion which is both astonishing and revelatory, he thrills in the Passion sermons to the way that little words structure explanation and interpretation, to the often-overlooked exertions of such words to make us experience and reconsider likeness and unlikeness, and their too-familiar estranging ways of pointing at and pointing away and pointing all the time. Andrewes speaks in this sermon on Christ's Passion of 'words that have life in them' (352)—here, 'this', 'like', 'such', 'so', 'that', 'it', 'here': these words do.

**'So the *Points* are two': 'so', 'very', 'such', 'too'**

For so it was, and so we must allow it to be' (356). *Like so, so much*: drawing copiousness from the midst of likeness, 'so' is a beguilingly double sort of *Sicut*. In fact, such twofoldedness is not unusual among Andrewes's likeness-directors: in just the same way, words like 'so' and 'such' point backwards in the text while also pointing multiply, extravagantly, additionally; they mean 'this' (*like so—in this way*), but they also mean 'more than this'—while ever being, of course, much less than. Describing the strange superfluity of Christ's *Melting*—'Never the like *Sweat* certainly, and therefore never the like *Sorrow*'—Andrewes speaks of '*Crumosus*, of great Drops; and those, **so** many, **so** plenteous, as they went through his apparel and all'—and then goes on, 'And sure it was **so**: For see, even in the very next words of all to this verse, he complaineth of it' (354). Consider the cause of Christ's suffering, Andrewes urges—'we list not looke upon spectacles of that kinde, though never **so** strange' (357), and

as is the *Person*, **so** is the *Passion*; and any one, even the very least degree of wrong or disgrace, offered to a *Person* of excellency, is more then a hundred times more, to one of meane condition: **So** weighty is the circumstance of the *Person*. (356)

'To enter this *Comparison*, and to shew it for **such**. That, are we to do' (353). This is deixis of abundance and great degree, of more than a hundred times more, its almost-pun almost

always almost invisible because of the way we are too used to it doing both things at once, so that neither manages really to advertise itself to notice.<sup>15</sup>

I'd like here to think about words like *so* as grammatical 'anaphors'. Linguistic 'anaphora' (as opposed to rhetorical anaphora, which describes 'repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses or verses')<sup>16</sup> is close kin with the more often pointed-at *deixis*—but with more intratextual triangulation in it.

**anaphora** (Grk *anaphor-á* 'carrying back; reference') [...]

Linguistic element which refers back to another linguistic element [...] in coreferential relationship, i.e. the reference of an anaphora can only be ascertained by interpreting its antecedent [...] In this sense, anaphora is contrasted with cataphora, where the words refer forward. However, the term 'anaphora' may also be found subsuming both forward and backward reference. [...] The occurrence of anaphoras is considered to be a characteristic property of texts; it produces textual coherence [...] The most common anaphoric elements are pronouns (*Philip read a novel. He liked it a lot*); in addition, certain forms of ellipsis can be evaluated as cases of anaphora (*Philip [bought a book], Caroline [0] too*).<sup>17</sup>

Though 'anaphora' in this sense—a word born of twentieth-century grammatical and linguistic science—is clearly anachronistic to Andrewes, it seems a useful implement for prying open Andrewesian back-referencing and negotiating Andrewesian manoeuvres of elegant nonvariation and tolerable insufficiency—as well as for understanding his particular management of a symptomatically homiletic 'textual coherence' which holds attention fast while also propelling its kinetics. So, *so* refers us backwards, while also intensifying its reference point. *Too*, of course, does this too ('*Philip [bought a book], Caroline [0] too*'); *such*, likewise, is just such a player, just so engaged. These words in one guise rely utterly on what 'can only be ascertained by interpreting [the] antecedent'—empty and confused as apart from a dependent relationship on what precedes them—and in another (at the same time) pile

---

<sup>15</sup> For more on early modern deixis see Heather Dubrow, 'Neither Here nor There: Deixis in the Sixteenth-Century Sonnet', in *The Lyric Poem: Formations and Transformations*, ed. Marion Thain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.30–51; and Dubrow, *Deixis in the Early Modern English Lyric: Unsettling Spatial Anchors like "Here", "This", "Come"* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>16</sup> Richard Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p.11.

<sup>17</sup> Hadumod Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.58.

on surplus and overplus. What is ‘Evident, **too** evident, by that his most dreadful crie’ (355) is more than twice the evidence of its two times repetition, just as what is ‘strange, **very** strange, that, of none of the *Martyrs*, the like can be read’ (355) is *precisely, truly*, the strangeness of the first iteration, at the same time as far exceeding it.

‘So the *Points* are two:’—’twas ever thus, and Andrewes marshals us through their invisible Ramist branches as methodically as ever (351).<sup>18</sup> But *so* is a lavish pointer; and so is *too*. And if that seems like quite enough puns for the time being, they are justified only by the truly deranging hyperactiveness of Andrewes’s meddling with anaphoric intensifiers here: read with the level of regard it seems to ask of its considerers, this sermon keys a level of heightened and deepening attention to humdrum parts of language that really changes the way we read the rest of Andrewes, and changes the way we read. ‘Here is *trouble, anguish, agonie, sorrow* and *deadly sorrow*. But, it must be such, as never *the like*: So it was too.’ (354).

**‘O all ye that passe by the way, stay and Consider’: Stay.**

Some of Andrewes’s intensifying anaphors have a third life, as connectives. *So* and *thus*, denoting cause and consequence, have as much capacity for pointing forwards as for pointing backwards. Andrewes in this sermon is no less than usual logically concerned by causes and consequences; indeed, his definitions of right looking and considering are profoundly tied up in the kind of logical—diachronic, narratological—regard which looks always, for comprehension, to either side of the moment most nearly at hand: ‘Now to proceed to the *Cause*, and to *consider* it: for, without it, we shall have but halfe a *Regard*, and scarce that’ (357). What—particularly with puns, and cognitive multitasking in mind—constitutes half a regard? We might begin to tease out an answer by way of the ‘two eyes of meditation’ which appear in the first of the Passion sermons:

---

<sup>18</sup> At the very end of the *Pattern*, expounding the tenth commandment and describing steadfastness, delight, and refreshment in the minds of sermon-listeners, Andrewes writes, *Multi sunt intus lupi* (saith *S. Augustine*) *multis foris oves*, there are many wolves within, and many sheep (for the present) without: and *multisunt rami inertii diffigendi, & rami distracti inserendi*, there are many branches graffen in, which may be broken off, and many broken off, which may be graffed in. (p.518)

Though, oddly, the coincidence of *rami* and Ramist branching does not seem to be a very oft-remarked contemporary pun, it seems frankly impossible that it is one that hasn’t occurred to Andrewes. It is his very favourite sort.

If we aske, how shall we know, when CHRIST doth thus *respect* us? Then truly, when fixing both the eyes of our meditation *upon Him that was pierced* (as it were) one eye, upon the *griefe*; the other, upon the love wherewith he was *pierced*, we find by both, or one of these, some motion of *grace* arise in our *hearts*: the consideration of his *griefe*, *piercing* our hearts with *sorrow*; the consideration of his *love*, *piercing* our hearts with mutuall *love* againe. (347–48)<sup>19</sup>

The Andrewes, then, who decrees that for proper concentration, ‘Our eyes must not wander every where, as if we were in a market-place’,<sup>20</sup> here examines the possibility of looking, with two eyes, at two things at once—and the doubly-piercing understanding empowered by bringing the two-apart back together again in one visual field. Ettenhuber describes a ‘paradoxical interplay of rest and motion [...] freely identified as an attribute of God’, a ‘motion-rest dynamic’ which in Donne’s sermons ‘becomes foundational to the structure of the argument’.<sup>21</sup> The Passion-preacher holds attention on one point by stalking a fine line between movement and stillness. In this passage a ‘fixing’ (of the eyes) results in a ‘motion’ (of the heart): understanding of an eternal divine (synchronic) love depends—by logic, by syntax—on scrutiny of the (diachronic) narrative leading up to and away from it.

‘O you that *passe by the way*, stay and *Consider*’ (351): of Andrewes’s three Passion sermons, it is the 1604 which is most anxious to delineate the rules of a relationship between movement and stasis in looking and thinking. Stillness and impetus buzz at each other in the logical cause-and-consequence structures of Passion storytelling: in comparison with other possible sermon subjects, this is at once less about narrative and more so; both *energeia* and, indelibly, *enargeia*. Andrewes’s words here, too, have changing kinds of stopping in them, where ‘*Stay*’ might play noun, imperative, adjective, gerund. ‘First, a general stay is made of all passengers, this day’ (351)—‘O *all ye* that *passe by the way*, stay and *Consider*’; ‘The *regard* of this, is worthy the staying of a journey’ (352). There are ‘earthly staies’ too (352).

---

<sup>19</sup> Metaphorical thinking through binocular vision is also at work in the *Pattern*, where ‘*schools* and *universities* are the *seminaries* both of the *Church* and *Commonwealth*; and in that regard are compared to the *optick nerve*, which conveys spirits, and therewith sight to both the eyes, for they give sight both to the *right eye* of the *Church*, and to the *left eye* of the *Common-wealth*’ (355). Ashmore shows that ‘Attending to something entails a successful negotiation of the sensory faculties involved in cognitive process’ (p.81).

<sup>20</sup> Andrewes, *Pattern*, p.13.

<sup>21</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne’s Augustine*, p.198.



Such polyptotic wriggling is familiar to anyone even half-accustomed to reading or hearing Andrewes; but twisting incorrigible fidgets on the word *Stay* seems especially chic. Here Andrewes plays out his explicit instructions and explanations for propriety and ingenuity in the work of looking back at texts by a strange and marvellous shifting inertia—a version of Ettenhuber’s ‘motion-rest dynamic’—in the spaces of and between kinds of rhetorical repetition:

inertia, *n.*

1.a. *Physics.* That property of matter by virtue of which it continues in its existing state, whether of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line, unless that state is altered by an external force.<sup>22</sup>

And who is there, even the poorest creature among us, but in some degree findeth some comfort, or some *regard* at some bodies hands? For, if that be not **left**, the state of the parte is (here) in the third word said to be like the tree, whose *leaves* and whose *fruit* are all beaten off quite, and it selfe **left** bare and naked both of the one and of the other.

And such was our SAVIOVR’S case in these his *Sorrowes* this day, & that so, as what is **left** is the meanest of the sonnes of men, was not **left** him: **Not a leafe. Not a leafe! Leaves** I may well call all humane comforts & regards, whereof he was then **left** cleane desolate. [...]

But these were but *withered leaves*. They then, that on earth were need—rest him of all, the *greenest leaves* and likest to hang on, and to give him some shade: even of them, some bought and sold him; others denied and forswore him, but all fell away and forsooke him. [...] (saith *Theodoret*) not a **leafe left**.

But, **leaves** are but **leaves**, and so are all earthly staies. (355)

*Leaf is a leaf is a leaf is a leaf.* Does a word oft-repeated ‘continue in its existing state’? What constitutes the continuing? And what external forces of reading or writing interrupt its uniform motion in a straight line? ‘*Not a leafe. Not a leafe!*’: Andrewes was testing the transformative powers of straight repetitions long before Gertrude Stein. Quoting, and then

---

<sup>22</sup> ‘inertia, *n.*’, *OED* <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/95000?redirectedFrom=inertia#eid>> [accessed 10 June 2019].

not quoting, in the above passage, Andrewesian ‘repeating verbatim’ becomes an emboldened dramatization of reading—of speaking back and saying more, and different, in another voice, by saying again. In the preface to her study of repetitions at the crossing-points of literature and theology, Catherine Pickstock writes, through Kierkegaard, that ‘To say that every thing, every *res*, only exists when it has already been (non-identically) repeated is to say that all beings flow unpredictably forwards in serpentine lines which bear and receive new disclosures, and yet sustain, refine, and extend consistent identities’.<sup>23</sup> Quoting words in the midst of your own text is and is not the same as taking them into your own voice—but speaking them round and round (even once again, in brackets, *or not in italics*—Not in italics!) already begins to address them with a different authority—and in a different space—of hermeneutic prowess and propriety.

The some degrees of repetition in Andrewes’s voice work a particular magic on the words they turn and turn about. The first *left* here comes before the first *leaves*—so that we might not immediately notice, or immediately believe, the kinship claims of the less lexically prominent word on the more prominent one. This slippery misordering is what makes the insinuating pun virtuosically Andrewesian: *leaves* or *fruit*, in this first paragraph, we might readily expect to generate clusters of like-sounding words around them; *left*, less so. It is nouns that we most naturally suppose puns to loiter round—and probably nouns with other nouns. Like the more pleasing of Wimsatt’s meaningful rhyme pairings, calling out across grammatical categories to ‘create a contrast which gives point to the likeness of sound’,<sup>24</sup> puns between word-classes, which meddle with the syntax of the sentence as well as the sense, are funnier than intra-word-class puns, but harder to see in the first place, and more disconcerting when you do. *Left*, *leaf* and *leaves*, then, bump up against one another (and other words—‘it selfe left’ finds itself enchantingly short on letter-variation) in our cognitive periphery only offhandedly at first, daring closer and closer nearness until finally, ‘not a *leafe* left’, we can feel (almost) certain of what we felt increasingly sure was probably going on all along. ‘But, leaves are but leaves,’—right.

The pervasive *gradatio* in this sermon (repeating the end of one clause at the beginning of the next, also called *anadiplosis*) shows another kind of chain-stitch repetition (one step round and back for every one forward, looping on the top, and invisibly held secure) by

---

<sup>23</sup> Catherine Pickstock, *Repetition and Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xii.

<sup>24</sup> Wimsatt, ‘Rhyme to Reason’, p.324.

which Andrewes presses onwards while staying, and regarding.<sup>25</sup> In gradually building up an awareness of the manic richness of Andrewes's rhetorical intrigue, poring over the same sections more than once becomes inevitable—back again, then, to

Now, though this suffice not, nothing neer; yet let it suffice (the time being short) for His paines of *Body* and *Soule*. For those of the *Body*, it may be, some may have endured the like: but the sorrows of His *Soule* are unknown sorrowes: and for them, none ever have; ever have, or ever shall suffer the like; the like, or neere the like in any degree. (354)

This is repetition which denounces 'the like' of repetition. Like Spenser's identical rhymes, it is, rather, a kind of changing. Andrewes's extraordinary successive colons build sentences which think on their subject at great length and depth, tightly and expansively folded in multiple layers and directions. Since 'Our nature is, to *regard* things exceeding *rare* and strange' (352), Andrewes aims in his repetitions at wonderment at the same time as familiarity. '*Rare things* you *regard*, yea though they no waies pertaine to you: this is exceeding rare, and will you not *regard* it?' (362). It is 'strange, he should be in paines, such paines as never any was, and not complaine himselfe of them', and 'Strange, he should not make request, *O deliver me*, or *Relieve me*'; and 'most strange of all it is, that all the *Creatures* in heaven and earth, seemed to heare this his mournfull *Complaint* [...] and sinfull men only, not moved with it' (362). All of these last three instances call out their peculiarity to one another, within the space of less than half a page, by the same adjective—this *strange*, too, finds its *rareness* in strange repetitions.

The strangeness of Andrewesian repetitions extends to syntactical constructions as well as words and phrases—isocolon, really, but with such an insisting persistence that it is almost as though the sentence structures were verse forms. Following another furious petition for the greater efforts of our attentive concern—'*Have ye no regard? None? And yet never the like? None, and it pertaines unto you? No regard?*'—Andrewes lists, disbelieving, the rare qualities which ought to move us and don't:

What will move you? Will Pitie? Heer is *Distresse*, never the like: Will Dutie? Heer is a *Person*, never the like: Will Feare? Heer is *Wrath*, never the like: Will Remorse? Heer are *sinnes*, never the like: Will Kindnesse? Heer is *Love*, never the like: Will bounty? Heer are

---

<sup>25</sup> McCullough remarks *gradatio* in the 1597 sermon (*Sermons*, p.370).

*Benefits*, never the like: Will all these? Heer they be all, all above any *Sicut*, all in the highest degree. (362)

Does this passage, on its way towards ‘Heer they be all’, accumulate as it goes round and round, or is it simply a stock (or indeed a stack) of multiple instances? What does it teach us about, or what properties does it confer on, a formalist template reading—

Heer is [*Noun 1*], never the like: Will [*Noun 2*]?

‘[In stead of the Bishops particular Relations, marked thus “ put in your own.].’<sup>26</sup> How does fear relate to wrath? Or wrath to remorse to sins? These chainstitch colons join up things unlike by way of their shared never-the-like-ness: ‘Heer they be all, all above any *Sicut*’, all comparable in the only anti-quality that makes the difference.

**‘It is a *Non sicut*, this’: *This* and *That***

Donne’s sermons and prose writings, writes Ettenhuber, ‘articulate a constant anxiety about the expressive capacities of human language’.<sup>27</sup> ‘*Not a leaf*. Not a leafe!’: if all the repetitions in Andrewes’s 1604 sermon involve themselves in shadowy double-dealings of paradox, contradiction, undoing, critique, interpretation—and all the anaphors tell tales of inadequate, intensified deixis, then *This*, in this sermon, is a special case. *Ceci n’est pas une pipe*: it is a *Non sicut*, this. ‘It cannot’, we will recall, ‘be expressed as it should, and as other things may: in silence, we may admire it, but all our words will not reach it’ (356). ‘In this one peradventure some *Sicut* may be found’, Andrewes concedes, ‘in the paines of the *bodie*: but, in the second, the Sorrow of the *Soule*, I am sure, none’

And of this, this of His *soule*, I dare make a Case, *Si fuerit sicut*. (353–54)

At the comma of this sentence’s early-on, unsymmetrical chiasmus—‘of this, this of’—seethes the vital empty fullness of what we can never know, and must constantly consider.

Deictic repetitions are restless about their audience’s capacities for concentration and keeping-up. Particularly visible in the ‘(here)’s which pepper this text and others, it is often in

---

<sup>26</sup> *Private devotions*, F12<sup>r-v</sup>. See Chapter 1 above, pp.66–67.

<sup>27</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne’s Augustine*, p.214

the brackets of printed sermons that we see Andrewes most neurotic about shepherding attention in the right direction:

To returne then to a true verdict. It is we, (we, wretched sinners that we are) that are to be found the principals in this act; and those, on whom we seeke to shift it, to derive it from our selves, *Pilate* and *Caiaphas* and the rest, but instrumentall causes only. And it is not the executioner that killeth the man properly, (that is, They:) No, nor the Iudge, (which is GOD, in this case:) (359)

Brackets, like anaphors and colons, move forwards while focusing backwards, distract while deepening. Andrewes's implicate anxiety about clarity, and fear of being misunderstood—or not understood completely. Their belt and braces, though, are also undermining of the preacher's authority: if everything needs saying in two different ways, then neither was really good enough, and certainly neither is definitive. Only accommodated language has to scatter its meanings in synonymia. When Andrewes describes Christ seeing 'us (a sort of forlorne sinners)', or 'the Iudge, (which is GOD, in this case)' (359), what is the relationship of likeness between the two versions of information? How dependent is each on the other, in the anaphoric sense?

Andrewes's anxious and difficult deixis reaches a climax of self-aware self-involvement twelve pages (how long?) into the second Passion sermon. Here *this* and *that* spring off against each other, tailing and entailing, producing, denying one another, like protasis and apodosis.<sup>28</sup> They effect, in this passage, a kind of opposite or inverse of semantic satiation, the psychological phenomenon by which, through over-repeating, words become mere sound clusters.<sup>29</sup> Rather, their repetitions invest them with more semantic responsibility than ever: when we are looking and listening for *thises* and *thats*, paying as much attentive regard as their depth of referencing seems to require, it is everything else which gets hard to see, and starts to skirt the edges of our proper attention:

In suffering all **this** for us, thou shewedst (LORD) **that** we were more deare to thee, **that** thou *regardest* us more, then thine owne selfe: And shall **this** Regard finde

---

<sup>28</sup> 'Protasis' and 'apodosis' are the two clauses introducing and then fulfilling conditionality, respectively, in a conditional sentence.

<sup>29</sup> On 'semantic satiation' see Stuart Sutherland, *The Macmillan Dictionary of Psychology* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p.418.

no *regard* at our hands?

It was Sinne then, and the hainousnesse of sinn in us, **that** provoked wrath and the *fiercenesse* of his *wrath* in GOD: It was love, and the greatnesse of his love, in CHRIST, **that** caused him to suffer the *Sorrowes*, and the grievousnes of these Sorrowes, and all for our sakes.

And indeed, but only to testifie the *Non sicut* of this his Love, all this needed not, **that** was done to him. One, any one, even the very least of all the paines he endured, had been enough; enough, in respect of the *Meus*; enough, in respect of the *Non sicut* of his *Person*. For, **that** which setteth the high price on this Sacrifice, is this; **That** he, which offereth it unto GOD, is GOD. But, if little had been suffered, little would the *Love* have been thought, **that** suffered so little; and as little *regard* would have been had of it. To awake our *regard* then, or to leave us excuselesse, if we continue regardlesse, all this he bare for us: **that** he might as truly make a Case of *Si fuerit Amor, sicut Amor meus* (360)

It goes on

Yet have we not all we should. For, what of all this? What good? *Cui bono*? **That**, **that** is it (indeed) **that** we will *regard*, if any thing: as being matter of *Benefit*, the only thing (in a manner) the world regardeth: which bringeth us about to the very first words againe. (360)

It is not impertinent this; Even this; **That** to us hereby, all is turned about cleane contrary: **That** *by his Stripes, we are healed: by his sweat, we refreshed: By his forsaking, we received to Grace. That, this* day (to him, the *day of the fiercenesse of GOD's wrath*) is to us the Day of the fulnesse of GOD's *favour*, (as the *Apostle* caeth it) *A Day of Salvation*. (361)

Michael Rutherglen has written how in Gerard Manley Hopkins's poetry 'extreme sonic density [...] is meant to background the words' semantic meanings in order to highlight meaning of another kind'—where by the singular effect of 'patterned iteration', words are 'Detached to the mind, not from it', and 'the inscapes of speech become apparent apart from

the concepts that normally occlude them'.<sup>30</sup> This passage of Andrewes has, I would argue, a deeply poetic patterning, telling anaphoric tales of insufficient likeness and its striving, finding a profound way to express accommodated inscapes which reach constantly to comprehend the Passion, and keep it in mind. *This* and *that* here point us back to the very first words again, increasingly by way of the same words over and over—except that anaphors, by their instinctive fickleness, also show up what is interesting about 'verbatim' repetition; not every *this* means the same thing. This promiscuity—detaching to the mind, and not from it—extends kinaesthetically to the way *this* and *that* (and also *it*)<sup>31</sup> direct attention: holding the capacity for occasional cataphoric (where words refer forward) pointing, these are words which might change their allegiance at any moment:

If we do not, as **this** was a day of GOD's *fierce wrath* against him, onely for regarding us; so there is another day coming, and **it** will quickly be heer, a day of like *fierce wrath* against us, for not regarding him (363)

*This* and *it* are of one cohort, but here the *this* day of the scriptural past—if we were to take our regarding eye off it for one moment too long—becomes all too frighteningly fast the *it* fierce wrath of an imminent future.

Because they are little and numerous, *thises*, *thats* and *its*—like little words on the pages of the *Preces*—do not often enough impinge on our regard and considering. 'To awake our *regard* then': these words are put to particularly serious and self-aware work in Andrewes because—and especially in the Passion sermons—they enact the very difficulties of replacement, explanation and expounding which so often underlie pedagogical-exegetical texts on scripture. Small words and phrases, as this thesis has repeatedly argued, can be made to fit a lot in them, and to demand a lot of thinking about. Asking a minutely-focused and constantly-reevaluating following-along of listening or reading attention, Andrewes's colouring-in of whole copious, agonising images with particles—with *sos*, *suches*, *toos*—and his determined pouring of their vitality into anaphors, both interrogates the considering movements and stases of his own thinking repetitions, and changes the way we are likely to engage with such common words upon further encounter. This speaks, I would argue, a readiness to allegorise with the construction materials of syntax and sentences which comes

---

<sup>30</sup> Michael Rutherglen, 'Hopkins's Material Poetics: Sense and the Inscapes of Speech', *Victorian Poetry*, 56.2 (2018), 167–79 (p.173).

<sup>31</sup> '*it*' is more prevalent in this guise in the first 1597 Passion sermon.

partly, and formatively, from reading logic books. Like the meditational manuals which endeavour to cultivate in readers a mode of thought whereby a door creaking on its hinges, or a crack in the wall, can set off our prayers, sermons like the 1604 Passion invite thinking about the Crucifixion on every subsequent reading, in any sentence, any text, of a *This*.

### Andrewes's Imaginary Materialities

'A question verie material, and to great good purpose', Andrewes called the Eunuch's demand of Esau and Philip in this chapter's opening. What, for Andrewes, constitutes a 'verie materiality' that might apply to such things as questions? Just as the *Hymnes* and the *Preces* didn't always need real braces to do diagrammatic thinking, so the second part of this chapter will argue that material language for texts (particularly dimensions and proportions) has much importantly to do with Andrewes's methods of pedagogy, without ever having—or needing to have—much to do with the real sizes and shapes of texts. Ettenhuber describes in *Biathanatos* a 'process of accommodation and adjudication [...] imagined as stretching and extension'.<sup>32</sup> With Drucker's diagrams and Mitchell's spatial forms, this thesis has already established that while thinking best and clearest by spaces is often inescapable, the spaces and pages need not always be real ones. In setting, particularly, instructions for exegetical expansions against those for compressions—the building out of sermons from bible verses, the packing of the ongoing moments of the Passion into deictics, the abridging of laws and the trying of their extent—the rest of this chapter will seek to trace a devotional pedagogy founded in negotiating the relative imaginary dimensions of words, sentences, chapters, tables, books, abridgments and extensions.

In recent years, attention to real historical materialities has often preoccupied readers of early modern sermons, whether as printed objects or performances. In his editorial work on both Andrewes and Donne, McCullough has done much to bring the machinations of print and publishing to bear on consideration of the book of sermons as a material object, with the peculiarly potent capacity to reflect political-theological proclivities, even to act as political-theological instrument.<sup>33</sup> The case for keeping in mind the three-dimensional historical spaces of preaching (and their ambient sounds)—in round churches, at court, outdoors at St Paul's

---

<sup>32</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, p.161.

<sup>33</sup> See esp. McCullough, 'Making Dead Men Speak'; and 'Print, Publication, and Religious Politics in Caroline England', *The Historical Journal*, 51.2 (2008), 285–313.



Cross—is equally compelling.<sup>34</sup> Bryan Crockett and John Wesley, meanwhile, have thought at length about embodiment and embodying—via a vital kinship with the theatrical—in Andrewes’s preaching.<sup>35</sup> Like Peter Lake, who finds printed affinities of titillating subject matter across popular plays, sermons, and murder pamphlets,<sup>36</sup> Crockett embeds performed sermons in a contemporary dramatic context—replete with surrounding polemical and theoretical discourse—to argue for a ‘cultural interplay between the Renaissance stage play and the Reformation sermon [which] cuts across generic boundaries and apparent antipathies’.<sup>37</sup> Wesley, also reading sermons as texts most importantly spoken and heard—initiating Andrewes, with Spenser and Kyd, into a ‘Mulcaster’s Boys’ gang of literary-aspiring Merchant-Taylorites—has considered the foregrounding of oratory in Mulcaster’s grammar school curriculum, similarly combining sacred and secular learning contexts to cast the sermons as fundamentally theatrical ‘pulpit performances’,<sup>38</sup> preoccupied with pace of delivery, tone of voice, incline of the head, waving about of the arms, pointing of fingers. Invigoratingly attentive to ‘the roles of the ear and the eye in pulpit performances’,<sup>39</sup> Crockett and Wesley are convincing in their case for Andrewes’s audience-focused embodying rhetoric, and for the roles of gesture and pageant, more generally, in asking emotion of

---

<sup>34</sup> See for example Emma Rhatigan, ‘Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.87–119; *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. John Craig, ‘Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547–1642’, pp.104–24.

<sup>35</sup> Bryan Crockett, *The Play of Paradox: Stage and Sermon in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); “‘Holy Cozenage’ and the Renaissance Cult of the Ear”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24.1 (1993), 47–65; ‘The Act of Preaching and The Art of Prophecy’, *Sewanee Review*, 105.1 (1997), 39–52; ‘From Pulpit to Stage: Thomas Playfere’s Influence on Shakespeare’, *N&Q*, 49.2 (2002), 243–245. John Wesley, ‘Acting and *actio* in the Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes’, *Renaissance Studies*, 23.5 (2009), 678–693.

<sup>36</sup> Peter Lake with Michael Questier in *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (London: Yale University Press, 2002). Since G.R. Owst’s 1933 *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), much scholarly work has investigated the teaching overlaps between medieval drama, preaching and bible-reading. See *Contexts for Early English Drama*, ed. Marianne Briscoe and John Coldewey (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), esp. Briscoe, ‘Preaching and Medieval English Drama’, pp.150–72. For recent work on this see Emma Rhatigan, ‘Audience, Actors and “Taking Part” in the Revels’, in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama, 1558–1642*, ed. Jennifer Low and Nova Myhill (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.151–71; and Rhatigan, ‘Reading the White Devil in Thomas Adams and John Webster’, in *Early Modern Drama and the Bible: Contexts and Readings, 1570–1625*, ed. Adrian Streete (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.176–94; Charlotte Steenbrugge, *Drama and Sermon in Late Medieval England: Performance, Authority, Devotion* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017).

<sup>37</sup> Crockett, *Paradox*, p.3.

<sup>38</sup> Wesley, ‘Mulcaster’s Boys’, p.117

<sup>39</sup> Crockett, *Paradox*, p.27.

sermon-spectators. The ‘book of the sermon’ has become, here, not so different a curious object—with not so different a content, or an audience—from ‘the book of the play’.<sup>40</sup>

Real preaching and listening bodies, then, real inky words on paper pages, and real streets and ceilings. There is, though, in that ‘interplay of the material and intangible realms’ Ettenhuber finds in Donne,<sup>41</sup> another aspect to Andrewesian materialism—also, I think, though differently, historicising of its modes of thought and its methods of teaching reading. Countering Ingold’s ‘Materials against Materiality’ with Wall-Randell’s ‘imaginary spatial aesthetic of the book’, and Schurink’s argument that ‘thinking [...] about *texts*’, rather than about their materials, ‘can often help us to understand reading’, I want to argue here that Andrewes, in both sermons and lectures, often attributes proportions, dimensions, and material qualities to the things he performs reading which, primarily metaphorical, remain fundamental to his pedagogical processes, and his means of both demonstrating and perceiving comprehension.<sup>42</sup>

Catherine Richardson has written of the material metaphors structuring the prose of didactic household manuals (knitting, cementing, knotting, plastering, soldering, joining...) that ‘read *en masse* [...] they provide a discursive field within which [family] relationships are explored in various fully material terms’—encouraging complex thinking about ‘connections between practice and theory, between everyday life and theological engagement’.<sup>43</sup> Richardson’s argument for how the varied limitations of such tropes within a clearly-established ‘discursive field’ organise thinking about wholes and parts, provoking ‘meditation on similarity and dissimilarity, and therefore on the theoretical’ (and theological)

---

<sup>40</sup> On the book of the play which hovers between print and performance in—predominantly—Shakespeare studies, see, for example, Harry Berger, *Imaginary Audition: Shakespeare on Stage and Page* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Stephen Orgel, ‘What is an Editor?’, *Shakespeare Studies*, 24 (1996), 23–39; Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); *The Book of the Play*, ed. Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006); William Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>41</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne’s Augustine*, p.76.

<sup>42</sup> Wall-Randell, *Immaterial Book*, p.12; Schurink, ‘Textuality and Materiality of Reading’, p.354.

<sup>43</sup> Catherine Richardson, ‘Domestic Manuals and the Power of Prose’, in *Oxford Handbook of English Prose*, pp.484–505 (pp.500–01). Reid in *Reading by Design* also discusses the ‘material rhetorics of books’ (glasses, maps, mirrors) (p.18).

‘distinctions between states’, sits well with learning to read the bible by Andrewes’s lessons.<sup>44</sup> The Passion sermons—where Laws set down by Jeremiah ‘according to the letter’ in 1604 are two sentences later punningly ‘*literally spoken* of this people too’ (350, italics mine)—are inscribed with a textuality which is stridently material. Here by the lambent zeugma of conveniently over-stacked adverbials, spoken words hang off the cross as weighty and worthy regard as Christ’s body, where it is commanded,

Be it then to us, (as to them it was, and as most properly, it is) The speech of the SONNE of GOD, as this day hanging on the Crosse, to a sort of carelesse people, that goe up and down without any manner of *regard* of these his sorrowes and sufferings, so worthy of all *regard*. (350–51)

Up and down we troop, before the hanging banner of speech. Just so in the 1597 sermon, Christ ‘was *pierced* with *love* [...] Which *love* we may read in the *palmes* of *His hands* [...] For, in the *Palmes* of his hands, He hath graven us, that he might not forget us. And the print of the *neiles* in them, are as *Capitall letters* to record his *love* toward us.’ (343–44). The 1605 speaks of Jesus, *Author* and *Finisher* of our faith, who ‘In the very *letters*, he taketh to him the name of *Alpha* the *Author*, and again of *Omega* the *Finisher* of the *Alphabet*’—and ‘From letters go to *words*: there is he [...] the *Word at the beginning*: And he is *Amen* too, the *word* at the *end*. From words to *books*: [...] In the very *front of the book* he is: and he is [the] *conclusion* of it too’ (368). From words to books, Passion to performance to printed page.

Though not especially idiosyncratic, it is hard to ignore, once remarked, how often Andrewes speaks of ‘handling’ parts of texts as a means of understanding them. In the *Pattern*, too,

[F]or other matters that concern the discipline, order and government, of the Church, it was not necessary to have them expressed in writing [...] it was sufficient, that they might

---

<sup>44</sup> Richardson, ‘Domestic Manuals’, p.90. On the stylings of early modern domestic didacticism see also: Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); *Didactic Literature in England, 1500–1800: Expertise constructed*, ed. Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Lynette Hunter, ‘Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, Behaviour’, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.514–32; Catherine Richardson, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

be known by the daily practise of the Church, wherein every one might read them written in large and Capital letters.<sup>45</sup>

This is ‘writing’, large capital letters, explicitly defined by not existing in writing. These, like Richardson’s ‘joinings’, are not quite real materialities. As Ashmore has investigated in Andrewes’s 1610 Easter sermon, at crucial moments for attending to theological mysteries, ‘Reading [...] figurative language literally’—seeking out ‘legible/audible artefact[s]’ in scriptural accounting of the Resurrection—‘mistakes, in Augustinian terms, the sign for the thing signified’.<sup>46</sup> Although ‘Andrewes imagines a potential connection between carnal and mental sight’ which constitutes a useful means of accommodation, so too it is important to have the right tools to read this connection aright, and not misunderstand the baby-talk for the real thing—as Ashmore shows, models of faith here transcend the materiality of the language which yet remains irresistible for expressing them.<sup>47</sup>

What about models of reading? How to figure in literary language the changing shapes of divine texts fed through hermeneutic machines—how to describe (indeed, how to *teach*) what we do to difficult text-bound ideas in the process of trying to understand them? Susan Stewart is our best theoriser of literary sizes. In her 1984 book *On Longing*, Stewart wrote of the stories and the characters which lend themselves to littleness and largeness, of the unfolding of reading-time on printed pages, and the wily semiotics of things described.

What does it mean to describe something? Descriptions must rely upon an economy of significance which is present in all of culture’s representational forms, an economy which is shaped by generic conventions and not by aspects of the material world itself.

‘Our interest in description’, she writes, ‘may be stated most often as an interest in style, but in fact it is equally an interest in closure. All description is a matter of mapping the unknown onto the known’.<sup>48</sup> All divine accommodation—although it definitively ought not be mistaken for closure—constitutes dependence on an economy of significance shaped by learnt generic

---

<sup>45</sup> Andrewes, *Pattern*, p.271.

<sup>46</sup> Ashmore, ‘Faith and Scriptural History’, p.66. (see pp.56–70 on Andrewes’s negotiations of faith and knowledge of the Resurrection in the 1606 Easter Day sermon, and pp.70–77 on Andrewes’s accounts of ‘ideal interpreter[s] of materiality’).

<sup>47</sup> Ashmore, ‘Faith and Scriptural History’, pp.73, 71.

<sup>48</sup> Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), p.26.

conventions, as a means of mapping the unknown onto the more-knowable. Stewart writes mesmerisingly, in her chapter on miniatures, of how

Such experiments with the scale of writing as we find in micrographia and the miniature book exaggerate the divergent relation between the abstract and the material nature of the sign. A reduction in dimensions does not produce a corresponding reduction in significance; indeed, the gemlike properties of the miniature book and the feats of micrographia make these forms especially suitable “containers” of aphoristic and didactic thought.<sup>49</sup>

Stewart’s ‘miniaturism’ is particularly useful for understanding Andrewes’s—a littleness defined by relation, and by involved efforts of craftsmanship (the lovingly hewn ‘gemlike properties’ of ‘This’). A miniature is something larger *made* small; it ‘has the capacity to make its context remarkable; its fantastic qualities are related to what lies outside it in such a way as to transform the total context’.<sup>50</sup>

But Stewart, too, is preoccupied by how the sizes of texts relate to their material manifestations, mesmerised by thumb bibles and portrait miniatures, as containers with real dimensions in avid conversation with the workings of their ‘texts’. She argues, via Derrida, that ‘The metaphors of the book are metaphors of containment, of exteriority and interiority, of surface and depth, of covering and exposure, of taking apart and putting together’:<sup>51</sup> these are precisely Andrewes’s metaphors of exegesis—but for Andrewes they are of not the book, but the text. Though following Stewart, then, in wondering about precisely a notion of littleness where ‘a reduction in dimensions does not produce a corresponding reduction in significance’, about what make ‘suitable “containers” of aphoristic and didactic thought’, I’d like still to do this while jettisoning the actual books and buildings as for the moment unnecessary.

### ***The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine***

Ian Green’s scholarship, along with Tessa Watt’s, on the printed histories of popular Protestantism, has done much to transform understanding of the theories and practices of

---

<sup>49</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, p.43.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.46.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p.37.

worship and devotion in (particularly domestic) Reformation England. Part of Green's work in *The Christian's ABC* and *Print and Protestantism* has been to establish the prominence of the catechism in a context of textual devices—Jeff Dolven's 'didactic technologies'—for religious teaching and learning.<sup>52</sup> Catechisms as Green sets them out are animatedly formal in a way that sits well beside Spenser's self-parodies in the diptych *Hymnes*, with shape and content always mutually reciprocal and each-way constituting: while 'the agile minds of contemporary catechists were capable of inserting almost any doctrine into almost any point of the four staple items of contemporary catechizing', at the same time there was 'in many cases [...] a close correlation between the framework within which an author handled his material and the theological standpoint he wished to convey'.<sup>53</sup>

Appointed 'catechist' of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge in 1578, Andrewes lectured on the Ten Commandments at three o'clock on Saturday and Sunday afternoons in the college chapel, over the course, McCullough suggests, of two or three years in the first part of the 1580s.<sup>54</sup> Though various printed versions of the text appeared from 1630 onwards—sometimes collected with the sermons, in 'outline form' produced from listeners' notes, and unauthorised and unattributed until the ending of the Laudian royal patent on publishing Andrewes in 1641—the full text (edited from an autograph manuscript) was not published until 1650.<sup>55</sup> The *Preces* comes from the end of a writing life, the *Pattern* purportedly from the beginning—offering between them a book-ending rather like that of the *Hymnes*' two halves. In his magisterial 1962 study of pulpit oratory, W. Fraser Mitchell argued that the college exercises and early sermons of young preachers—delivered in universities to university audiences—are often revealing of later stylistic developments;<sup>56</sup> and indeed, editions of the *Pattern* printed after Andrewes's death often purport to function as a

---

<sup>52</sup> Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechism and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) and *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>53</sup> Green, *Christian's ABC*, p.429.

<sup>54</sup> See McCullough, *Sermons*, notes to the *Pattern*, pp.276–77. McCullough calculates that the lectures 'must [...] have stretched over at least two if not three academic years, which is consistent with the pattern of the dated lectures on Genesis delivered at St Giles's Cripplegate and St Paul's in the 1590s'.

<sup>55</sup> The 1650 edition, McCullough says, 'holds the primary claim to authority'. For more information on the publication history of the *Pattern*, see *Sermons*, pp.276–77.

<sup>56</sup> W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: A Study of its Literary Aspects* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), p.61.

biographical epitext to Andrewes's development as a thinker (from the other end of life from the *Preces*). 'This which is now presented to thee', reads the 1650 preface,

though composed in his younger years, when he was Fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, will demonstrate, that the Foundations were then laid of those great Parts and Abilities, wherewith he was furnisht.<sup>57</sup>

Here is to be found the 'ground work of all those other learned Labours, wherewith he afterwards enricheth the Church' (\*1<sup>r</sup>). That same end—to urge the practice of religion—which was the scope of these lectures 'when he at first penned and delivered' them, is also 'the end aimed at in the publishing of them at this time': as the preface goes on, those that read and peruse them will find,

that they containe, the most full, compleate, learned, and elaborate body of Practical Divinity, that hath been hitherto published, and that scarce any thing of note is to be found on this large subject in any Authors Divine or humane, which is not here with admirable judgement, clearenes of method, and fulnesse of expression digested (\*\*2<sup>v</sup>)

Where the hermeneutic and pedagogic strategies of the sermons' literary intricacies—though powerfully effective—are insistently implicit in a way which makes them sometimes hard to articulate, the *Pattern* is more straightforwardly didactic in its aims and opinions—showing Andrewes's working, still being worked out, by a younger teacher still embedded in the pedagogical environs of Ramist Cambridge.<sup>58</sup>

Andrewes in the *Pattern* is strikingly pensive about education and its accoutrements. One whole chapter 'About instruction'—under rubric of the fifth commandment—is entirely concerned with the subject of

---

<sup>57</sup> Andrewes, *Pattern*, \*1<sup>r</sup>. Further references in this section will be given in the text.

<sup>58</sup> Nicholas Tyacke has argued that the *Pattern* represents some theological positions notably distinct from later recognisably Laudian ones: Ashmore reasons that in combination with the lack of authoritative text, this is one of the reasons why the lectures have often been left out of Andrewes studies (Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp.5–33; Ashmore, 'Faith and Scriptural History', p.50).

Tutors or Schoolmasters, and their Scholars or Pupils. The original of schools and Universities. Mutual duties of Teacher and Scholar, as the choice of such as are fit and capeable. (355)

It follows that the *Pattern* is a particularly good text for considering Andrewesian strategies of accommodation. As David Colclough has shown—comparing two sermons given ‘upstairs’ and ‘downstairs’ by Donne at the court of Charles I, twelve days apart, in April 1626—it is worth attending carefully to the ways preachers tailored their teaching to the specific needs and capabilities of different congregations.<sup>59</sup> Likewise authors of catechisms, as Green writes, were ‘capable of adjusting their language and position according to the target they had in mind or the situation in which they found themselves’.<sup>60</sup> Andrewes in the *Pattern* is concerned with fitting—decorous—teachers as well as fitting students—where the former like pieces of wood must be ‘*squared and fitted*’ to their employment, and the latter ‘*ready to hear and to ask questions*’ (and where ‘the opposite to this is *dulnesse in hearing*, either not to hear at all, or having heard, not to regard what they have heard’) (357, 362).

To-hear-and-to-ask-questions is a pedagogical format with associations specifically catechistical. But—as a preacher and teacher deeply invested in scriptural and Patristic ratification, Andrewes’s presentation of catechising in the *Pattern* is vexed by an inescapable crux: as he explains in an introductory section ‘Containing certain Generall *praecognita* about *Catechizing, Religion, the Law &c.*’ (1), catechising as a practice—unlike, say, preaching, or praying—has no explicit scriptural precedent. The work of justifying it, then, becomes for Andrewes an effort of deciphering—by reading and interpreting—when *learning* is taking place in the Bible, deciding what it looks like, and working out how to emulate it by finding synonyms and equivalents for its different processes, sometimes by comparison with other non-scriptural texts:

because there are no examples in writing extant in the Scriptures, but that Apocryphall of *Susanna*, of whom it is said, that she was instructed by her parents in the law of *Moses* [...] we must repair to the records of *Josephus*, who affirms that there were never lesse among the Jews, then four hundred houses of catechizing (7)

---

<sup>59</sup> David Colclough, ‘Upstairs, Downstairs: Doctrine and Decorum in Two Sermons by John Donne’, *HLQ*, 73.2 (2010), 163–191.

<sup>60</sup> Green, *Christian’s ABC*, p.298.



This is Andrewes's search precisely for Dolven's 'scenes of instruction'. Having noted that the word 'catechism' itself never appears, it's revealing to take notice of where Andrewes sees fit to paraphrase it into proceedings—and to compare his derivation with the cited (though usually not quoted) source. He writes, for example, that 'in one place mention is made both of the Catechist and the Catechized' (7). Cited in the margin is Galatians 6.6:

Let him that is taught in the worde, make him that hathe taught him, partaker of all *his* goods.

Close by is a claim that 'It was Saint *Pauls* practise, as you may see by a passage to the Corinthians [...] that I may catechize others' (7). The passage cited in the margin is '1 Cor.14.19':

Yet had I rather in the Church to speake fiue words with mine vnderstanding that I might also instruct others, then ten thousand wordes in a *strange* tongue.<sup>61</sup>

Catechising as Andrewes understands it is clearly to do with teaching—specifically, with teaching cognisant in its practice of how much different sorts of pupils are likely to be able to hear and take in at a time, and the importance of gauging it right. As an activity and a use of time, catechising also seems often more like prayer than it is like preaching. 'These Catechizings', writes Andrewes, 'are not as Homilies, for if we misse a sermon, we may redeeme it again, but if we misse this exercise, we loose much benefit' (9): by their active question-and-answer format, playing out the same involved economy of unbalanced textual transactions as the *Hymnes* and the *Preces*, these texts also perform and direct active engagement as a mode of reading—one performatively, heuristically generative of textual thought:

The reasons why this custome of catechizing by way of question and answer, hath ever been continued, seem to be these.

1 Because of the account every one must give. Our Saviour tells it us. *reddes rationem*, we must render an accompt. And every man will be most wary in that for which he must be accomptable.

2 Because we are all, young and old, to give an accompt of our faith. Be ready (saith

---

<sup>61</sup> *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva, 1560), XXi<sup>v</sup>, ZZi<sup>f</sup>.

Saint *Peter*) alwayes to give answer to every one that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, a solid reason, not a phanatique opinion. (8)

Responsibility for rendering an account of what we read—a way of voicing faith, fixing it solid and knowable in our own words—is the textual equivalent of proper staying, regarding, and considering.

### Catechisms and ‘Abridgements’

In the *Pattern*, Laws have measurements.<sup>62</sup> ‘Now it is certain’, says Andrewes in one of his introductory lectures, ‘that all the Attributes of God, are every one of equal latitude and longitude. His power is over all and extendeth to every thing, for *virtutis est maxime pertingere vel remotissima*, that is the greatest power that reacheth to things farthest off. And his providence and goodness is of no lesse extent then his power’ (33). Green’s *Christian’s ABC* has a whole chapter on catechisms of the Decalogue. The Ten Commandments, he notes,

was a staple of Reformation teaching [...], but the manner in which it was treated by catechists was not completely uniform. Their main problems when setting out to write a section on the Decalogue were tactical. Did they have space to expound all ten equally and at length, or should the treatment be compressed in some way?<sup>63</sup>

Andrewes’s derivation of ‘catechising’ from Paul’s ‘five words with mine vnderstanding’ as against ‘ten thousand wordes in a *strange* tongue’ is pertinent. If preaching and catechising are two different sorts of teaching, then Andrewes whom we mostly know as a preacher distinguishes between them by the directly opposite ways that each goes about changing the sizes of the texts it teaches: preaching, he says, ‘is a dilating of one Member or point of Religion into a just Treatise’; catechising, by contrast, ‘is a contracting of the whole body of Religion, into an Abridgement or Summe’ (4–5). Dilating, then, versus contracting—work of broad extension and expansion as against that of drawing together, narrowing, delimiting, shortening.

---

<sup>62</sup> For an account of theological mensuration from a different angle see Ashmore, ‘Faith and Scriptural History’, p.17; see also Cormack and Mazzio, ‘Dimensional Thinking’, in *Book Use, Book Theory*, pp.97–115.

<sup>63</sup> Green, *Christian’s ABC*, p.423.

The *Pattern* divides its explanations of each of the ten commandments into ‘rules of extent’ and ‘rules of restraint’, or *amplificatio* and *limitatio*—interested at once in both the expanding processes and the contracting ones.<sup>64</sup> At its heart, the work of both processes comes down to the question of how to read summaries. ‘The learned are of the opinion’, Andrewes writes, ‘that teaching by way of Summe, is meant by Saint *Paul*, when he speaketh of the forme of sound words’ (5). ‘Again, our Saviour catechising *Nicodemus*, made an Epitome or Abridgment of the Gospel, under one head’ (5)—and

If we demand a reason hereof, our Saviour sheweth us one, that we may be able [...] to have a dependance, or be able to referre all our readings and hearings to certain principall heads, thereby to enclose or limit our study [...] lest we should wander in *infinito campo*, in too large a field, and so waver. (5)<sup>65</sup>

If catechisms are synonymous with ‘Abridgements’ and ‘Summes’, then whittling them remains for Andrewes a radical act of formal alteration, demanding justification. ‘By what warrant Abridgements or Summes are made’, reads one heading in the *Pattern*’s opening section. The answer goes in branching diagrams: ‘The warrant [...] we have from Christ himselfe, who in his answer to the Lawyer, reduced the whole Law under two heads, The love of God and our neighbour’ (5). ‘Abridge’, moreover, is not a neutral term: in a chapter remarking grammatical qualities of the Commandments (mostly in the second person, in the future tense, negative), it is also noted that ‘Evil suggestions, evil examples, our own corrupt natures, and *Sathan* besides will egge us forward; and therefore we must keep a diligent watch and abridge our selves of things lawful’ (98–99). Sometimes others will do the abridging for us—as where Paul, ‘in the Chapter which is called the Chapter of expedience’, ‘made a hedge about the Law, abridging the use of a lawful thing, that they might not fall into unlawful’ (77). As Andrewes reports it—explaining the importance of prayers as ‘*constants*’ in the *Pattern*—‘*Tertullian* calleth prayer *breviarium fidei* the abridgement of our faith’ (94). These are positively-valued textual concentrates.

---

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. Andrewes, *Pattern*, p.89.

<sup>65</sup> This irresistibly reminiscent of Richard Holdsworth’s ‘wanderers in a mistie wilderness’ (see above, p.22).

In the *Pattern*, Andrewes, not Christ himself, is our mediating summariser—our example at one remove to follow for reading and digesting. ‘It will appear’, we are told in the *Pattern*’s preface of the postgraduate catechist Andrewes lecturing at Pembroke,

that he had even then, gone through the whole Encyclopedie of Divine and Humane Learning, and that as he was a rich Magazine of all Knowledge; so he had here contracted the Quintessence of all his vast Studies, and the high conceptions of his great and active soul, into these Lectures, as into a common Treasury (\*1<sup>r</sup>–\*1<sup>v</sup>)

This Andrewes, having gone through ‘Encyclopedie’, has become a magazine (here, a storehouse for goods and merchandise), a common Treasury, a ‘living Library’.<sup>66</sup> Those that read on ‘shall finde, besides his perfection in all humane Learning [that] he had read and digested the Fathers, Schoolmen, Casuists, as well as modern Divines’ (\*1<sup>v</sup>)—and the greatness of the digesting lies chiefly in the contracting of this vast perfection into a quintessence. The 1650 edition of the *Pattern* (much, as we will see in the next chapter, like Thomas Speght’s sixteenth-century collected *Chaucer*) goes one step further than Andrewes in summing up and containing for the sake of the reader, where,

For the better help of the Reader, every Commandment is divided into Chapters, and the Sum or Contents of each Chapter, with the method how they stand, are prefixt to every Chapter or Section. All which Contents, together with the Supplements or Additions, are set together at the beginning of the Book, so that the Reader may at once have a general idea of the whole Book, and of what is handled in each Precept, and so may the more easily finde any thing he desires to read, without much Labour or enquiry (\*\*4<sup>v</sup>)

It also appends (to a book already over 500 pages long) an editorial ‘Table of the Supplements or Additions, / Wherein the sence of the Author is cleared in some places where it was obscure or doubtful: and some things are handled more fully, which were omitted, or but briefly touched, &c.’ (this ‘Table’ almost as long again as the authorial text).

---

<sup>66</sup> Wall-Randell describes the ‘bookish wonder’ of notional encyclopedias—and the power of the imaginary printed object which ‘compresses or “epitomizes” a world of information into a convenient, single “Volume small”’ in early modern romance writing (*Immaterial Book*, p.41). As Kathryn Murphy has noted, ‘encyclopedia’ as a ‘count noun’ for a type of book did not appear in English until 1642—‘Encyclopedie’ here must refer, rather, to ‘the ancient sense of encyclopaedia as general or comprehensive learning’. (Kathryn Murphy, ‘Robert Burton and the Problems of Polymathy’, *Renaissance Studies*, 28.2 (2014), 279–97 (p.287).)

In his introduction Andrewes speaks not only of scriptural or catechistical ‘abridgements’ and ‘sums’, but of other sorts of short texts, belonging to other genres, too: ‘Physicians (we know)’, he notes, ‘have their Aphorismes, Lawyers their Institutes, Philosophers Isagoges: and therefore Divines may have their Epitomes’ (5). Different disciplines have their own ways of calling small, and though ‘epitomes’, ‘isagoges’ and ‘aphorisms’ are not made here exactly synonymous with *abridgements* and *sums*, their pedagogic workings are certainly comparable. What is more, the Ten Commandments itself stands resplendent as scriptural archetype for short things containing much. ‘For the Subject’, we are told in the *Pattern*’s preface,

it is the Decalogue, or those Ten Words, in which God himself hath epitomized the whole duty of Man, which have this Priviledge above all other parts of Scripture. (\*1<sup>v</sup>)

Here are set out ‘the Pandects of the Laws of Nature’, where ‘whatsoever Duties are variously dispersed through the whole Book of God are here collected into a brief Sum’ (\*1<sup>v</sup>). (A ‘pandect’ is the complete body of a country’s laws, in one compendious volume, or ‘A treatise covering the whole of a subject; a comprehensive treatise or digest’).<sup>67</sup> In the Decalogue, all of ‘The special end of Matrimony’ can be ‘implied in three words’ (341). ‘Thanks be to our blessed God’, writes Andrewes, ‘who hath made necessary doctrines compendious, and doctrines which are not compendious, not so necessary’ (5).

‘Compendious’, it follows, is fundamental to catechistical sizing; entailing brevity with comprehensiveness, strong substance in small compass, it is a quality of texts which Andrewes lauds often. Since Scripture itself, formidably, ‘hath nothing vain or needlesse’—and ‘curiosity is an odious thing to God’ (78)—the *Pattern* is loudly suspicious, throughout its 530 pages, of superfluity in explanations. ‘There can be no *nimium* [excessiveness] in *religione*’ (202). At the same time, though, not everything can or should be squashed down into summary. If short texts are rendered a genre by their like dimensions, large ones can be too. When God assigns things a greater size—a quite different case to our own prolific wantonness to superflowing scum—there is good reason behind it. Hence Andrewes writes of the second commandment:

---

<sup>67</sup> ‘pandect, *n.l.*’, *OED*

<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/136743?rskey=rxZwLR&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 10 June 2019].

If we mark the other eight Commandments well, we shall finde them far short in words of this and the fourth. So that these two may fitly be called *Precepta copiosa*, Commandments fully expressed. Statutes at large. And this was not without cause, there was good reason they should be so [...] And thus we see the Reason, why God did so enlarge these two Commandments, because they were in most danger to be neglected. (193)

and of the fourth—

This Commandment being of as large, or larger extent, and more copious in words then the second, should work in us no lesse regard [...] Nor is it in vain that God hath so enlarged it. (260)

‘Statutes at large’ can be fittingly and decorously so—in a way that we should learn to recognise. The ‘scope and end’ of the third commandment ‘is Gods glory: and you see, that it must not be restrained, but must have a large extent, and that as large as may be for place and perpetuity’ (233) (place and perpetuity—space *and* time). Big things, as well as being more naturally impressive, are fuller, less at risk of misunderstanding, and less at risk of neglect. Shuger has described how,

The “violent compression” of scriptural figures, tropes, ideas, and allusions creates a difficult, multi-levelled suggestiveness and coiled force. Rather than explaining things in orderly abstractions, the Scriptures use intertwined troped parables, maxims, and types to compact the greatest number of ideas into the fewest words.<sup>68</sup>

In her account of sacred rhetoric, this rich literary brevity—‘lofty, and darkly evocative’, ‘closely related to both power and vividness’—typifies a particularly scriptural allusive density.<sup>69</sup> But the abridgment of ‘statutes at large’ would *not*, as Stewart’s gemlike miniatures, ‘not produce a corresponding reduction in significance’; rather, it would spoil the line of the thing, quash its flaunted (flaunting) advantages.<sup>70</sup> Superfluity and excess are execrable, but sometimes heft is necessary—and sometimes it is divinely ordained.

---

<sup>68</sup> Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric*, p.74.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.52, 54.

<sup>70</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, p.43.

Boiling down, then, is not always the same as simplifying. Fraser Mitchell in *English Pulpit Oratory* described the ‘periods’ of Mark Frank, a preacher who was also a fellow of Pembroke in 1634, and who was ‘clearly very deeply influenced by Andrewes’. Frank, Fraser Mitchell argues, was highly effective as an orator ‘because he [was] content to be brief without aiming at cleverness’;<sup>71</sup> Andrewesian ‘words very brief’ (433), though, look to be of a different sort. Despite his description of catechistical abridgments as being ‘for our shorter, so for our more easy attaining to the knowledge of that, which may bring us to salvation’, Andrewes also seeks to instil that our desire to study the Scriptures must never be satisfied by that ‘made easy by a short compendium’—that we should rather remain constantly before God’s judgment seat to seek his knowledge, and only thus ‘proceed and profit every day’ (5). This density creates short texts—abridgments, epitomes, isagoges—as objects (much more like Shuger’s ‘violent compressions’) of slow-reading, meditative attention, asking not swift glances, but rather an ‘endeavour [...] to get the utmost possible meaning out of every word’,<sup>72</sup> where in scriptural reading ‘There was no need’—indeed, quite the opposite—‘for anyone to be discouraged if progress in learning was slow’.<sup>73</sup> O all ye who pass by this way, Stay and Consider.

### **Small to Large: Andrewesian Expounding**

Laura Feitzinger Brown has remarked recently the notion in many of Arnold Hunt’s ‘art-of-hearing’ texts that ‘lay listeners [...] depict construction of a sermon’s meaning as a cooperative endeavour where laypeople wield significant power’.<sup>74</sup> Divinely large and warrantedly small things notwithstanding, the *Pattern* is concerned with exhibiting—and policing—the reading processes (*amplificatio* and *limitatio*) by which one kind of text becomes another—by what counts as ‘digesting’, and what it means to ‘supplement’, to ‘add’, ‘supply’, ‘defect’, ‘corrupt’ or ‘mangle’. ‘It was Gods purpose’, writes Andrewes, ‘to have his commandments beaten out as far as the rules of extension used by Christ would permit’ (99). But—just as not everything can be compressed, so too not all kinds of expounding are trustworthy. Offering encoded compressions bespeaks a trusting confidence in readers—God, commanding the Sabbath, ‘gives the Precept barely without any reason at all, and that

---

<sup>71</sup> Fraser Mitchell, *Pulpit Oratory*, pp.75–76.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p.162.

<sup>73</sup> Rivkah Zim, ‘The Reformation: “The Trial of God’s Word”’, in *Reading the Text: Biblical Interpretation and Literary Theory*, ed. Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp.64–135 (p.73).

<sup>74</sup> Laura Feitzinger Brown, ‘Slippery Listening: Anxious Clergy and Lay Listeners’ Power in Early Modern England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 47.1 (2016), 3–23 (p.3).

because our consciences had taught us this before, and because he speaks to those that knew reason sufficient' (269)—but expanding-out requires skill and training, and Andrewes speaks often about the ways it might go wrong. Although it is always true of the compressed commandments that 'there must be more particular rules then the bare letter or sentence affordeth', so too 'the interpretation must be to shew the compasse of the Law, how far it extendeth, and how far it restraineth' (89).

As Green has explained, authors of catechisms specifically on the Decalogue often suggested that it was a text requiring particular reading strategies.<sup>75</sup> One such rule specific to the Ten Commandments is that 'the specifics raised in a Commandment should be understood as having a broad application'—'so it was permissible and indeed incumbent on the catechist to expand this brief summary of what men should do, just as he had enlarged on the main headings of what they were to believe in the Apostles' Creed'.<sup>76</sup> The Commandments as Andrewes teaches them 'make use of Synecdoche, that is, under one fault include many that are *homogenea* of the same kinde'. By this rhetorical device of textual efficiency, 'in each Commandment the principal or general sin is named, and the rest implied; for if every particular sin should be mentioned which were within the compasse of the prohibition, the Commandment would be infinite' (193).

'*Homogenea*' is a Latin word not commonly borrowed into English texts before the later part of the seventeenth century, when it is mostly found in natural philosophies. The word also appears in Ramus's own *Dialecticae libri duo*; economical pedagogy by broad application, hand-in-hand with the identification and enumeration of multiple possible instances, seems a deeply Ramist teaching strategy.<sup>77</sup> Here is Andrewes defining *homogenea* (he also uses the adjective 'Homogeneall' on several occasions), as the second 'Rule of Extent for expounding the Decalogue', in a prefacing chapter to his explanations of the First Commandment:

The second Rule is, That wheresoever a thing is commanded or prohibited, there all the *homogenea* (or of the same kinde) to it are forbidden or enjoined. The same may be seen in mans Lawes. A Law is extended either *Specifice*, or by *Equipollens*. 1, *Specifice* is, when a thing is done that is of the same kinde, but by circumstance is diverse. 2. By

---

<sup>75</sup> Green, *Christian's ABC*, p.426.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p.428.

<sup>77</sup> Petrus Ramus, *P. Rami Dialecticae libri duo* [...] (Cambridge, 1584), e.g. p.75.



*Equipollens* [...]: first, when the balance hangs equall, the Logicians call it a *pari*, as in the commandment against theft, to set a mans house on fire is as evil as to steal. Secondly, when one is lighter or heavier then the other, from the lesse to the greater, a *majori* (as they call it.) If one be bound to honour his Parents, much more to honour God. (90)

Andrewesian *homogenea* and its impulses of constant collocation—juxtaposition for scoping the correspondence of ‘kinde’ and ‘the same’, divergences of materialist ‘extending’ and the balance hanging equal; crimes lighter or heavier, less or greater—seem the most fundamental of transferrable reading skills bestowed by the *Pattern*, for recognising instances of abridgement and expanding them usefully out again. ‘This’, says Andrewes—‘that every Law standeth upon a Synecdoche’—we must hold for an infallible conclusion’ (89). (‘Our interest in description may be stated most often as an interest in style, but in fact it is equally an interest in closure. All description is a matter of mapping the unknown onto the known.’)<sup>78</sup> This methodology goes, too, for schools of opinion and their best synecdochic representatives—‘For the Fathers.’ Andrewes writes, ‘take the judgement of *S. Augustine* for the rest’ (209).

Thus, since each ‘Law’ of the Commandments is recognisably a *type* of text—with a kinship of textual dimension which asks a kinship of hermeneutic approach—once we have been shown how to read ‘Thou shalt not kill’, we ought also to be able to manage ‘Thou shalt not steal’ by the same reading strategies. As in the case of the Eunuch in the first Passion sermon reading ‘a like place’, here training in one place should help us understand another. Kevin Killeen has described the typological sermon as a kind of ‘reading technology’ which teaches readers to ‘unpack’ a biblical verse.<sup>79</sup> In part a Ramist one-size-fits-all device for saving time and space (a way of avoiding repetition, or imbuing repetition with a particular other magic), *homogenea* is also, of course, a kind of deictic anaphor: ‘this was toucht before’, Andrewes says of the ninth commandment, ‘and therefore we shall say the less now’ (501). Here in the *Pattern*, he says, readers can hone ‘the *active part of understanding*, the *intellectus agens*, whereby they are apt to *dilate and enlarge* what they heare, and to work

---

<sup>78</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, p.26.

<sup>79</sup> Kevin Killeen, ‘Chastising with Scorpions: Reading the Old Testament in Early Modern England’, *HLQ*, 73.3 (2010), 491–506 (p.492). See also Killeen, ‘Veiled Speech: Preaching, Politics and Scriptural Typology’, in *Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, pp.387–403.

upon what they are taught, and thereby become [...] able to learn of themselves, by improving those principles they have received from others' (395).

### **Wholes: words, sentences, tables**

John Aubrey's 'Jack-an-apes' Andrewes, Sophie Read's 'sixteenth-century Fotherington-Thomas'—the famous Linguist, the curious Critick, the living Library—is best known to scholarship as an enchanter of individual words.<sup>80</sup> This Andrewes is most notorious for wriggling texts to pieces, toying with fragments, holding sparkling smithereens up to the light. Notwithstanding, *homogenea*—by which unspoken implications 'refer', 'depend', come 'under' others—undoubtedly becomes for Andrewes in the *Pattern* a means for discerning the coherence of a whole text by the weighting and balancing of its ordered parts. Acheson identifies the construing of 'relationships between wholes and parts' as one of the key features of dichotomous tables:<sup>81</sup> as we have already found in the *Hymnes* and the *Preces*, the order in which we encounter different elements of a text, and the related implications of their meaningful relationships to one another—their diagrammatic poetics—is for Andrewes and Spenser a non-negotiable component of their sense-making. Where the sixth commandment, as Andrewes writes, 'conducting so much to publick and private peace, is rightly and in its due order placed next to the fifth whereby authority and government is established with due respect and honour' (400), and the seventh, by turns, is best read in full understanding of its 'dependance [...] upon the former' (433), it becomes clear that the Decalogue is a text with particularly legible proxemic structures.

Wall-Randell writes of romance readers that they "understand" the books they read not through the orderly use of humanist book practice [...] [but] by receiving them in their radical wholeness', as when St. John eats the 'litle boke' of prophecy in Revelation.<sup>82</sup> The *Pattern* fits types of hermeneutic work to sizes of textual wholes. We have already heard the preaching Andrewes metaphorising with the 'very *letters*'—from which 'go to *words*', 'From words to *books*',<sup>83</sup> where God is the *Author*, and the *Finisher* of the *Alphabet*, the front of the book and its conclusion. Of the six techniques set out in the *Pattern*'s Introduction to find the true sense of Scripture, Andrewes notes that the first three 'are for understanding of words',

---

<sup>80</sup> Qtd. Sophie Read, 'Lancelot Andrewes's Sacramental Wordplay', pp.14, 17.

<sup>81</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, p.65.

<sup>82</sup> Wall-Randell, *Immaterial Book*, pp.132–34.

<sup>83</sup> *XCVI. Sermons*, p.368.

the fourth and fifth ‘for understanding of sentences and chapters’ (54). Like the ‘Statutes at large’ with good reason they should be so, some divine words in the *Pattern* are bigger than others. Andrewes’s discussion of large words is particularly interesting in his expounding of the second commandment, ‘the several words whereby Image-worship is forbidden’. There is here, Andrewes explains, a disagreement of translation, ‘between us, and the Church of Rome’, as to how to interpret God’s ruling with respect to ‘Image’ and ‘Idol’, neither of which words themselves appear in the commandment. To sort this out, he says, we need

a word very general, and large; and that so general, as that neither in the Latine, nor the Greek, there can be any word found to answer it, containing both *exemplum*, and *exemplar*, and not onely that, but [...] even the Metaphysical notions, whether in our brain, or brought into matter [...] And this will set the question right between us, and the Papists. (196)

‘It is true’, he goes on, ‘that *Peter Martyr* saith. There are thirteen Hebrew words to expresse what is here forbidden to which more might be added, but to avoid tediousnesse, they may be reduced to these four’. Large words with wide, general spans, then, help avoid misunderstanding; small ones which stand for many reduced, tediousness.

Janel Mueller’s *The Native Tongue and the Word* in 1984 provided the definitive study of the theological and literary clout of the homiletic ‘sentence’, and a formidable model for how to read its syntax.<sup>84</sup> Sentences in the *Pattern* must fit their right size. Hence Andrewes objects to the splitting up of the tenth commandment into two—as, he says, do Augustine, the Lutherans, and the Church of Rome—on the grounds that

it would be unreasonable to thrust two *Precepts* into one period, and so to pronounce them with one breath; whereas every one of the rest is a full sentence by it self; and therefore it is most agreeable to Reason, that this should be too. (521)

Such ‘sentences’ speak partly, of course, to the *sententiae* of the wider humanist classroom. As where Andrewes writes how the good, duteous student must imitate Christ, ‘when he was in state of a Scholar’, who ‘would not let one wise sentence escape him, and was ever asking

---

<sup>84</sup> Janel Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style, 1380–1580* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See also Mueller, ‘Periodos: Squaring the Circle’, in *Renaissance Figures of Speech*, pp.61–78.

questions' (362), this often seems the word's dominant pedigree in the *Pattern*. But 'sentence' to the early modern mind also means 'way of thinking' (Andrewes seems to use it like this in speaking, for example, of 'the definitive sentence of the Pope' (55)). And somewhere between the two meanings, sentences in the *Pattern* are logical units of syntax which—as we will see in Spenser in my final chapter—show reading strategies for larger units, in metaphorical microcosm.

Abraham Fraunce writes in the *Arcadian Rhetorike* that 'gesture' in rhetorical performance must 'rather followe the sentence than expresse euerie particular word'—since 'much wauering and ouercurious and nice motion is verie ridiculous'.<sup>85</sup> This is sentence as 'gist', as general sense of a whole, eschewing distraction in the overcuriousness of too-small detail.<sup>86</sup> 'Scope' and 'drift' are favourite words of Andrewes's, too. And yet, chiming no less well with the logical Fraunce, Andrewes also argues in the *Pattern* for attention to such (overcurious and overnice) grammatical detail, in order to understand how the whole is put together, and to make good sense of its larger meaning. To find out the true sense of Scripture, then, 'we must look round about us, behind and before us, that is, we must well weigh the Antecedents, and Consequents, and every Circumstance, to understand any sentence and chapters, whereof we doubt' (54). Andrewes frequently follows through on his own advice to scrutinise the attention-mechanics of grammatical moving parts—thinking in the 1605 Passion sermon, for example, about the two different verbs for looking in his chosen Hebrews verse, one of which 'is a *Participle*, and but suspendeth the sentence, till we either looke back to the *Verse* before [...] or to the *verse* next after',<sup>87</sup> or noting in the *Pattern* 'especial points' like 'That the Commandments run in the second person singular'; 'That (except two) they are all negative', 'That (except the fourth and fifth) they all run in the future tense' (98). The way Andrewes goes on to imbue these grammars as meaningful styles is fantastically metaphorical—'That the future tense is so much used in the Commandments', he explains,

it is an implicate touch of our transgressions past, and that for the time to come it is doubtful and uncertain what we will be: for the time past it shews that we have been

---

<sup>85</sup> Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike: or The praecepts of rhetorike made plaine by examples* (London, 1588), J3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Although it's worth mentioning that in fact—with Fraunce and the *Lawiers Logike* still in mind—'sentences' in the *Pattern* are most often legal ones.

<sup>87</sup> XCVI. *Sermons*, p.367.

grievous transgressours, and is withal a warning of the pronenesse of our nature to ill for the time to come (99)

‘Of the last words in the first Commandment [...] They are in the Future tense, and imply perseverance’ (184). A future tense can imply perseverance; it can tell a whole backstory. Of the fourth commandment, Andrewes remarks that ‘The other Commandments are imperative onely, and run in a peremptory way of command: whereas the word here used, though it be of the Imperative mood, yet it rather intreats then commands’—and it follows that ‘whereas the reasons of the former Commandments are terrible, fearful, and threatning; in this they are easy and reasonable’ (260). The imperative is peremptory, but this affirmative softening of fearful command writes a grammatical voice which entreats, easily, and reasonably.

Readerly completing-work by the legible proxemics of dependent syntactical parts goes along with the Decalogue’s encoding of implicit other-halves in positive and negative statements. Green notes that, ‘Some authors have occasionally pointed out that a prohibition could have a positive side to it’—and though not done systematically until the early seventeenth century, this ‘was something which may [...] have appealed to those authors who had been exposed to Ramist logic and were thereby encouraged to split every Commandment into a negative and positive command’.<sup>88</sup> And indeed, Andrewes’s initial instructions include, along with, ‘When any thing is commanded or forbidden, all of the same nature are included’, the equal and opposite ruling that, ‘The affirmative implyes the negative, and e contra’ (§2<sup>r</sup>). When the *Pattern* speaks later of God’s purpose to beat out the commandments as far as the rules of extension allow, the chief of these is that, ‘By the using a negative or countermand, there is implicately a confirmation of [...] that which is contrary’ (98–99). The first of these seems a standard *homogenea*—the second a slightly different encoding of implication. The suggestion in both cases, though, is that the commandment as it stands holds in it more ruling than it states out loud, requires filling out at time of reading.

One size up from ‘sentences’, in the *Pattern*, are ‘tables’. Helen Moore has described (real) humanist printed tables as typifying ‘a direct intervention into the reading experience, undertaken with the aim of steering and controlling that experience[,] an act of interpretation, organization, extrapolation, and application akin to the writing of a marginal gloss’.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Green, *Christian’s ABC*, pp.429–30.

<sup>89</sup> Helen Moore, “‘Gathering Fruit’: The “Profitable” Translations of Thomas Paynell”, in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Frederick Schurink (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.39–57 (p.42).

‘Tables’ are a component part of the Ten Commandments’ materialist narrative as well as their imaginary organisation. As Green explains, it was common among the catechistical rules of interpretation for the Decalogue to ‘divide the Ten Commandments into two tables, of four and six [...] said to have contrasting functions—the first listed the duties owed to God, while the second listed duties to our neighbours or to man’.<sup>90</sup> The law, Andrewes writes,

is contained in the ten words we commonly call the ten commandments. So doth *Moses*, as well to deter men from presuming to adde any more, (in which respect, God wrote both sides of the Tables full to prevent the adding to them) as also to take from man, the excuse of being so many that his memory could not bear them. They being but few, whereas those of the heathen are infinite [...] These ten for better order and memory sake, receive a division from the subject, and are divided according to the two Tables (87)

‘God wrote both sides of the Tables full to prevent the adding to them’—this locating materiality proves words precisely fitting to a space, exactly decorous to their own size, while also short enough to be remembered. (The heart, of course, has fleshy tables too: the *Pattern* speaks of a time ‘when we shall have new hearts, not of stone, but of flesh’, and a ‘New Testament, written, not in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of our heart’ (81).)

Despite the fact that there ‘arises some doubt’ (87) on the question of which commandment belongs on which side, two halves of a diptych as visually and materially solid as this one cannot help but work coherences on the Ten Commandments’ ten separate sentences—making them echo and prolepsise, remind, repeat, glance and fold over at each other across the hinge, with the two-eyed binocular vision of typological reading technologies. So, for example, ‘This fifth commandment being placed in front of the second table hath an eye also to the first commandment of the first table. The one commanded the honour of God; the other of his vicegerents’ (320). Just as some of the commandments build by chronological succession on what preceded them, so here Andrewes suggests that mirror-image commandments have something collaboratively symmetrical to say to one another by

---

<sup>90</sup> Green, *Christian’s ABC*, p.427. Green also notes that ‘Exodus 20 itself gives no indication of such a division: elsewhere in Exodus and in Deuteronomy, there are certainly references to two tables, but the division [...] was a matter of interpretation, resting heavily on Christ’s reduction of the ten to two commandments in Matthew 22:37–40. See also J. Sears McGee, *The Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans and the Two Tables, 1620–70* (London: Yale University Press, 1976). Wall-Randell mentions the brass ‘tables’ in Chaucer’s ‘House of Fame’ as an important instance of the imaginary ‘immaterial book’ in medieval romance (*Immaterial Book*, p.6).

their imagined reflections. The tricky, ambivalent causality and temporality of ‘*being placed*’ (‘*a Participle, and but suspendeth the sentence*’) refuses to be determinate about whether this reflective materiality is a symptom of texts which come in pairs—or its cause. It’s worth quoting Andrewes at some length on the involved hierarchical mechanics of this elaborately legible, though imaginary, *mise-en-page*:

As God in his infinite wisdom **disposeth all things in due order**, so here he maketh his wisdom more particularly known to us **in the disposition** of these commandments: for **by setting this in the first place of the second table, that after** he hath taken **order** for his own honour in the **first table**, his principall and first care is for honour to parents, from whom **next under himself** we receive our being: and therefore *Philo* saith, the honour due to parents is **set before** all other duties we owe to men, and **placed as it were** [...] *confinio, in the confines of a mortal and eternal nature*, it is **set in the middle, between** the duties to God and man, because this commandment is the preserver both of the **first and second table**; for take away honour and obedience to superiours, and all duties to God and man are neglected, and fall to the ground. (320)

The Commandments, like books and sentences, and diagrams with curly braces, are materially arranged, logically ‘disposed’ by divine dictate—and it is partly this ‘disposition’ which makes the subtleties of their wisdom available to our reading. Just as ‘neighbourliness’ is understood as relationship forged by space—‘We must know, that in *proximity*, *neighbourhood*, there are degrees of nearnesse, whereby one is nearer then another’ (315)—so words and sentences ‘neer’ and ‘proximityan’ (320) to one another are never so accidentally.

*The demonstration standeth thus. If wheresoever there is principium, a beginning; there whatsoever is propius principio, nearer to it, is prius first, and so consequently there is an order, and so every thing, as it is nearer or farther off, must first or latter be intended.*  
(316)

For Andrewes, wholeness and perfection comes formed in the ordered narratives of complete syntactical propositions, and in tables with two sides, with all their spaces filled in, all parts weighted and balanced against one another, in their proper places—with proper ‘*Continuity, grouping, proximity, emergence, invariance*’; ‘*Hierarchy, juxtaposition, embedment, entanglement, enframing, interjection, branching, recursion, herniation, extension,*

*penetration*', where none must be over- or under-extended, none left suspended, and none superfluous.<sup>91</sup>

### **Present Absent, Constant Instant**

Preaching and prayer are, for Andrewes, all bound up reciprocal and correlating. 'O the vast interest which this great Luminary had', wrote Seile in the preface to the 1655 *Preces*, 'in those two *Equal Sisters*',

*Prayer and Preaching,*  
*Preaching and Prayer*

I am bold to call the *Equal Sisters*, because the use of *Preaching* is to teach us *all* how to *Pray*; And the Benefit of *Prayer*, is to enable *same*, after what manner to *Preach*.<sup>92</sup>

The introduction to the *Pattern* addresses the hazards of 'a present absent', too discernible in worshippers that seemed to draw near to God with their mouths, 'and honoured him with their lips: but they had removed their hearts very far from him', and chastises those who 'hearken without gazing' (12). Where the Passion sermons consider the evaluative distinctions between sorts of looking, here we are urged to 'note the difference between hearing and hearkning'. Our eyes 'must not wander every where, as if we were in a market-place' (13). Right and wrong learning is organised, as so often, by imaginary depths and shallows: 'We are in these days', Andrewes laments, 'greedy of [...] a vain superficial kinde of knowledge' (13), with '*itching ears*, a desire to hear a declamation out of a Pulpit, to hear a sermon with fine phrase, pleasing the ear, but doing the soul no good' (370).<sup>93</sup> The 'pondering of that which we have heard read or preached' (288–89) is crucial to proper reading and understanding—and such pondering takes time. With the sermons retroactively in mind—and the shifting inertia of their staying and considering—we might linger here over '*Mora*, the delay in thought. A desire to stay upon it longer', which makes up one of the 'several steps and degrees' of 'thought' by Andrewesian cognitive kinetics (91).

---

<sup>91</sup> Drucker, 'Diagrammatic Writing', pp.94, 98.

<sup>92</sup> *Holy devotions*, A5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> Ashmore writes that 'hermeneutic layers are arranged spatially' for Andrewes, 'but this spatiality is also profoundly metaphorical' (p.92).



Ashmore writes that Andrewes ‘conceives of a fastening of the sense [...] as a protracted, iterative process’, striving for his listeners—like Spenser for his readers—after an accommodated version of Augustine’s God’s ‘instantaneous perception’ stretched out through time and space, which also takes into account that ‘their mode of comprehension is a durative process’. Andrewes is ‘emphatically clear about the historical singularity of Christ’s sacrifice’—its unrepeatable *occasion*—but also its ‘timeless and total soteriological significance’—its constant pertinency, and the need for its ‘*uncessant*’ iteration in our thoughts.<sup>94</sup> The *Pattern* tells of the need for preaching to be ‘*instant in season and out of season*’—by which ‘is not meant, as people would have it, as if a Minister must preach continually, or when soever the people will: but as *in season* is upon ordinary dayes and occasions, so *out of season* is upon extraordinary occasions’, ‘not [...] to make the duty of the Pastor infinite; for it is one thing to be instant, and another to preach: a man may be instant, and yet not preach alwayes’ (370).

‘Instant’ in Andrewes’s writing, then, has little sense of speed or momentariness in it; rather it intends apt occasionality—an activity of thought or speaking conducted at the proper, the most conducive time. Recognising such instancy is a marshalling of pertinence and relevancy which are the crucial factors in winning proper attention of a sermon audience, and working with the occasional repetitions—the special deixis—of extraordinary days which come round once a year. Speaking of prayers in the *Pattern*, Andrewes explains that devotional practice must walk a middle way—not absurd, but reasonable; not with many words but with long affection; not all day and night, neglecting other duties, but oft-renewed, in ‘frequency and continuance’ (152). ‘Our prayers’, he says, ‘must be *constantes*. For he that wavereth in his prayer [...] is like a wave of the sea driven and tossed with every winde’ (151). Anaphoric deictics in the Passion sermons become energetic atoms of simultaneous ‘constant instants’, never absent, sometimes in the background—but in a background, nonetheless, which we can learn to focus on.

---

<sup>94</sup> Ashmore, ‘Faith and Scriptural History’, pp.101, 87, 75–76. Ashmore sets out the ‘durative aspects of attention’, pp.99–104; on the historical uniqueness of the Passion as crucial to Protestant self-differentiation from Catholic doctrine, see pp.73–74. On Augustinian attention see also See Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996), ch.8.

Understandest what thou readest?

How can I, except I had a guide?

This chapter began with a Eunuch sitting in his chariot and reading a like place, with the story of a quoted question, ‘verie material, and to great good purpose’. In his taxonomising of texts by imaginary material sizes, and his documented stepping between different forms of same content, Andrewes in both sermons and lectures teaches how to discover and recognise likeness, what to do with the recognition, how to tell it apart from sameness. Read has written of Southwell that ‘By conjuring biblical narrative in a way that is often perceptive and visually precise’, the poet ‘seeks to bring before a readership deprived of the imagery and affect of traditional religion a verbal alternative for devotional contemplation’.<sup>95</sup> Andrewesian verbal alternatives are tricky conjurors. Where the *Pattern* shows the necessity of actively productive, altering reading for ensuring an involved and comprehending attention, the sermons show ways of making such inadequate substitutes singularly vivid and engaging, juxtaposing different versions of information, with different kinds of authority, asking how to repeat something and how to explain it, how to quote it, point to it, interpret it, how to express more-than with less-than (and to see the possibility of the one always latent in the other).

‘As he, out of those words tooke occasion;’ says Andrewes of St Philip, ‘so may we, out of these, take the like *to preach* IESVS unto them’: the Passion sermons show Andrewes as reader of scripture and teacher of reading, taking occasion out of (and putting it into) little words and large ones, making difficulty easily available to consideration, and tangling problems into what we forget to notice is too easy, inviting our staying and considering—*Mora*, the delay in thought—by making us see by shapes, and then altering them before our eyes. Andrewes’s miniatures and microcosms, like Stewart’s gemlikes, have the capacity to make their context remarkable. ‘The interpretation must be to shew the compasse of the Law, how far it extendeth, and how far it restraineth’ (89)—but so too, ‘When you have extended them *specific*, and *per equipollens*, then they must be extended to the Spirit: [...] Mans Law binds onely the hands, but Gods the soul’ (90). It must be such, as never *the like*: So it was too.

---

<sup>95</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.45.

## Psalters and Small Spaces:

### Reading the ‘Arguments’ to *The Faerie Queene*

Shed thy faire beames into my feeble eyne,  
 And raise my thoughts too humble and too vile,  
 To thinke of that true glorious type of thine,  
 The argument of mine afflicted stile:  
 The which to heare, vouchsafe, o dearest dred a–while. (2, I.Proem.4)<sup>1</sup>

#### Argument\*

\*A term used by editors to refer to the epigraph to each canto.

In ballad metre or the common measure of the hymn-book, it serves as a mnemonic device in its synopsis of the canto. Like the *Argomento* in Ariosto, and ‘The Argument’ to each book in the Geneva Bible, it stands apart from the work itself.<sup>2</sup>

Dichotomous tables, as Acheson encapsulates them, ‘provide the world, the knowledge that comprises it, and the concept of dimensionality itself, all in one tidy, easy-to-print package’.<sup>3</sup> How do long texts catch our attention, and hold it? How often and by what means do they

---

<sup>1</sup> See ‘Textual Note’ above, p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. A.C. Hamilton (Harlow: Longmans, 2001), footnote, p.31.

<sup>3</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, p.52.

pause along the way to make sure we know where we are, and what's going on? Do poems have the same responsibility as sermons to be certain of their audience's sustained focus and understanding? And what does form have to do with it? What about in the longest poem of all? 'The close of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*', said Stephen Greenblatt once, 'has figured in criticism as one of the great cruxes of English Renaissance literature'.<sup>4</sup> Since Greenblatt and before him, self-fashioning readers of the *Faerie Queene* have come gradually to terms with the dangerous allure of this canto, where pleasure dwells overspillingly in sensual delights, mongst thousand dangers and ten thousand magic mightes. We readers of Book II—that 'part of the *Faerie Queene* most explicitly concerned with the validity of aesthetic and sexual enjoyment and one that features extraordinary figures of excessive pleasure'<sup>5</sup>—know all about being of the Bower's party without knowing it. Here among grassy hues and warbling winds, wanton wreathed in clasping arms of boughs and branches, with crystal running by, is a poetic place of *greedinesse* and *superfluity*, of *wide, deep, excessively*—in 'thriftlesse', 'lustfull luxurie' (XII.ii.9), where readers find themselves all too happy to waste the time it takes to read eighty-seven stanzas.

'Yet had I rather in the Church to speak five words with mine understanding, that I might also instruct others, than ten thousand words in a strange tongue', read Andrewes in Corinthians—and called it catechising. The telling of this canto's surfeited story by its headnote 'Argument' takes just four lines, one rhyme, fourteen fleet feet:

*Guyon through Palmers gouernaunce,  
through passing perilles great,  
Doth ouerthrow the Bowre of blis,  
and Acrasy defeat. (362, II.xii)*<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p.170.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Campana, 'Boys Toys and Liquid Joys: Pleasure and Power in the Bower of Bliss', *Modern Philology*, 106.3 (2009), 465–96 (p.466).

<sup>6</sup> This Argument stanza is slightly different in the 1596 *Faerie Queene*—which begins '*Guyon by Palmers gouernaunce, / passing through perils great*'—but this version from 1590 is by far the most commonly known and reproduced one.

The poetry of the *Faerie Queene*, Paul Alpers and William Empson taught us, is inextricable from its narrative experience, and the qualities of our reading attention to it.<sup>7</sup> But this ballad stanza which prefaces, prolepsises and recapitulates the destruction of the Bower of Bliss is meagre of Spenserian excesses. There's just one rhyme; a double alliteration ('Palmer's gouernaunce' and 'perilles great'); an s twined top to bottom; an 'ouerthrow' that skates punningly in the third line out of two *throughs* before it. As ballad stanzas go, it is not, perhaps, an *unSpenserian* sounding bit of poetry; but it's not quite what springs to mind. Is this single-stanza summary, rather, the most unhypocritical—the thriftiest, most frugal and temperately measured—version of the Bower of Bliss we are likely to get, the *Faerie Queene*'s forms at the most exemplarily performative of their fashioning of modest and judicious readers? This chapter will read Spenser's ballad stanzas in the spirit of abridgements, pandects, and epitomes; as a Ramist comprising of the world in tidy, easy-to-print packages—with a poetic bent, and a psalmic echo. 'Physicians (we know) have their Aphorismes, Lawyers their Institutes, Philosophers Isagoges: and therefore'—the *Faerie Queene* must have its Arguments.<sup>8</sup>

In 1981, Jonathan Goldberg presented to readers 'as briefly and as cogently' as he could 'a way of reading Spenser'. His primary concern, he said, in proffering a renewed attention to the *Faerie Queene*'s meandering machinations of interruption and distraction, disorder, disarray, disappearance and incompleteness, was to 'elucidate some features of Spenserian narration'.<sup>9</sup> Whether of books or landscapes, chivalric quests, plotlines, teleologies, lakes or plains—it seems, now, critical commonplace to speak of the *Faerie Queene* in terms of sprawls and ceaselessnesses, digression, expansion, uncontainment, immensity.<sup>10</sup> Along the horizon of such a landscape, however, the *Faerie Queene*'s Arguments stand determinedly, and repeatedly, for containment and concision. In prosodic dimensions of 1x[(4+3)x2], for each of the six books' twelve subsections in  $\approx 50x[(5x8) + (6x1)]$ , they summarise and

---

<sup>7</sup> William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1947). Paul Alpers, *The Poetry of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). Critics continue, 50 years on, to find things in Alpers to delight and mystify. See Paul Hecht and James Nohrnberg, in 'In Memoriam: Paul Alpers, Oct.16, 1932–May 19, 2013', *Spenser Review*, 43.2 (2013) <[www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/volume-43/issue-432/43201-in-memoriam-paul-alpers-oct16-1932-may-19-2013](http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/volume-43/issue-432/43201-in-memoriam-paul-alpers-oct16-1932-may-19-2013)> [accessed 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2019].

<sup>8</sup> See above, pp.163–64.

<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Goldberg, *Endlesse Worke: Spenser and the Structures of Discourse* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), xi.

<sup>10</sup> Patricia Parker's wider account of wandering in errant forms, of course, just predates *Endlesse Worke*: see 'Spenser', in *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp.54–113.

synopsise, condense, cut down. Insistently prominent and punctuating as the ‘headnotes’ to each canto, the Arguments represent a significant paratextual scaffold of the *Faerie Queene*’s ‘structures of discourse’, those formal aspects of the poetic allegory which by their manner of encoding space and time teach by simpler microcosmic example how to read the vaster macrocosmic system. Squashing down longer poetry into a very different prosodic space from the one we are most wont to dub ‘Spenserian’, they represent like the *Pattern*’s catechisms a non-negligible writing-effort of narrative shape-shifting, startlingly volunteering a *Faerie Queene* poetic in forms, in Andrewes’s words, ‘made easy by a short compendium’.<sup>11</sup>

In her recent investigation of the book of the *Faerie Queene* in the eighteenth century, Hazel Wilkinson writes that the poem’s ‘most conspicuous quality [...] never to have received serious critical attention is its unreadability’<sup>12</sup>—T.S. Eliot’s notion, in other words, that only the eccentric few ‘who have deliberately studied themselves into the right appreciation’ can nowadays get to the end of the whole blasted thing.<sup>13</sup> Deliberate studying into the right appreciation of texts, by way of forms (real and imaginary) which coach by familiar templates is precisely what this thesis seeks to find in abridgements and diagrammatics. While Goldberg and Wilkinson are patently right that ‘crudely speaking, every reader of the *Faerie Queene* knows how difficult the poem is’,<sup>14</sup> and while it would certainly be foolhardy to suggest that any reader of the *Faerie Queene* doesn’t know how long the poem is, the Arguments tell a story about Spenser’s storytelling and how to read it which we are less used to hearing—of narratives dispatched as efficiently as possible, an entire arc at a four-line glance. The Derridean supplement so fundamental, post-Goldberg, to consensus on *Faerie Queene* narratives—the ‘excess that covers a lack’<sup>15</sup>—is unusually unwelcome in theorising these reader’s-digest miniatures. What kind of readers are they

---

<sup>11</sup> Andrewes, *Pattern*, p.5.

<sup>12</sup> Hazel Wilkinson, *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.2.

<sup>13</sup> T.S. Eliot, ‘Charles Whibley’ (1931), in *Selected Essays 1917–1932* (London: Faber, 1999), pp.403–15 (p.405). An undergraduate Philip Larkin as sketched by Kingsley Amis reputedly wrote in the St. John’s College library copy of the *Faerie Queene*, ‘First I thought Troilus and Criseyde was the most boring poem in English. Then I thought Beowulf was. Then I thought Paradise Lost was. Now I know that the Faerie Queen is the *dullest thing out. Blast it.*’. Qtd. Janice Rossen, *Philip Larkin: His Life’s Work* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p.103.

<sup>14</sup> Goldberg, *Endlesse Worke*, xiv.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

intended for; and for what point in the chronology of the *Faerie Queene* reading process? Perhaps mnemonic, perhaps propaedeutic, they kittle curiously between advertisement and fulfilment, in some lights almost comprehensive, in others brashly, teasingly insufficient.

*Renaissance Paratexts* does not have a chapter on early modern ‘Arguments’; and neither does Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth’s *Book Parts*.<sup>16</sup> The closest Genette comes to anything like them is with those ‘descriptive intertitles in the form of noun clauses’,<sup>17</sup> whose evolution goes hand-in-hand with the numbered divisions in texts more recently brought to light in Nicholas Dames’s work on the history of chapters in novels.<sup>18</sup> The first part of this chapter proposes that Spenser, with the Arguments, equips his poem with an abridging apparatus already generically established in other early modern books—particularly religious books—which come complete with certain recognisable instructions for reading. Bibles and psalters contemporary with the *Faerie Queene*, I will argue, use Arguments to guide and explain, but also to interpret, speaking from a different part of the page with a different voice of authority—at once Dolven’s ‘didactic technologies’, and Drucker’s ‘graphic devices’. The second part thinks, again with Drucker and Genette, about studying the Arguments as a ‘literary function’, looking closely at these small stanzas to make the case that their workings of syntax and prosody represent a useful microcosm for considering the *Faerie Queene*’s narrative poetic, teaching a way of reading by and for spaces which is distinctive and defining of Spenserian thought.

There is then, this chapter will suggest, a kind of reading by summaries that we might discover as characteristic of early modern Arguments in general, and at the same time a distinctive aspect of the *Faerie Queene*’s spatial poetics discoverable by reading these Arguments in particular. Spenser, as William Oram has written (and as we have seen in the *Hymnes*), ‘was intensely concerned with making sure that his works were received as they should be’, and ‘throughout his life used his paratexts to present his works to particular audiences and to make sure that they would be read correctly’.<sup>19</sup> Dames writes of chapters in

---

<sup>16</sup> *Book Parts*, ed. Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>17</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p.300.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Dames, ‘The Chapter in Western Literature’, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature* <<http://literature.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.001.0001/acrefore-9780190201098-e-15> accessed> [accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2018].

<sup>19</sup> William Oram, ‘Introduction: Spenser’s Paratexts’, *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 38 (2005), vii–xviii (viii).

novels as ‘part of the machinery’, ‘a necessary joint within its larger architecture without which its usual bulk could scarcely be supported’.<sup>20</sup> The Arguments—just such a necessary machinery for supporting bulk—are a largely-ignored Spenserian paratext (they warrant no entry, even, in the *Spenser Encyclopedia*) whose particular motives and strategies for directing reading practice are well worth worrying at.

### Arguments in *The Faerie Queene*

Chloe Wheatley’s *Epic, Epitome and the Early Modern Historical Imagination* pays valuable attention to the neglected influence of early modern ‘epitome culture’ on the writing of long narrative poems.<sup>21</sup> Writing to compress long histories for wider audiences, ‘epitomists’, says Wheatley, employed ‘a range of formal strategies’—strategies which had in turn ‘a profound impact upon poets who strove to prove their poems great—great both in size and in significance—by engaging with those who claimed to render great matter in small form’.<sup>22</sup> Much of Wheatley’s thinking offers sympathetic context for my own, but her decision (entirely defensible) to ‘treat as roughly synonymous the terms *abridgement*, *summary*, and *epitome*’ makes the phenomenon of large-into-small she considers broader, and slightly different, from the one I will set out here.<sup>23</sup> ‘Arguments’ does not seem to be what Spenser ever called them in the *Faerie Queene*. Nonetheless, to designate short—helpful—summaries of textual material immediately imminent, the word is certainly not anachronistic to 1590s writing and book-making in general, and demonstrably not foreign to Spenser’s own writing and book-making in particular. Jostling among its paratextual paraphernalia, the *Shepherd’s Calender* has a ‘generall argument of the whole booke’ at its opening, and a prose ‘Argument’—explicitly so entitled—preceding every month, each concerned with the ‘purpose’ to which the following eclogue is ‘bent’, what manner of ‘discourse’ (‘morall’, ‘generall’) it ‘conteyneth’, and in which ways the ‘matter very well accordeth with the season of the month’.<sup>24</sup> The brief footnote in A.C. Hamilton’s *Faerie Queene* edition (see epigraph)

---

<sup>20</sup> Dames, ‘The Chapter’, p.5.

<sup>21</sup> Chloe Wheatley, *Epic, Epitome, and the Early Modern Historical Imagination* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>22</sup> Wheatley, *Epic*, p.1. Wheatley’s third chapter on the *Faerie Queene*—‘Abridging the Infinite Chronicle: Spenser and the Role of the Poet Historical’ (pp.57–71)—is useful for thinking about the processes of compressing large into small, but more interested in history-writing than my argument, and less in religious books. On an associated but not directly related question, see the discussion of abridgement in the context of early modern English law, in Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp.63–104.

<sup>23</sup> Wheatley, *Epic*, p.3.

<sup>24</sup> Spenser, *The shepherd’s calender*, A3<sup>r</sup>.



points in multiple tantalising directions. Not just ‘in ballad metre’, but ballad metre as ‘common measure of the hymn-book’. ‘Mnemonic device’, Hamilton tenders, ‘synopsis’, Ariosto, the Geneva Bible; ‘It stands apart from the work itself’.

First and foremost the Arguments are different from epitomes because they do not propose to be separated off textually independent from the cantos they condense. To begin to distinguish them as historical generic paratexts, then, it is best to start with the Geneva Bible, a book most famous and controversial as pioneer in an embarrassing riches of integral scriptural reading aids—in the editorship of which Patrick Collinson finds manifested a fundamental conviction in ‘the coherence of the text’, and a reading apparatus entirely ‘compatible with that over-arching scriptural knowledge which derived from reading the Bible “thoroughly”, always with the sense that there was such a thing as the over-all sense and “sum” of Scripture’.<sup>25</sup> The 1559 title-page of the Geneva Bible, as Frances Higman has described, ‘provides an entire programme, including the text, arguments for each book, marginal notes, maps, and plans’—additions intended to make the scripture they flanked easier to read and to handle, to facilitate orientation both cognitive and physical, curating an experience of ‘guided reading’, somewhat self-governing, but far from unregulated.<sup>26</sup> ‘Yea and the arguments both for the booke and for the chapters with the nombre of the verse are added’, proclaims the epistle to the Christian readers, ‘that by all meanes the reader might be holpen’.<sup>27</sup>

Like the *Faerie Queene*’s, the Geneva Bible’s Arguments represent an apparatus of containing caught up in a theoretical discourse preoccupied by overspill. Indeed, that same Derridean *débordement*—‘excess signification that overflows the edges of all texts’—has as often been recruited to argue that ‘for the purpose of reconstructing the paradoxical

---

<sup>25</sup> Patrick Collinson, ‘The Coherence of the Text: How it Hangeth Together: The Bible in Reformation England’, in *The Bible in Reformation England, and the Church: Essays in Honour of James Atkinson*, ed. W. Peter Stephens (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp.84–108 (p.94). For more on early modern notions of Ramist ‘coherence’, see Hetherington, “‘The Coherence of the Text’”.

<sup>26</sup> Frances Higman, ‘Without great effort, and with great pleasure: Sixteenth-Century Genevan Bibles and Reading Practices’, in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O’Sullivan and Ellen Herron (London: British Library, 2000), pp.115–22 (p.116).

<sup>27</sup> *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. VVith moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the epistle to the reader* (Geneva, 1561), aiiii<sup>r</sup>.

fascination with and suspicion of the entire interpretive project' in early modern reading practice, the Geneva's teeming marginalia 'may be just the point'.<sup>28</sup> As Shuger has written, 'the biblical narratives retained' for exegetes 'a certain (if limited) flexibility[,] a sort of extradogmatic surplus of undetermined meaning'—an indefinite indeterminacy at once nurtured by and nurturing both fashions in scriptural printing, and the kind of reading such printed scripture encouraged.<sup>29</sup> And yet within—throughout—such texts, the Arguments are reading-aids which purpose to clarify and compress, in line with a print culture which advertised bibles as objects desirable because they were portable, 'aiming at compactness and cheapness', 'very small to carry in pockets'. In the front of many Geneva bibles was inserted a braced map (or a 'dichotomous table') by Thomas Grashop, entitled 'How to take profite in reading the scriptures'—which Acheson writes 'presents a guide to the use of the book itself, and in doing so proscribes or asserts the priorities for the private worshipper'.<sup>30</sup> The Bishops' Bible, too, offered 'a summary of the contents of each book in tabular form', and others were often prefaced by at-a-glance diagrams of "'The sum and content of the holy scripture", which gave the gist of the Old and New Testaments under a series of headings'.<sup>31</sup>

In *Spenser and Biblical Poetics*, Carol Kaske used particular facets of the kinds of biblical reading aids available to Spenser—specifically, concordances, and their related *distinctiones*—to posit a new way of comprehending imagistic structure in the *Faerie Queene*, and of understanding its allegorical schematics by hook-words, in an expressly biblical patterning of echo and projection. Though 'historical formalism' in 1999 was not yet in common critical parlance, Kaske's self-diagnosed 'overriding concern with intertextuality' is exquisitely historical-formalist, meticulous about the texts Spenser would have had to hand and to mind, scrupulously careful in suggesting how these might have produced a way of reading that could become a way of writing (and extrapolating out of this again, turn and turn

---

<sup>28</sup> William Slights, "'Marginall Notes That Spoile the Text": Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance', *HLQ*, 55.2 (1992), 255–278 (pp.255–56).

<sup>29</sup> Debora Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p.5.

<sup>30</sup> Acheson, *Visual Rhetoric*, p.60. On dichotomous tables in bibles more generally see also *Visual Rhetoric*, pp.52–60; Elizabeth Ingram, 'Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles', *Imago Mundi*, 45 (2001), 29–44; Christiane Klapish-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree', *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, 4 (1991), 105–29; Femke Molekamp, 'Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices: The British Library Geneva Bibles and a History of their Early Modern Readers', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2006) pp.1–13.

<sup>31</sup> Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp.57, 60, 72, 71.

about, a way of reading).<sup>32</sup> Rivkah Zim has considered, from the other side, how ‘processes of biblical interpretation, or hermeneutics’ for Protestant readers in the Reformation ‘overlapped with the assumptions and practices of contemporary writers’;<sup>33</sup> Kaske writes of her image-hopping that, ‘Because the Bible was perceived as requiring this kind of reading, and because every Protestant was required to read the Bible, Spenser could count on his readers to read his work in the same way, provided he dropped enough hints’.<sup>34</sup> The Arguments, I would argue, are just such a hint—a clear paratextual instruction to execute a particular kind of scriptural reading, and a fulcrum for considering how the endlessly impossible, irresistibly troubling question of how to read the *Faerie Queene* tangles inevitably with the no less troubling early modern question of how to read the scriptures.

Notwithstanding, the paratextual implications of ‘Arguments’ in early modern books are not exclusively scriptural. In 1598, literary editor Thomas Speght published a new edition of the complete works of Chaucer whose title-page promised:

THE  
Workes of our Anti-  
ent and lerned English Poet,  
GEOFFREY CHAUCER,  
newly Printed.

*In this Impression you shall find  
these Additions:*

- 1 His Portraiture and Progenie shewed.
- 2 His Life collected.
- 3 Arguments to euery Booke gathered.
- 4 Old and obscure Words explained.
- 5 Authors by him cited, declared.
- 6 Difficulties opened.
- 7 Two Bookes of his neuer before printed.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Kaske, *Biblical Poetics*, p.64.

<sup>33</sup> Zim, ‘Reformation’, pp.65–66.

<sup>34</sup> Kaske, *Biblical Poetics*, p.21.

<sup>35</sup> *The works of our Antient and lerned English Poet Geoffrey Chaucer* (London, 1598), title-page.

The poetic ideas of a sixteenth-century Spenser exist always in productive relation with a sixteenth-century idea of Chaucer—and Speght’s edition is almost precisely contemporary with Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* output of the 1590s. Kaske argues that the bible shared a vocabulary of bookish motifs ‘with other works of comparable size and cultural significance’<sup>36</sup>—even without the possibility that Speght formed at Cambridge ‘part of a circle of Chaucerians’, perhaps notably overlapping Spenser’s own Cambridge years,<sup>37</sup> this massive, difficult, non-scriptural folio volume is usefully corresponsive with the *Faerie Queene* for paratextual conversations.<sup>38</sup> Like the Geneva Bible’s annotations, Speght’s edition has two ostensible purposes: to put Chaucer’s poetry into people’s hands, and to use all the reading-apparatus available to make the things which are difficult about it easier—as Devani Singh has written, ‘making Chaucer less distant’ (even while delighting in his antient wordes and speeches) ‘by packaging him in a new way’.<sup>39</sup>

In the oft-quoted prefatory letter to this edition by fellow Chaucer-enthusiast Francis Beaumont (father of the dramatist), Beaumont mentions ‘Maister *Spencer*’, whom he casts as exemplary of new Chaucerian archaism in the 1590s. The vocabulary of common language users nowadays, he notes, ‘euer will bee subiect vnto chaunge, neuer standing at one stay, but sometimes casting away old wordes, sometimes renewing of them, and alwaies framing of new, no man can so write in them, as that all his wordes may remaine currant many yeares’. By contrast, he goes on,

so pure were *Chaucers* wordes in his owne daies, as *Lidgate* that learned man calleth him *The Loadstarre of the English language*: and so good they are in our daies, as

---

<sup>36</sup> Kaske, *Biblical Poetics*, p.19.

<sup>37</sup> David Matthews, ‘Speght, Thomas (d. 1621), literary editor.’, *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26098>> [accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2018].

<sup>38</sup> The Speght *Chaucer* predates the first folio *Faerie Queene* (printed by Matthew Lownes in 1609) by eleven years, and the typical bibliographic characterisation of texts in folio as ‘therefore large and expensive’ (Cooper) does not tally with Steven Galbraith’s exposition of Lownes’s 1609 as ‘An Economical Folio’ (Galbraith, p.144). I would argue, however, that a comparison of the Arguments is still tenable. See Helen Cooper, ‘Poetic Fame’, in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History, Twenty First Century Approaches* vol. 2, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.361–78 (p.363); Steven Galbraith, ‘Edmund Spenser and the History of the Book, 1569–1679’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, The Ohio State University, 2006), p.144; *Edmund Spenser and the History of the Book* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming). See also Francis Connor, *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> Devani Singh, “‘In his old dress’: Packaging Thomas Speght’s Chaucer for Renaissance Readers”, *Chaucer Review*, 51.4 (2016), 478–502 (p.481).

Maister *Spencer*, following the counsaile of *Tullie in de Oratore*, for reuiuing of antient wordes, hath adorned his owne stile with that beauty and grauitie, which *Tully* speakes of: and his much frequenting of *Chaucers* antient speeches causeth many to allow farre better of him, then otherwise they would.<sup>40</sup>

Spenser's archaism has been much remarked.<sup>41</sup> What is interesting here is the way Beaumont presents Spenserian *difficulty* as a poetically laudable aspect of his stylish writing—poetically laudable and yet, nonetheless, better encountered in the company of paratexts which make it easier to deal with. Like the Geneva's proliferating reading aids, Speght's additions propose the actual poetry as the really important bit, while also representing its prefaces and marginalia as vital propaedeutic to (enjoyable) understanding, a crucial preparative threshold over which to ready oneself for the effort of hermeneutic.

As the *Private devotions* are Richard Drake's, the Arguments to Speght's *Chaucer*, along with its one-page biographical diagram, and the glossing of the hard words and phrases, are, of course, Speght's not Chaucer's. And particularly in the context of the *Canterbury Tales*—which dominate the 'Arguments' of this volume, with one for each separate tale—Speght's paratexts are explicitly interested in the defining multiplicity of voices in Chaucer's poetry, and the importance of their decorous matching to the right kind of narrative and subject matter. In the 1997 English translation of *Paratexts* by Jane Lewin, the word 'allographic'—principally a legal term, meaning 'written by someone other than the person concerned' (i.e., here, not the main author)—is a recurrent concern of Genettian analysis. 'Register', too, is a crucial descriptive word—the possibility, via paratext, of 'a second level of discourse', bringing about 'local effects of nuance [...] of *register*, effects that help reduce the famous and sometimes regrettable linearity of discourse'.<sup>42</sup> The first Speght Argument, to the *Tales*' Prologue, relates how 'The Authour in these Prologues to his Canterbury Tales, doth describe the reporters thereof [...] that the Reader seeing the qualitie of the person, may iudge of his speech accordingly'.<sup>43</sup> The *Canterbury Tales* speaks many voices, with many local effects of nuance and changes in register. If the Geneva Bible, by contrast, must purportedly be just one—divine—accent with one (utterly unironising) authority, both books hold nonetheless a

---

<sup>40</sup> 'F.B. to his very louing friend, T.S.', *Workes*, aiiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> See particularly Lucy Munro, *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>42</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p.328.

<sup>43</sup> *Geffrey Chaucer*, ciiii<sup>r</sup>.

stake in the decorum of written voice which must set them at equal pains to point out their paratexts as separate from the main text—as clearly *allographic*. Arguments, under such circumstances, can present themselves as a different tone of voice from the words they preface, with a certain detached distance—a different kind of space and *register* for speaking in, soliciting (or allowing) a different kind of reading.

Just such a detached distinction of voice and authority also distinguishes the ‘Arguments’ to early modern printed plays. Tiffany Stern has written of these documents that they ‘on every level “interpret” the drama to which they are attached: ‘Abstracted from a play *after* it has been written’ (as well as who speaks the Arguments, the question of when to read them is one to keep on keeping in mind), Stern suggests they were intended ‘partly to feed the literate audience’s desire to have productions footnoted, edited and explained to them through the medium of the written word’. Since the medieval period, Stern explains, playwrights had staged versions of a ‘presenter’ character, ‘sometimes called an “interpreter” or “trunchman”’, to ‘explain’ by way of such spoken abstracts the story’s narrative, structure, conceits.<sup>44</sup> (‘Who would be in control of the believers’ contact with God’?)<sup>45</sup> The first edition of the *Faerie Queene* to include notes was John Upton’s, in 1759.<sup>46</sup> In the course of the poem itself, the question of who might be speaking at any particular time is notoriously difficult and discombobulating. As in the midst of the preaching Andrewes’s quotations and citations, here ‘The narrator’s degree of authority’, as Dolven writes, ‘is difficult to pin down’—

We do, however, tend to assume that he is writing his own script in moments of explicit reflection on the meaning of events, the moralizing commentary that is a constant presence in the poem. (Even as that commentary shades, by imperceptible degrees, into the moral inflections of all the poem’s language).<sup>47</sup>

In Genette’s paratextual taxonomy, such intra-interpretive devices as the ‘original authorial note’—‘a local detour or a momentary fork in the text’—constitute ‘a very undefined fringe between text and paratext’. Genette comes to the conclusion that ‘at least when connected to a

---

<sup>44</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.76, 66, 79.

<sup>45</sup> Botonaki, ‘Protestant Diary and the Act of Prayer’, p.127.

<sup>46</sup> See Wilkinson, *Eighteenth-Century Book*, p.125.

<sup>47</sup> Jeff Dolven, ‘Panic’s Castle’, *Representations*, 120.1 (2012), 1–16 (p.8).

text that is itself discursive and with which it has a relation of continuity and formal homogeneity', they don't really count.<sup>48</sup> But even if the Arguments are still much more undefined fringes than, say, E.K.'s *Shepherd's Calendar* commentary, there seems little question that the voice (and the form) they speak in is a meaningfully different one—much more like that of a 'troughman'. Fencing off a space on the page shaded less than usual by 'imperceptible degrees', and making the intervening presence of narrative authority suddenly more keenly apparent, I would argue that they come to constitute—or *purport to constitute*—another source of just those moments Dolven identifies as 'explicit reflection' on meaning, of commentary or critique. The styling of this different register, I would also argue, has much to do with their specific poetic form.

The *Faerie Queene's* Arguments, unlike Speght's and the Geneva's, are not in prose. In his pioneering work on Spenser and the history of the book, Steven Galbraith mentions the Arguments briefly. Partly because his focus is on 'the physical appearance of [Spenser's] Italian models'—Ariosto, mediated by John Harington's translations—Galbraith identifies the 'headnote containing a brief verse summary that introduces each canto' as 'a direct imitation of the *argomento* used in both *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered*'.<sup>49</sup> Along with, as D.F. McKenzie put it, 'many other reader-friendly devices',<sup>50</sup> Harington explains in the Advertisement to his *Orlando* that he has

in a staffe of eight verses comprehended the contents of euery booke or canto, in the beginning thereof, which hath two good vses, one, to vnderstand the picture the perfecter, the other, to remember the storie the better.<sup>51</sup>

Like Speght's—unlike Spenser's—Ariosto's *argomenti* were already allographic, appended to editions of *Orlando* (and boasted on the title pages) from 1563 onwards by Lodovico Dolce and Giovanni dell'Anguillara.<sup>52</sup> Clearly the parallels here are useful. Nonetheless, formally speaking, the *Faerie Queene's* Arguments are not 'staffes of eight verses', and nor

---

<sup>48</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p.328.

<sup>49</sup> Galbraith, 'Spenser and the History of the Book', pp.122–24. See also Galbraith, 'English Literary Folios 1593–1623: Studying Shifts in Format', in *Tudor Books and Readers*, ed. John King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.46–67.

<sup>50</sup> D.F. McKenzie, 'Speech–Manuscript–Print', in *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and other essays*, ed. Peter McDonald and Michael Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp.237–58 (p.257).

<sup>51</sup> John Harington, *Orlando furioso in English heroical verse, by Sir Iohn Harington* (London, 1591), A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Daniel Javitch, *Proclaiming a Classic: The Canonization of "Orlando Furioso"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp.77–78.

are they really merely what Galbraith calls ‘quatrains’. Rather, cross-rhyming alternating iambic trimeters and tetrameters, they are certainly (as Hamilton rightly notes) ballad stanzas, ‘in the common measure of the hymn-book’.

In a 2011 article entitled ‘Hymnic Epic and *The Faerie Queene*’s Original Printed Format: Canto-Canticles and Psalmic Arguments’, Kenneth Borris and Meredith Donaldson Clark argue that the Arguments, and the abbreviated heading ‘Cant.’ which appears above them in continuous running heads throughout the book, are features probably invented by Spenser which ‘constitute metonymies for specific sacred and secular discourses’.<sup>53</sup> Clark and Borris make a convincing case that since ‘English usage of the Italian loan-word *canto* was so rare that its single appearance in the 1590 *FQ* is the *OED*’s first recorded instance’, ‘the abbreviation *Cant.* would have more readily suggested *canticle*, a hymn or spiritual song’.<sup>54</sup> Their most significant contemporary formal referent, it follows, is *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*—the so-called Sternhold-Hopkins Psalter of 1559 (itself following the formatting of the Arguments appended to the shorter *Certayne Psalmes* of the previous decade). As generic accessories whose rhymes and metres ‘sample and stylize distinctively Tudor-Protestant [...] metrical psalmody’, the role of Spenser’s ballad stanzas in suggesting to readers that the *Faerie Queene* has a ‘hymnic cast’ or a ‘psalmic tone’ has been perhaps not often enough remarked.<sup>55</sup>

Sternhold’s psalms are valuable book-historical poetic context for reading the *Faerie Queene* Arguments. Paradigmatic of formal meddling with pedagogical purpose, the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* was ‘collected into English metre’ with the intention of making a very difficult, allegorically-complex text quicker to teach, quicker to learn, easier to remember and easier to understand. Its enormous commercial success is inarguable: Ian Green suggests a possible total of 482 editions, and hundreds of thousands of copies—outstripping ‘bibles, prayer books, catechisms, sermons, handbooks, and the rest’—between 1562 and 1640.<sup>56</sup> Sternhold’s psalms are much concerned with plainness, profitability and efficient

---

<sup>53</sup> Kenneth Borris and Meredith Donaldson Clark, ‘Hymnic Epic and *The Faerie Queene*’s Original Printed Format: Canto-Canticles and Psalmic Arguments’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64.4 (2011), 1148–1193 (p.1149).

<sup>54</sup> Borris and Clark, ‘Hymnic Epic’, p.1149.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Thomas Cain, *Praise in The Faerie Queene* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p.55.

<sup>56</sup> Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp.506, 508–09.



abridgement—and early modern understanding of the psalter in general is deeply invested, like the *Pattern*, in scoping the relative sizes of scriptural texts to one another, particularly of the (desirable) possibilities of containing a greater one inside a smaller; the *Certayne Psalmes* begins its preface by noting the wide-held belief that the psalms, ‘by the opinion of many learned men comprehendeth the effecte of the whole Byble’.<sup>57</sup>

The *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, published after Sternhold’s death, has prose arguments like the Geneva’s prefacing each common-metre psalm. They are not enormously concise:

Psalme ii

Dauid reioyseth, that notwithstanding his enemies rage, + worldly power: yet God wil continue his kingdome for euer, and aduance it euen to the furmost ende of the worlde, and therfore he exhorteth kinges and rules, that setting vaine glory aparte, they would humbly submit themselues vnder gods yoke. Herein is signified, Christ and his kyngdome.<sup>58</sup>

The nineteen *Certayne Psalmes* which appeared (without music) during Sternhold’s lifetime, however, operate cross-rhyming quatrain Arguments just like the *Faerie Queene*’s. Beth Quitslund writes of this ‘widely copied feature of Sternhold’s paraphrases’—perhaps derived in the first instance, she proposes, from George Joye’s prose paraphrase, or the 1547 Matthew Bible—that the summaries are ‘sometimes quite tendentious’.<sup>59</sup> ‘Tendentious’ is right: the brazen typology already striking in the prose Arguments to the *Whole Booke* (‘Herein is signified, Christ and his kyngdome’) is even brasher in its earlier incarnation:

The ii Psalme.

How heathen kinges did Christ withstande  
yet he was king of al,

---

<sup>57</sup> *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid...* (London, 1547–9), A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> *The whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others* [...] (London, 1566), C8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.23. George Joye, *The Psalter of Dauid in Englishe* (Antwerp, 1530).

And of the counsell that he gaue  
to kinges terrestrial.<sup>60</sup>

Genette observes that some paratexts which are ‘in theory only reminders’ (like running heads) sometimes ‘transcend this role and play their own part’.<sup>61</sup> Allowed to speak in a different voice, with a different function—at least in conversation, if not in competition, with the authority of other spaces of the page—the purportedly transparent clarifications of the Sternhold-Hopkins Arguments are intrepidly interpretive. Wheatley writes that the epitomes which offered wider access to long, difficult histories ‘also raised some vexing interpretive dilemmas’;<sup>62</sup> like the ‘Cant.’ running heads, such ‘synopses’ show with all the unassailable detachedness of seeming-neutral voice the hermeneutic possibilities and responsibilities of printed reading-aids—and the specific power of hermeneutic wielded by proleptic précis.

Fixing the *Faerie Queene* Arguments fast in a context of textual supports to ease and swiften devotional understanding, analogy with the Sternhold-Hopkins psalter also strengthens the case from Kaske’s ‘concordantial reading’ that Spenser’s borrowing of formal and typographical paraphernalia into his own bookish packaging constitutes reference not only to other texts, but also to their ways of teaching reading. Kevin Dunn in *Pretexts of Authority* presented ‘preposterous’ Protestant prefaces as an ‘authorizing hermeneutics’.<sup>63</sup>

Composed last yet placed first, at once the open, inviting, unprepossessing and underdetermined gesture to the public and at the same time the secretly prepossessing, overdetermined authoritative gesture of the writer who, having finished his work, commences to interpret it for the reader.<sup>64</sup>

In her account of ‘various typographic and structural devices which made [...] texts manageable for basic readers’ in Protestant England, Tessa Watt argues that ‘The “consumers” of cheap print brought certain habitual ways of seeing, reading, and

---

<sup>60</sup> *The whole booke of Psalmes*, A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, pp.316–17.

<sup>62</sup> Wheatley, *Epic*, p.3.

<sup>63</sup> ‘For reasons so far unexplained’, writes Patrick Collinson, ‘the sixteenth century was fascinated by the alliteration of words beginning with “p”’ (*Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.4).

<sup>64</sup> Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority: the Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp.20, 33.

remembering to broadsides and chapbooks, such as the tendency to conceptualize morality in aphoristic packages'.<sup>65</sup> ('[F]eats of micrographia', said Susan Stewart, make 'especially suitable "containers" of aphoristic and didactic thought').<sup>66</sup> The slinking hermeneutic work in the Arguments to the psalter involves exactly the 'reading-writing' described by Kevin Killeen among early modern readers for whom typology is a 'productive, troublesome, and astonishingly versatile tool'—where reading scripture always involves 'an integral act of sub-reading'.<sup>67</sup> In his examination of the *Faerie Queene*'s sententiae as didactic technologies deeply embedded in reading by the habits of the humanist classroom, Dolven describes how, 'what Spenser is trying to do (at least, one of the things he is trying to do), is to distill several stanzas of narration into a portable moral'.<sup>68</sup> In wondering, as with Andrewes's 'catechizing', what Spenser thought teaching looked like, and what Spenserian teaching in the *Faerie Queene* might have looked like to its readers, the Arguments—especially as alluding to Arguments in the Sternhold-Hopkins psalter—are invaluable, catching Spenser decisively in the act of referencing a textual device easily recognisable as purporting a 'didactic technology' by way of interpretive abridgement.

And yet (and moreover), 'ballad metre', not 'psalm metre'. The Sternhold-Hopkins psalter's unambiguous popularity was not uncontroversial. Clark and Borris note that, 'Just as common meter was also called "ballad meter," the *Faerie Queene*'s Arguments somewhat evoke popular ballads as well as Psalmic hymns'.<sup>69</sup> While it was possible that singing the psalms had become so fervently appealing out of a wholly respectable renewed public uptake of godly pastimes, it seemed much more likely to the majority of contemporary commentators that it was because the tunes and metres too delightfully familiar from vulgar ballads were encouraging psalm-singing in all the wrong keys of enjoyment. Just as the censure of romance-reading by preachers is often cited to complicate the *Faerie Queene*'s allure as moral instruction, so too lauding along to Sternhold-Hopkins was not always or entirely laudable. Watt observes that while the gradual decline of religious-ballad-writing following

---

<sup>65</sup> Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.4.

<sup>66</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, p.43.

<sup>67</sup> Killeen, 'Chastising with Scorpions', pp.498, 493–94. Memorably—and rather Andrewesishly—Killeen describes the Bible's 'interpretative engine' as 'a kind of hermeneutic vacuum cleaner, sucking up and altering the contours of every object that it comes into exegetical contact with' (pp.496–97).

<sup>68</sup> Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction*, p.4.

<sup>69</sup> Borris and Clark, 'Hymnic Epic', p.1180.

the spread of the psalms ‘is evidence of a growing gap [...] perceived between certain “godly” and “ungodly” spheres of activity’, so too the contradiction between the two ‘was not as clear-cut to the pre-1640 ballad-buying public as it was to some Protestant ministers and writers’.<sup>70</sup>

The psalms find themselves, then, at the centre of an anxious religious debate about how to use time which is also concerned with how to use poetry. While the ‘poetic potential’ of the psalter was a productive attribute for writerly engagement, it was also hazardous.<sup>71</sup> Though the safest hands (here, Mary and Philip Sidney) might well succeed in fashioning Donne’s ‘highest matter in the noblest form’,<sup>72</sup> the work of carrying scripture into ‘poetry’ is a risky business demanding artistry as well as right intention. Not all psalm translations, perhaps, are created quite as equal a credit to their sources:

Why did the gentils fret + fume  
what rage was in theyr brayne?  
Why dyd the Jewish people muse,  
on matters that wer vayne? [...]

But thou O lorde art my defence  
whan I am harde bestead,  
My worship and myne honor bothe  
and thou holdest vp my head.<sup>73</sup>

‘There is little point’, Quitslund concedes, ‘in mounting a defense of the poetic skills’ of Sternhold-Hopkins, or a resistance to its 400-year-strong ‘distinctly bedraggled critical reputation’.<sup>74</sup> But—it is important to remember that the Sternhold-Hopkins psalter was thought wicked as well as bad. Wheatley notes how although epitomes often sparked an accompanying topos of apology and humility for their literary inadequacy, such ‘humble

---

<sup>70</sup> Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp.70, 73.

<sup>71</sup> Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p.540.

<sup>72</sup> John Donne, ‘Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke his Sister’, in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Robin Robbins (Harlow: Longman, 2010), p.580.

<sup>73</sup> *Certayne Psalmes*, A4<sup>v</sup>, A6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, pp.2–3.

adaptations' were nonetheless generally 'defended on the basis of their great utility'.<sup>75</sup> By contrast, vilified and denigrated despite its good intentions, the Sternhold-metre psalter is exemplary of 'metrical paraphrase as pedagogical tool',<sup>76</sup> snarling with metrical paraphrase as contaminating misappropriation. The fitting of psalms into stanzas mostly used for ballads, though well it might improve them for roaring and remembering, also herds them complicatedly into a textual space where 'metrical' means the wrong kind of thinking.

Whirring metonymic at this crux of Protestantism, pedagogy and poetry, the psalms have always appealed to formal consideration by critics. A context in which change in form certainly incorporates, if not entails, change in meaning—where 'it is probably most accurate to see Sternhold's versifications as self-conscious *interpretations* of the psalms'<sup>77</sup>—is one which reinforces the seriousness with which Spenser and Spenser's readers might have countenanced the work of folding cantos down into quatrains. Many since Empson have thought hard about the particular shape of the Spenserian stanza, the *Faerie Queene*'s 'most prominent formal feature'—Spenser's reliance on and loyalty to it, the particular poetic and pedagogical attention shaped by its formal 'units of meaning' and 'trajectories of breath'.<sup>78</sup> 'How did it dispose his attention while he wrote?' asks Kenneth Gross, 'How did it compel his word choice, syntax, and grammar? Where did its greatest delight lie? What does the stanza form have in it of dream, prayer, and chart, to use Kenneth Burke's three metaphors for the forms of literary action?'<sup>79</sup> The older Spenser of the *Faerie Queene*, as against the flightier poet of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, is faithful for long stretches to few forms, committed to their particular idiosyncratic capabilities of poetic pedagogy: his choice of ballad stanzas as helpmeet and mnemonic seems no accident and no small consideration. 'How subtly the form lets Spenser hug the coast of chaos', writes Gross:<sup>80</sup> what chance that the Arguments help the *Faerie Queene* chaos hug the coast of efficiency and organisation?

---

<sup>75</sup> Wheatley, *Epic*, p.10.

<sup>76</sup> Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.115.

<sup>77</sup> Quitslund, *Reformation in Rhyme*, p.21.

<sup>78</sup> Paul Hecht, 'Spenser Out of His Stanza', *Style*, 39.3 (2005), 316–334 (p.316); see also Dolven, 'The Method of Spenser's Stanza', *Spenser Studies*, 19 (2004), 17–25; and Kenneth Gross, 'Shapes of Time: On the Spenserian Stanza', *Spenser Studies*, 19 (2004), 27–35.

<sup>79</sup> Gross, 'Shapes of Time', p.31.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p.34.

## *The Faerie Queene in the Arguments*

It is worth noting that like braced diagrams, or God-talk, the Arguments sometimes go by different syntactical rules than those of normal narrative environs. Most definitive of their alternative regime is that pervasive false present tense which is the mother-tongue of all synopses. In reading the *Faerie Queene* by biblical concordances, Kaske writes that she has ‘seen the work for the most part from a bird’s-eye view, simultaneously and spatially’.<sup>81</sup> Dolven’s scenes of romance-instruction investigate schemes for learning which ‘*take the time out*, representing a time-bound routine or set of routines as an all-at-once picture’, and experimenting with concocting diagrams which show Sidney’s whole *Arcadia*, for example, as ‘a bow tie, or an hourglass on its side’—a diagrammatised version of Ettenhuber’s Donne’s ‘ultimate aspiration’ towards ‘a more elevated viewpoint: the panoramic breadth and accuracy of quasi-divine vision in heaven’.<sup>82</sup> Not quite bowties or hourglasses, but here are two *Faerie Queene* Arguments, at a glance:

*The knight with that old Dragon fights*

*two dayes incessantly:*

*The third him ouerthrowes, and gayns*

*most glorious victory. (155, I.xi)*

*Fayre Britomart saues Amoret,*

*Duessa discord breedes*

*Twixt Scudamour and Blandamour:*

*Their fight and warlike deedes. (5, IV.i)*

A knight and a dragon, two days of incessant fighting, a victory won in four lines. Emancipation in four feet, conflict brewed in seven, a culmination, and further warlike antics—all already hardened into verse, without so much as a finite verb to speak the time of their happening. Reading by the Arguments, one might race through the whole *Faerie Queene* in a matter of minutes.

---

<sup>81</sup> Kaske, *Biblical Poetics*, pp.66–67.

<sup>82</sup> Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction*, pp.50, 128; Ettenhuber, *Donne’s Augustine*, p.54.

In Wheatley's reading of the poem, 'comparison of the Elfin epitome to [...] dynastic chronicle highlights the smaller form's capacity to provide a sense of the whole that the more comprehensively detailed chronicle is never able to convey'.<sup>83</sup> Huge and complex allegorical worlds, we feel, should offer up their own working principles, and then stick to them:<sup>84</sup> that epic immensity which suggests immersiveness has also, always, tempted theories of systematic coherence which encourage faith in the mappable relationships of its macrocosms onto microcosms—smaller, graspable cores as 'compressed nodes of access to the greater and more complex whole'.<sup>85</sup> '*The Faerie Queene*', writes Wall-Randell, 'is an encyclopedia (just as the *Shepheardes Calendar* is an almanac), with its vast scope and almost Ramistic classifying structure, in which figures continually divide into halves or branch into sets'.<sup>86</sup> 'Simultaneously and spatially', from a bird's-eye view, is often how readers and critics have tried to reimagine the poem, in order to get a hold on it; and the Arguments—portable, memorable, fiercely précised, microsmic wholes—are surely internal sites of just such perspectival aspirations. Critics have always wanted the poetry of the *Faerie Queene* both to incorporate and to serve as its own reading guide: the ruthless efficiency of their taking-the-time-out, the rest of this chapter will argue, not only rewards close reading on its own terms, but also teaches how to close read parts of the poem where the effort is more familiar.

In her proposal for a new theoretical framework for 'graphic devices', incorporating all the paratexts of a new age, Drucker begins by making a clear distinction between 'navigational devices'—like page numbers, headers, or margins, which simply 'provide the means for moving through or manipulating the sequence of the elements that constitute the narrative'—and 'narrative elements'—graphic devices which not only 'contribute to the story', but 'in a broad sense model the discourse field in ways that constrain or engineer the narrative possibilities for a reader'.<sup>87</sup> While the Arguments may well serve sometimes as 'navigational devices', like page numbers, they are not *only* navigational devices like page

---

<sup>83</sup> Wheatley, *Epic*, p.63.

<sup>84</sup> See for example C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); James Nohrberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

<sup>85</sup> Wheatley, *Epic*, p.65.

<sup>86</sup> Wall-Randell, *Immaterial Book*, p.46.

<sup>87</sup> Johanna Drucker, 'Graphic Devices: Narration and Navigation', *Narrative*, 16.2 (2008), 121–39 (pp.123–24).

numbers.<sup>88</sup> Rather, as graphic devices which sometimes ‘[border] perilously close to semantic value’,<sup>89</sup> they expose Spenser’s tricks of character-building, landscape-description, and storytelling by urging a kind of thinking about text and print which is definingly spatial. Simpler to take apart and put back together than a whole canto, or even a nine-line stanza, they are miniature narratological clockworks for studying the mechanics of Spenserian narrative and narrative time.

To book-end examples:

*The guilefull great Enchaunter parts*  
*The Redcrosse Knight from Truth: (19, I.ii)*

*Her faithfull knight faire Una brings*  
*to house of Holinesse, (135, I.x)*

*Calidore sees young Tristram slay*  
*A proud discourteous knight,*  
*He makes him Squire, and of him learns*  
*his state and present plight. (370, VI.ii)*

*Calidore sees the Graces daunce,*  
*To Colins melody:*  
*The whiles his Pastorell is led,*  
*Into captiuitie. (479, VI.x)*

Helen Cooper has written of the ‘mythic symmetries’ of English romance narratives, Dolven of the ‘implied promises’ of the *Faerie Queene*’s ‘moral architectonics’.<sup>90</sup> These promises and the shapes of their poetic architecture, I’d argue—always, but especially clearly in the Arguments—are also metrical and syntactical. Dolven describes how the *Faerie Queene*

---

<sup>88</sup> Wilkinson notes that the 1609 *Faerie Queene*—the first folio edition—was also the first to number the stanzas, ‘the first subtle suggestion that this is not a poem to be read linearly, from cover to cover’ (p.13).

<sup>89</sup> Drucker, ‘Graphic Devices’, p.126.

<sup>90</sup> Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.57; Dolven, ‘Besides Good and Evil’, *SEL*, 57.1 (2017), 1–22 (pp.1, 2).



stanza ‘offers characteristic shape’ to the lessons it teaches—‘a nine-line sermon that broods its way through the eccentric, double-take rhyme scheme to wind up at the wise hexameter, self-balanced on its medial caesura’.<sup>91</sup> A four-line ballad stanza, by contrast—especially to a reading-ear well-attuned to ballad stanzas—with cross rhyme, and merry three-four gait, constitutes a structure of expectation and fulfilment easier and more surconscious, less cognitively tangling than the nine-line Spenserian;<sup>92</sup> the Arguments’ simpler syntax shows up narrative tipping points and anticipations by transitivity (*parts*/, *brings*/, *slay*/, *learnes*/), underscored by the waiting weighting of metre and rhyme.

How do the Arguments actually go about fitting lots into little? It’s easier to see the effort of craft in those places where Spenser doesn’t quite manage it. The Arguments contain the only two instances in the whole *Faerie Queene* of words split across a line, the first in the Argument to Book I, Canto VII:

*The Redcrosse knight is capture made  
By Gyaunt proud opprest,  
Prince Arthure meets with Vna great—  
ly with those newes distrest. (91)*

And the second in the Argument to Book II, Canto VI:

*Guyon is of immodest Merth,  
led into loose desire,  
Fights with Cymochles, whiles his bro—  
ther burnes in furious fire. (256)*

Wheatley’s ‘elegantly compressed’ epitomes these are not quite; but the ungainliness is uncharacteristic. Exceptions which prove the meticulous rule of Spenser’s typical colouring within the metrical confines, they also make Spenserian metre suddenly much more discernible as having ever been confinement in the first place. In the flash of the hyphen, the length of a poetic line becomes strikingly conspicuous visual concern: settling stories and syllables into stanzas is always a labour of fitting—and in the Arguments it is not a

---

<sup>91</sup> Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction*, p.4.

<sup>92</sup> On stanza forms and literary cognition see, for example, Raphael Lyne, ‘Thinking in Stanzas’, in *The Work of Form*, pp.88–103.

ubiquitously perfect one. Sometimes, the stuff of speaking overflows the appointed space. Laid bare for once (twice) across these cleaving hyphens is the prosodic mechanics, usually invisibly for granted, of the metrical pivots which always maintain the perpetual motion of squat iambics, tipping, tapping, holding on, holding out. (Hyphens, in terms of kinetic expectation, do in punctuation what transitive verbs and connectives do in syntax—and cross-rhymes do in quatrains, and ‘mythic symmetries’ do in narratives).

Is there anything to be said for these anomalies as encapsulating and acclimatising sorts of reading useful to Spenser elsewhere—for identifying hyphens in the *Faerie Queene* in terms of Drucker’s ‘semantics of graphic syntax’, as devices which ‘model the discourse field’, ‘engineer [...] narrative possibilities’, and sometimes almost ‘*constitute content*’?<sup>93</sup> Although these are the only words split across lines *metrically* in the poem, they are not the only words to be cleft visually by hyphens. In the 1596 *Faerie Queene* there are several instances where—almost always in the longer hexameter line—the last (or occasionally, the last two) syllables will not fit into the page-space accorded to accommodate a stanza which has been built mostly out of pentameters. Metre, paper-size, printed formes, the size of different words in type-piece letters as against the size of their sound in syllables—all at once, in the light of the uncommon slip, these dimensions of printed language are rendered busily visible in their constant complex negotiations of scale, equivalence and accommodation.

What is perhaps most telling about hunting these slips as a reader is the increasingly irresistible temptation—as they border ever perilously closer to semantic value—to misappropriate them as far too appropriate. Too often the end of a word wedged up into the space left above by the end of a pentameter, or squeezed underneath into the gap between the stanzas, *seems* to dash in a joke—the type-setter (or the type-setting?) having a laugh at the poem’s expense, or rather, perhaps, only following its instructions always, wherever the opportunity presents itself, to make meaning go further and flightier. If we are careful about what it is we want this to say, it can, I think, be worthy our consideration. In Book IV, Canto I, we read how no more piteous story was ever told,

Then that of *Amorets* hart-binding chaine,  
And this of *Florimels* vnworthie paine:

---

<sup>93</sup> Drucker, ‘Graphic Devices’, p.126.

The deare compassion of whose bitter fit  
My softened heart so sorely doth constraine, (5, IV.i.1)

Here, tied in with tales of binding chains, bitter fit and sore constraint of softness, Britomart—having rescued Amoret, but still disguised as a man—alarms her charge by doing and saying,

Full many things so doubtfull to be wayd,  
That well she wist not what by them to gesse,  
For other whiles to her she purpos made  
Of loue, and otherwhiles of lustfulnesse,  
That much she feard his mind would grow to some ex—  
(cesse. (7, IV.i.7)

In despite of couching in all the carefulness of language aurally balanced to proper numbers, seeming-fitting with all metrical decorum, minds may grow still, disturbingly, to excess—may extend, doubtful in the weighing, into meaning further than they sound to say. ‘Graphic devices’, writes Drucker, ‘don’t just “serve up” [...] narratives in some decorous manner. They are frequently integral and substantive aspects of meaning’.<sup>94</sup> Paronomasia with the tools of writing would not be out of place in this Book: Amoret’s being cruelly pen’d by both Spenser and Busirane is, after all, among the *Faerie Queene*’s most celebrated puns (IV.xi.11). Likewise several cantos later, when Britomart is finally unmasked before Artegall, the perilous unruly of raging passion again comes visibly up against suitable constraints of forme or chase: though Artegall, seeing Britomart’s face, loves her instantly,

Yet durst he not make loue so suddenly,  
Ne thinke th’affection of her hart to draw  
From one to other so quite contrary:  
Besides her modest countenance he saw  
So goodly graue, and full of princely aw,  
That it his ranging fancie did refraine,  
And looser thoughts to lawfull bounds withdraw;  
Whereby the passion grew more fierce and faine,

---

<sup>94</sup> Drucker, ‘Graphic Devices’, p.125.



His name was *Talus*, made of yron mould,  
 Immoeable resistlesse, without end.  
 Who in his hand an yron flale did hould,  
 With which he thresht out falshood, and did truth vn–  
 fould. (190, V.i.12)

In one of those few typographic overfills not necessitated by the alexandrine, Redcrosse hears Orgoglio before he sees him. Dangerously disarmed on the grassy verge, the knight's manly forces begin to fail:

Yet goodly court he made still to his Dame,  
 Poured out in loosenesse on the grassy grownd,  
 Both carelesse of his health, and of his fame:  
 Till at the last he heard a dreadfull sownd, (bownd,  
 Which through the wood loud bellowing, did re–  
 That all the earth for terror seemd to shake,  
 And trees did tremble. Th'Elfe therewith astownd,  
 Vpstart lightly from his looser make,  
 And his vnready weapons gan in hand to take. (93, I.vii.7)

To the man 'Poured out in looseness', the Giant who is monstrous because too large for the bounds of human form—'hideous' because 'horrible and hye, / That with his tallnesse seemd to threat the skye, / The ground eke groned vnder him for dreed' (I.vii.8)—first shakes the line by sound, then threatens coherence of the metre with its printed manifestation, the page-space ground groaning under the unwieldy figure of it.

None of this running amok twixt sound and sign of printed line is intended to imply, for any longer than an instant, that any one of these printed hyphens—those two in the Arguments excepted—ever represented any notion of deliberate intervention on the part of the poet. What I would like to suggest, nonetheless, is that Spenser's poetry—in a way which becomes bravely visible in the Arguments as they move, like Dames's chapters, 'from an editorial unit to something like a literary form'<sup>97</sup>—encourages us to read both prosodic and page space as Druckerian 'graphic device' which *constitutes* content, instructing a

---

<sup>97</sup> Dames, 'The Chapter', p.15.

diagrammatic state of reading which should not be surprised to find the words of poetry reaching out to engage the furniture of the printed page in witty repartee, with the letters and spaces ever prepared to hold their own in response. As Christopher Ricks once put it, of hyphens in Geoffrey Hill, ‘the general case for attention to minutiae in Hill’s poetry is corroborated by his own sense that nothing is beneath notice’.<sup>98</sup> ‘The critic’s mannerism’, Ricks says, ‘is caught from the poet’:<sup>99</sup> coincidences of meaning and presentation advertise themselves idiosyncratically to overinterpretation in the *Faerie Queene*, I would argue, because Spenser himself is so attuned and attuning to size and space-taking. This particular poetic mannerism, caught up in a game of rich levity where anything might be worthy of wondering, is fundamentally diagrammatic. Make a dash for the *Faerie Queene* and give yourself up to it.

When early modern writers describe the pitfalls of speaking badly in poetry, it is idle stuffing to reach metrical quotas—Thomas Nashe’s ‘swelling bumbast of bragging blanke verse’ and ‘spacious volubility of a drumming decasillabon’<sup>100</sup>—which more commonly comes under fire (having too little, not too much, to say—and extending it, without divine dictate, too far). If the Arguments’ hyphens show up Spenser bowing to the restraints of metred form in order to keep it small enough, they also point to instances in the *Faerie Queene* when a metred line needs padding out. As hyphen-splitting helps exemplify negotiations between aural and printed extent, then, just so those disposable (monosyllabic, unstressed) packing-words filling out the Arguments’ iambs—like the orthographical variations or careful resizing of spaces by typesetters to justify a line—are useful for thinking through negotiations of different formal dimensions on poetic planes which have to coexist: even in the act of compressing down a narrative as small as it will go in order to fit a whole canto into one ballad stanza—as far as the metre is concerned, the length of a line still demands eight syllables.

This is particularly noticeable in what becomes the Arguments’ somewhat typifying reliance on the periphrastic auxiliary ‘do’. In Book I:

---

<sup>98</sup> Christopher Ricks, ‘At-one-ment’, in *The Force of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp.319–55 (p.347).

<sup>99</sup> Ricks, ‘At-one-ment’, p.326.

<sup>100</sup> Nashe, ‘To the Gentleman Students’, \*\*1<sup>r</sup>.

*The Patron of true Holinesse,  
 Foule Errour **doth** defeate:  
 Hypocrisie him to entrape,  
**Doth** to his home entreate. (3, I.i)*

*To sinfull house of Pride, Duessa  
 guides the faithfull knight,  
 Where brothers death to wreak Sansioy  
**doth** challenge him to fight. (45, I.iv)*

*From lawlesse lust by wondrous grace  
 fayre Una is releast:  
 Whom saluage nation **does** adore,  
 and learnes her wise beheast. (75, I.vi)*

And so on, as in Book II, ‘Guyon **does** Furor bind in chaines’ (iv), ‘Pyrrhochles **does** with Guyon fight’ (v), and the House of Temperance, ‘in which / **doth** sober Alma dwell’, is besieged of many foes (ix). Guyon, in the Argument with which I began this essay, ‘**Doth** ouerthrow the Bowre of blis’ (xii). Periphrastic auxiliary ‘do’ as an attribute of poetic speaking is often claimed to have been ‘invented’ by John Lydgate.<sup>101</sup> A.C. Partridge, considering its currency in Ben Jonson’s plays, set out in 1948 the following possibilities for its usage in affirmative indicative statements:<sup>102</sup>

- (1) *Deliberate emphasis.* (As in modern English)
- (2) *With slightly emphatic colour.* (Now out of date.)
- (3) *Unemphatic.* (Now out of date.)
- (4) *With inversion of pronominal subject to give special emphasis to some other part of the sentence, the notional verb being placed last.* (Still in use, especially in poetry)
- (5) *‘Do’ for metre.* (Still used in poetry.)

Spenser’s in the Arguments are manifestly ‘“Do” for metre’. Even when proximate to verbs without auxiliary *dos*, they do not seem to me even ‘slightly emphatic’; something about their

---

<sup>101</sup> See James Finch Royster, ‘The “Do” Auxiliary—1400 to 1450’, *Modern Philology*, 12.7 (1915), 449–456.

<sup>102</sup> A.C. Partridge, ‘The Periphrastic Auxiliary Verb “Do” and Its Use in the Plays of Ben Jonson’, *The Modern Language Review*, 43.1 (1948), 26–33 (p.28).

idiom, it's true, sounds almost essentially Spenserian, as though the syntax even outside a prosodic paradigm couldn't do without them. I would argue, though, that this is a Spenserian affect which comes vitally from building a voice out of syllables, into metres—these *dos* are metrical (aural) quadrats or hair spaces for justifying the unstressed dips of an iambic line.

Whether by overspill or underweight, then, the Arguments highlight the whole *Faerie Queene*'s narrative and poetic (diagrammatic) animation by syntax and spaces. Urging our wondering about the size and fit of lines and sentences, they equip us for wider considering of the decorum of stories and cantos. Is it possible in this poem to know when a canto, of non-regular size, is running out of steam? What makes a story uncomprisable within one? The *Faerie Queene*, famously, constantly throws narratological right-size into question by loudly cutting itself off mid-anecdote:

But for to tell her lamentable cace,  
And eke this battels end, will need another place. (91, I.vi.48)

The which to let you weet, will further time require. (527, III.viii.52)

Which in an other Canto will be best contayned. (255, V.v.57)

These are Parker and Goldberg's kinds of incompleteness—narratives of ever-unfinishedness which are a more conventional story to tell about the stories the *Faerie Queene* never quite manages to finish getting told. Less remarked, perhaps, is their keying into an imperatively Spenserian interest in the right size of bits of poetry, especially—and especially with psalms, and the *Pattern*, still in mind—in proportionate intratextual relation to one another.

In *Narrative Discourse*, translated into English almost two decades before *Paratexts*, Genette proposes to mediate the structuralist opposition between *showing* and *telling* by using 'the word *story* for the signified or narrative content', 'the word *narrative* for the signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text itself', and 'the word *narrating* for the producing narrative action'.<sup>103</sup> 'To study the temporal order of the narrative', he says, 'is to compare the order in which events or temporal sections are arranged in the narrative discourse with the order of succession these same events have in the story'.<sup>104</sup> Genette's distinction, via Christian Metz, between '*erzählte Zeit* (story time)' and '*Erzahlzeit* (narrative time)', set

---

<sup>103</sup> Gerard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, trans. Jane Lewin (Oxford, 1980), p.27.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p.35.



running with a third chronology, ‘reading time’, seems useful here: does the process of contraction represented by the *Faerie Queene*’s Arguments involve precise ratios? Does one line, or 25%, of an Argument relate exactly to one quarter of the ensuing canto’s events? To a great extent of course, of course not. But wondering about how ridiculous such a notion might be might be less facetious an enterprise. Beyond the context of historical epitomes’ ‘skeletal abridgements’, and psalters which ‘comprehendeth the effecte of the whole Byble’, is the wider background of a Cambridge BA designed as ‘a survey course of all knowledge’, by Ramist schematics which ‘doth show them that have it as much almost in three days, as if it dwell threescore years with them’ (or as much in two lines as forty-eight hours: *The knight with that old Dragon fight / two days incessantly*).<sup>105</sup> Spenser-by-numbers, moreover, is critical work with a musty vintage authority:<sup>106</sup> if it’s worth counting lines outwards from the central sonnet of the *Amoretti* to work out the sequence’s specific symmetries, it seems not such a leap to ask how precisely the action of the last three feet of an Argument might correspond with the final 3/14ths of the story of the canto.

The Arguments are full of a kind of contracted telling-about-telling—Genette’s ‘*narrative*’ without the ‘*narrating*’. Here are two in one:

*Scudamour doth his conquest tell,  
Of vertuous Amoret:  
Great Venus Temple is describ’d,  
And louers life forth set. (139, IV.x)*

Like Dolven’s diagrams—and like the words we ought to linger on (staying and considering) in prayers and sermons—these *narrative* proxies are also signs for poetic time-taking taken-out, another means of showing extent in small, both the *erzahlte Zeit* of Faery and the *Erzahlzeit* of the *Faerie Queene*’s main poetry radically separated from the ‘reading time’ of page-turning consumption. Genette defines ‘speed’ in narrative as the relationship between a temporal ‘duration (that of the story, measured in seconds, minutes, hours, days, months,

---

<sup>105</sup> See Introduction above, p.20.

<sup>106</sup> See for example Alastair Fowler, ‘Numerical Composition in *The Faerie Queene*’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25.3/4 (1962), 199–239; A. Kent Hieatt, *Short Time’s Endless Monument: The Symbolism of the Numbers in Edmund Spenser’s Epithalamion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); Carol Kaske, ‘Spenser’s “Amoretti and Epithalamion” of 1595: Structure, Genre, and Numerology’, *ELR*, 8.3 (1978), 271–95.

years)', and a spatial 'length (that of the text, measured in lines and pages)'.<sup>107</sup> But if the Arguments are Genettian '*prolepsis*'—'any narrative maneuver that consists of narrating or evoking in advance an event that will take place later'<sup>108</sup>—the temporal-spatial ratios they promise for a different *narrative speed* in the expanded space of *canto narrating* are often a disappointment: while such placeholdering might seem particularly relevant to the Arguments—clearly *narrative* not *narrating* themselves—in fact there is so much entrelaced story-recounting in the *Faerie Queene*, that often even the main poetry only tacks it.

What happens, for example, when

*The Redcrosse knight to Britomart*  
*describeth Artegall:*

in the Argument to III.ii, gets to stretch its legs in the larger space of the canto? Curiously, the expansion is rather minimal. Reviewing, some years on, Alpers's revelations about the developing psychological experience of reading the *Faerie Queene*, Nohrnberg wrote how, 'The reader, in sum, observes and experiences less the unfolding of an action, than the unfolding of a reaction, and not merely a given character's reaction, but also one entailing the reader's own'.<sup>109</sup> Much more extensive, when it comes to it, are not the descriptions of Artegall, nor of Redcrosse's describing him, but rather of Britomart's responses to the telling, from the moment where 'The royall Mayd woxe inly wondrous glad, / To heare her Loue so highly magnifide' (III.ii.11) to the capacious detail of how

His feeling words her feeble sence much pleased,  
And softly sunck into her molten hart;  
Hart that is inly hurt, is greatly eased  
With hope of thing, that may allegge his smart;  
For pleasing words are like to Magick art,  
That doth the charmed Snake in slomber lay:  
Such secret ease felt gentle *Britomart*,

---

<sup>107</sup> Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, pp.87–88.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp.67, 40.

<sup>109</sup> Nohrnberg, 'In Memoriam: Paul Alpers', n.p..

Yet list the same efforce with faind gainesay;  
So dischord oft in Musick makes the sweeter lay. (414, III.ii.15)

We hear at much greater length, in much more specific detail, about what Britomart wants to know about Artegall—a proleptic skeleton, with all the actual description taken out—than what Redcrosse knows of him.<sup>110</sup> ‘What shape, what shield, what armes, what steed, what sted’, she asks, ‘And what so else his person most may vaunt?’

All which the *Redcrosse* knight to point ared,  
And him in euery part before her fashioned. (415, III.ii.16)

is all we get in response—‘story time’, as Genette would put it, again ‘elided’,<sup>111</sup> the ‘describeth’ of the Argument a placeholder for what never becomes anything more than a placeholder. Where Fleming argues that books with lacy borders might even be a prayer in themselves,<sup>112</sup> here the fact of the telling is itself the story, the event of describing itself the whole narrative action. In Genettian terms, the *narrative* here is indistinguishable from either the *story* or the *narrating*.

To bring *erzählte Zeit* and *Erzahlzeit* closer to Ramist pedagogies, and closer to Spenser: Dolven writes in *Scenes of Instruction* of ‘a distinction between two kinds of time, *teaching time* and *learning time*’.<sup>113</sup> Ramist summative diagrams seem to infer that if a whole can be perceived in an instant, it can also be understood in one; Andrewes’s Passion sermons, though, make it clear that there is often much to be gained from spending considerable (and considering) time *looking* at something you could *see* in a single glance. Book V, Canto III of the *Faerie Queene* contains a useful documentation of looking, where Marinell is first confronted by the two Florimells false and true:

Which when as *Marinell* beheld likewise,  
He was therewith exceedingly dismayd;  
Ne wist he what to thinke, or to deuise,

---

<sup>110</sup> On a similar phenomenon, Wall-Randell notes of Arthur’s reading of *Briton’s Moniments* in II.x that ‘What is remarkable about Arthur’s response is that it does not correlate at all with what we have read over his shoulder’ (*Immaterial Book*, p.34)

<sup>111</sup> On narrative ‘ellipsis’ see *Narrative Discourse*, p.106.

<sup>112</sup> Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, p.75, see Ch.1 above, p.47.

<sup>113</sup> Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction*, p.54.

But like as one, whom feends had made affrayd,  
He long astonisht stood, ne ought he sayd,  
Ne ought he did, but with fast fixed eies  
He gazed still vpon that snowy mayd;  
Whom euer as he did the more auize,  
The more to be true *Florimell* he did surmize.

As when two sunnes appeare in the azure skye,  
Mounted in *Phoebus* charet fierie bright,  
Both darting forth faire beames to each mans eye,  
And both adorn'd with lampes of flaming light,  
All that behold so strange prodigious sight,  
Not knowing natures worke, nor what to weene,  
Are rapt with wonder, and with rare affright.  
So stood Sir *Marinell*, when he had seene  
The semblant of this false by his faire beauties Queene. (217, V.iii.18–99)

Marinell stands long and silent with eyes ‘fast fixed’ for slow looking. ‘Beholding’ here is certainly a part of ‘thinking’ and ‘devising’—but whether it preludes or constitutes sophisticated cognition is a trickier distinction. Hamilton glosses ‘auize’ variously in its several appearances throughout the poem as ‘observe’, ‘perceive’, ‘regard’, ‘consider’, ‘determine’, and ‘counsel’; often attached to ‘well’, it is a word for Spenser wont to describe instances of *good* looking, a version of active sight critically linked to contemplation and cognition. Marinell’s deciphering of the true Florimell is an act of seeing where it proves important and worthwhile to take the time to do it properly. Not all looking to learn can be done at a glance.

And neither, from the other side of the equation, with the *Hymnes* and their disposing diagrammatics in mind, can ‘displaying’. In the Argument to III.xii,

*The maske of Cupid, and th’enchanted  
Chamber are displayd* (576)

The Maske of Cupid, though, when we come to it, certainly does not happen in an instant. Despite the emotional disarray represented by its *Despaire, Danger, Doubt, Dissemblance*, the actual procession is characterised by neat disposition—they are ‘a jolly company, / In

manner of a maske, enranged orderly', treading forth 'in trim aray' (III.xii.5–6), clearly taking up space in the shape of a horizontal chronology. From the seventh stanza of the canto, Spenser lines them up:

The first was Fancy...

And him beside marcht amorous *Desyre*...

Next after him went *Doubt*...

With him went *Daunger*...

Next him was *Feare*, all arm'd from top to toe... [up and down as well as front to back]

With him went *Hope*...

And so on. Here as in the *Hymnes*, prepositions run the show, their diachronic movement bright against the watcher's stasis. While 'The noble Mayd, still standing all this vewd', the masquers' marching feet pace past her, treading nicely with feeble steps, one behind the other, top to toe, one by one.

Dolven argues that the *Faerie Queene* is 'more profoundly dedicated [...] perhaps than any work of literature [...] to exploring the tensions' between Jerome Bruner's 'narrative' and 'paradigmatic' modes of understanding.<sup>114</sup> 'Narrative' and 'paradigmatic' are here versions of what I have analysed as 'synchronic' and 'diachronic' reading—these as means, particularly, for getting at cruxes of theological comprehension and devotional practice. In his own work, Bruner describes 'cultural tool kits' which exert pressure on the evolution of human capacity for thought, synthesising late-twentieth-century structuralism with theories of temporality drawn from Paul Ricoeur and William Labov, in order to understand how the time and order of human events gets translated into the conventional patterns of traditional narrative structures—and to worry at the important and impossible distinction between the story and its mode of telling.<sup>115</sup> It is in the energetic compression of the arguments that the *Faerie Queene*'s narrative and its paradigmatic structures, the 'irreducibly durative'<sup>116</sup> and

---

<sup>114</sup> See Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction*, pp.140, 53; and Jerome Bruner, 'The Narrative Construction of Reality', *Critical Inquiry*, 18.1 (1991), 1–21.

<sup>115</sup> Bruner, 'Narrative Construction', pp.3,6–8.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6.

the aspiringly simultaneous—the moment-to-moment and the bird’s-eye view—fizz at the most radical and dedicated high heat of their competition.

### ‘Argument’ in *The Faerie Queene*

‘Arguments’, wrote Dudley Fenner, ‘are many times knowen by their proper notes and markes’.<sup>117</sup> Sometimes, though, they are known also by their self-definitions. Somewhere between what other early modern Arguments mean for reading Spenser—how to learn to read them as historical-formal paratextual devices—and how Spenser teaches *Faerie-Queene*-reading, its narratology and its poetics, by the particularity of his own, is a consideration of the word ‘argument’ as used by Spenser himself in the poem. ‘Argument’ appears five times in the *Faerie Queene* itself, never in the Arguments (though often near them). The first instance is in the proem to Book I which was my epigraph:

[...] o Goddesse heauenly bright,  
Mirrour of grace and Maiestie diuine,  
Great Lady of the greatest Isle, whose light  
Like *Phoebus* lampe throughout the world doth shine,  
Shed thy faire beames into my feeble eyne,  
And raise my thoughts too humble and too vile,  
To thinke of that true glorious type of thine,  
The **argument** of mine afflicted stile:  
The which to heare, vouchsafe, o dearest dred a-while. (2)

What seems most interesting about this stanza is its clear presentation of ‘argument’ as a facet of poetry distinct (even—safe) from ‘stile’. The *Faerie Queene*’s Proems are preoccupied by the problem of unworthy unfitness to tasks, and the question of what voice to sing in to which listeners. ‘Stile’ here is also writing-implement—Hamilton glosses ‘afflicted stile’ as ‘humble pen’, and ‘argument’ as ‘matter or subject’—and the *Faerie Queene*’s second instance of ‘argument’, too, invokes and antagonises two such punning ‘stiles’, where an ‘Argument of *Moenian* quill’ lurks near ‘fraile pen, with feare disparaged’ (II.x.2–3). However, Spenser definitely uses ‘stile’ elsewhere in the *Faerie Queene* in the (‘style’) sense of ‘manner’ or

---

<sup>117</sup> Fenner, *Logike*, B1<sup>r</sup>.

‘fashion’. As such it is often not to be trusted—as in II.i, where Archimago, slipping shackles to wreak vengeance on Redcrosse,

gan to weaue a web of wicked guile,  
And with faire countenance and flattring stile,  
To them approching, thus the knight bespake: (189, II.i.8)

Readers in Faery cannot ignore *stile*’s rhyming liaisons with ‘wile’ and ‘gile’—and ‘vile’ and ‘spoile’, and the often-dubious ‘file’; *stile* is very much in ‘sleights’ and quite a lot in ‘subtile’, all words woven up for the *Faerie Queene* in the enchanting aural webs of characters like Archimago and Phaedria. Other times, where Hamilton glosses ‘title; outward appearance’, ‘stile’ means surface-level, deceptive show, like the decisively vain ‘false trechery’ of Braggadochio’s ‘knightly stile’ in II.viii.12. And tellingly, where there is no ‘stile’ adversarially near ‘argument’, there is sometimes ‘rime’, a word also belonging to Spenser’s lexicon of evil enchaunters—rude, ragged and base, or loose and light, and always—‘O too high ditty for my simple rime’—too low for high subjects. In Book III the poet fears to address his audience of redoubted knights and honourable dames, ‘least with vnworthy blames / This odious argument my rimes should shend, / Or ought your goodly patience offend’ (III.xi.1). Is ‘argument’ as navigational device and didactic technology, then, for Spenser, the worthy and detachable (efficient, economical) opposite of a—dangerously, discomfitingly—frivolous and idle poeticness?

Andrewes writes in the *Pattern*, via Augustine, that one way to be sure of the true sense of scripture is ‘To be acquainted with the phrase of the holy Ghost, and this is to be gotten by the knowledge of the Dialect, Idiome or Stile of the holy Spirit’ (54). Describing the second commandment, Andrewes writes that ‘God frames [it] as strong as Princes’—‘This stile of God is the same, which formerly we had, but with a double increase or addition’ (222). Though the too-small size of our carnal lexicon cannot reach to express the divine in the proper largeness of its spiritual terms—‘The barrenesse of the English language makes the expression of the Original short’ (233)—there is nonetheless a right adverbial tone to adopt: ‘we must speak reverently of Gods name, not make it common, as if we did account of it no better then a stone in the street’ (237). How barren, or common—how too short—is a ballad metre Argument, or a Sternhold-Hopkins psalm, for accounting of God’s name?

‘I’m trying to show’, writes Drucker, ‘that within the larger task of interpretation [...] we can read ideological, cultural, and historical matters in [the] graphic dimensions [by] which narrative is constrained and structured’. ‘I would go farther’, she goes on, ‘and say that certain assumptions, values, and beliefs can only be accessed through critical reading of these devices’.<sup>118</sup> There seems some implication in Spenser’s usage of the word that however bad a poetic ‘style’ at any given moment, the ‘argument’ might still exist—crucially, might still be, on the poetical-ethical grounds established by the *Faerie Queene*, good. This chapter has put the case that, on the contrary, the poem’s Arguments are not just inseparable from but integral to an understanding of its style. Certainly they are readable, in many useful ways, as ‘navigational device’—‘hooks for memory’ to be used for ‘consultative access’ in discontinuous reading, or for managing Ann Blair’s information overload, much like *tabulae* (tables and diagrams), ‘self-explanatory because they brought the material in view in summary form’, a textual space and register definingly distinct from the voice in which the *Faerie Queene* does its poetry.<sup>119</sup> At the same time, though, they are literary forms with literary style in them, embeddedly acculturated to and indicative of animating aspects of Spenserian poetics. Shorter stanzas in shorter metres, they startle into concision the sprawl of the canto which is the outstanding memory of the poem’s reading experience; but their explosive compressing of large meaning into individual words and punctuation marks, their relentless springing of unexpectedly punned spaces, their narrative digressions and mythical transivities—these are utterly Spenserian, fractals which disclose fundamentals about the *Faerie Queene*’s readerly and writerly attentive strategies. Like Andrewes’s anaphors, they do much more poetic work on the attentive mechanics of the whole of the *Faerie Queene* than simply summarising information. Rather, they are abridgements which tell the particular encoding of Spenser’s time and space—a change in form (and a visible work of changing form) which teaches how to read his style.

---

<sup>118</sup> Drucker, ‘Graphic Devices’, p.138.

<sup>119</sup> Blair, *Too Much To Know*, p.145.



}

## Conclusion:

### ***‘Proper adiuncts to a youthfull minde’***

Elizabeth Clarke wrote in 1997 that before Herbert, ‘no English poet had dared to claim that his work could be labelled “Sacred Poems”’.<sup>1</sup> This thesis has presented Spenser and Andrewes—one a poet, the other a preacher—as products of a shared culture of education characterised by profound investment in the efficiency and functionality of texts’ shapes and sizes. My aim has been to present the active workings of diagrams and summaries in the *Preces*, the *Hymnes*, the Passions sermons, and the Arguments to the *Faerie Queene* in the spirit of case study. I hope to have shown that these difficult, teaching writers, and the variety of their generic forms, suggest more widely the usefulness of discovering in early modern texts not always labelled either ‘Sacred’ or ‘Poems’ both what Derek Attridge has recently called ‘poeticity’, and its engagements with theological thinking.<sup>2</sup> In her book on poetry and the eucharist, Sophie Read proposes an ‘important caveat’ for discussing devotional poetics:

The poetry considered here is not, and could not aspire to be, “eucharistic” in any direct or literal sense; literature is not liturgy. Which is not to suggest any kind of defeat or pretence[:] [...] neither is liturgy literature.<sup>3</sup>

Faced, though, with ‘prose poem’ *Preces* translations, with sermons all in puns and half-rhymes, or summary-stanzas in the metre of the psalm-book, ‘literature’, ‘liturgy’, ‘poetry’, ‘prayer’—how they teach reading, and their cognitive conjuring by forms of words and shapes of sentences—in their functioning, if not in their stated intentions, are difficult to separate out. Where Adam Smyth hunts between bibliographic codes, their subject matters and their material packaging for ‘subtler, tenser sense[s] of the ways in which material and

---

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, *Theory and Theology*, p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Derek Attridge, *The Experience of Poetry: from Homer’s Listeners to Shakespeare’s Readers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p.3.

<sup>3</sup> Read, *Eucharist*, p.7.

literary form relate',<sup>4</sup> this thesis offers an examination of the way that literary forms motivated by pedagogic functionality help to structure the iterative and durative reading and thinking work of early modern faith.

I'd like to conclude this study in shared cultures of teaching turned poetry with a return to the literary-Ramist environs of sixteenth-century Cambridge. *Tyros Roring Megge* is a little read and little studied poetical satire in English and Latin, probably the work of multiple pseudonymised hands, printed in 1598.<sup>5</sup> The first half, in English, comprises a series of epigrams on student life purportedly composed by an undergraduate newly arrived at university. Signed off variously with, 'Your *matriculated* cozen and fast friend Winter and Summer', or, '*Thine while he hath any* radicall moysture, T. Tyro', the letters set themselves relishingly amidst a social network of university students and their teachers, documenting the impish activities of a hero who walks Cambridge streets populated by 'gowne men' and boys in 'circled caps'.<sup>6</sup> A text which explicitly declares and discusses its own 'poeticity', with all the Nashean parodic paratextual trappings of self-deprecating humility-topos that go along with such a knowing generic identity, *Tyro* tangles forthrightly with—what this thesis has found embedded, implicit, in Spenser and Andrewes—the ways that Ramist pedagogical values might preoccupy and intervene in conscious efforts of writing poetry, and vice versa. 'These *Epigrammes*', pleads the dedication, 'I request may be taken in good gree, and read when thou art lazie. Blame me not too bitterly, for misspending a little time: and consider that learned Poets haue, for recreation, wrought vpon worse subiects' (A2<sup>v</sup>).

It follows that although *Tyro* frets ostensibly throughout about time unprofitably misspent smoking, reading poetry, throwing dice, or 'in the deepe dealings of the *female sex*' (B1<sup>r</sup>), as a text written by students for a student audience, it is in this vein largely forgiving of the failings of as-yet-unformed youths. 'What is he vnder heauens inammeld vault, / That liueth spotlesse, and deuoid of fault?', asks the fifth epigram (is it Andrewes with the heav'n enamel'd minde?); since even *Venus* 'was debonaire, and beauties grace, / And yet a mole lay sleeping on her face', it is 'No meruaile then though *Tyro* haue some blot, / Sith perfect vertue fals to no mans lot' (B1<sup>v</sup>). Hence, while still an undergraduate, Tom Tyro is permitted to sing ditties to a silver sattern, and 'if he like the stage' to act, to eat a whole pie by himself, and stay in bed until ten o'clock: 'O faults! no faultes, but trickes of gentle kinde, / And

---

<sup>4</sup> Smyth, *Material Texts*, p.12.

<sup>5</sup> Sarah Knight discusses *Tyro*'s association of Ramus with 'lesser intellects' in 'Flat Dichotomists and Learned Men' (p.65), but there exists little other scholarship on the pamphlet.

<sup>6</sup> *Tyros roring Megge Planted against the walles of melancholy. One booke cut into two decads.* (London, 1598), A2<sup>v</sup>, A3<sup>v</sup>. Further references will be given in the text.

*Proper adiuncts* to a youthfull minde' (B1<sup>v</sup>). Young learners—as grammar school and university tutors knew alike—must be accommodated, to some extent, in their imperfections, or they will be lost to the cause of learning entirely. Though Kempe in one place advises the child at home to 'employ the vacant time in reading, in writing, in all good exercises for the gaine of learning', he later cites Horace as saying that good teachers must heed the importance of time off from study, of students' 'libertie to recreate themselves by rest, honest disport, and walking abroad', for otherwise 'as a bowe always bent, at length will lose his strength, so the mind alwaies occupied in studie, will ware dull, and not be able to endure'.<sup>7</sup>

Ramism, in *Tyro*, might prove just another such sanctioned vice of—or shrewd, accommodating concession to—imperfect youthful minds. The second epigram is the collection's most extensive tangling with a 'Ramus' figure:

*Epig. 2*

Lo, he the boy, whose mouth whilom did lug  
The slauered milke from out his mothers dug:  
Is no exalt to vnderdeserued hap,  
And walkes in *Garment milde*, and *circled Cap*.  
And strouting it along the vnkowne street,  
With some fantasticke *Ramist* doth he meet:  
Who can him greet and welcome him full faire  
All lowting low: and nodding like a mare  
That ore her bridle waggess her wanton head.  
Pincht with the hungrie flies thereon bespread,  
He thus can say.  
Welcome to *Athens*, gentle yonger brother:  
Thou maist, ere long, be comfort to thy mother,  
And to thy dad, and to thy grandsire too,  
If thou attend the wordes I shall thee shew.  
Be wist, and wary of that prating sect  
Which striues 'gainst *Ramus*, lest it thee infect.  
For tidy *Peter* like a pretty primmer  
May well be learned ere thou go to dinner.  
Hee's pithie, deep, succinct, methodicall,

---

<sup>7</sup> Kempe, *Education*, F1<sup>r</sup>, H1<sup>v</sup>–H2<sup>r</sup>.

A *Cornucope*, a volume all in all.  
 But *Aristotle* is a ridling *Sphinx*,  
 A riuer poisonous to him that drinks.  
 Hee's blunt, vnpolisht, tedious, harsh, obscure,  
 Fraught with vile stuffe, and sentences impure:  
 The childe is tourn'd, an claps him on the backe,  
 And sweares that *Ramus* foes shall go to racke:  
 Making (forsooth) a sad and solemne vow,  
 That he will reuerence the *golden Bough*.  
 When *Boyes in age, or wit* haue said their fill,  
 Old *Organon* must be best *Logike* still. (A4<sup>v</sup>)

'Primmer', here, to rhyme with 'dinner', means 'primer'—an introductory instruction book (1.18). Worth remarking too, though, that another textual object often known by 'the familiar English name "Primer" (to rhyme with "dimmer")' is the Book of Hours, proposed by Eamon Duffy as 'an instantly recognisable symbol of recollectedness, interiority and prayer'.<sup>8</sup> Manuals, prayerbooks, learning how to speak by kinds of rhyming. Like Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* scene,<sup>9</sup> this verse is well aware of the shortcomings and the 'prating sect' detractors of Ramist pedagogy, while also being wise to its appeal. Aristotle is a riddling Sphinx, dull and difficult, undigested, where Ramus is 'pithy, deep, succinct, methodicall'. With the abridgments and summaries, the reductions into better form, of a tidy Ramist textbook—'A *Cornucope*, a volume all in all'—one may be learned before dinner time. Little confounding that the susceptible undergraduate, clapping Ramus on the back, is easily converted by the promises of such attractive learning strategies, an immediate disciple who 'sweares that *Ramus* foes'—the like, perhaps, of Marlowe's Duke and Guise—'shall go to racke'.

The term 'surface reading' was popularised by Sharon Marcus and Stephen Best in a special issue of *Representations* in 2009.<sup>10</sup> Heather Love, evaluating the literary turn led by Rita Felski away from the 'suspicious reading' of 'depth hermeneutics',<sup>11</sup> has helpfully redefined these ways of reading through the social-theoretical language of 'thick' (Clifford Geertz) and 'thin' (Bruno Latour and Erving Goffman) description.<sup>12</sup> Love's exploration of

<sup>8</sup> Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p.3.

<sup>9</sup> See Introduction above, pp.-pp12–13.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, 'Surface Reading: An Introduction', *Representations*, 108.1 (2009), 1–21.

<sup>11</sup> See Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

<sup>12</sup> Heather Love, 'Close but not Deep: Literary Ethics and the Descriptive Turn', *NLH*, 41.2 (2010), 371–91.

the values often uninterrogatingly attached to the words we use as critics for how we read offers a helpful step back for thinking about anti-Ramist caricatures of ‘flat’ and ‘superficial’ learning and its ethics. ‘There is perhaps’, writes Love,

no term that carries more value in the humanities than “rich”. In literary studies especially, richness is an undisputed—if largely uninterrogated—good; it signifies qualities associated with the complexity and polyvalence of texts and with the warmth and depth of experience.<sup>13</sup>

And yet, she goes on—‘There is, to be sure, no necessary connection between the intricacy of texts and the intricacy of human feeling and cognition’. Love finds these values ingrained, rather, in more recent ‘histories of the discipline’, considering the ‘stabilizing role of universities, departments, and syllabi’ in building learning environments characterised by methodological continuity, where ‘Close reading is at the heart of literary studies, a key credential in hiring and promotion, and the foundation of literary pedagogy’.<sup>14</sup> Foundational to early modern literary pedagogy in the sixteenth century, this thesis has argued, are the kinetics and freeze-frames of summary diagrammatics. Though ‘richness’ has long been a byword for Andrewesian prose style, its ‘signal characteristic is economy’.<sup>15</sup>

‘As a student’, says Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler, ‘Milton would have learned [...] to regard Ramus’s work’—as close reading and depth hermeneutics are widely regarded in the twenty-first century—‘as a moral and ethical, as well as intellectual, practice’.<sup>16</sup> Donne, writes Ettenhuber, ‘rejects overly fastidious methods of textual scrutiny, which easily shade into distrust, suspicion, and malicious curiosity’.<sup>17</sup> How to conceive, then, of an early modern ‘surface reading’? A special issue of the *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* in 2017 entitled *Scrutinizing Surfaces* worked towards ‘the inauguration of what might be termed sixteenth- and seventeenth-century surface studies’.<sup>18</sup> In beginning to compile an early modern witness for the ‘emergent field of critical surficial thought’, however, its contributors’ theoretical curiosity was concerned for the most part with reinstating ‘the historical, cultural and social specificity of surfaces *per se*’; chiefly interested, in other words, in actual, material

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.371.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp.372, 373.

<sup>15</sup> Webber, ‘Word and World’, p.350.

<sup>16</sup> Skerpan-Wheeler, ‘Logical Poetics of Paradise Regained’, p.38.

<sup>17</sup> Ettenhuber, *Donne’s Augustine*, p.55.

<sup>18</sup> Liz Oakley-Brown and Kevin Killeen, ‘Introduction: Scrutinizing Surfaces in Early Modern Thought’, *JNR*, 8 (2017) <<https://www.northernrenaissance.org/introduction-scrutinizing-surfaces-in-early-modern-thought/>> [accessed 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019], n.p..

surfaces—in Tim Ingold’s ‘*materials and their properties*’, rather than the perverted academic ‘concept of materiality’.<sup>19</sup>

Love notes that the ‘declining fortunes of textuality’ in the academy have provoked two responses—on the one hand, a revivedly vigorous ‘commitment to the discipline’ (a kind of renewing of vows to close reading which we might recognise in early modern literary studies in the rise of ‘new formalism’), and on the other, an inclination to ‘displac[e] the text from the center of literary studies’, which manifests itself in an intensifying of the ‘materialist and realist character of research’.<sup>20</sup> This thesis more straightforwardly participates in the former. Investment in ‘materiality and tactility’ in the *JNR* special issue—with essays on paper, binding waste, textiles, Marvell in marble—preponderantly bespeak the latter. Lucy Razzall’s essay on title-pages in this issue, though ending up with the material text, begins helpfully to prepare the way for a historical-theoretical evaluation of the word ‘surface’ for reading. Remarking the word’s entry into English usage in the late sixteenth century, generally ‘as a technical term in geographical, mathematical, and astronomical contexts’, Razzall describes ‘anxieties about the reliability of [...] outer surfaces’, where ‘The reinforcement of the surface-depth distinction is often in the context of religious polemic, and is particularly tied to the distinctively Protestant fixation with the idea that exteriors are deceptive’.<sup>21</sup> The higher value placed on ‘literary or spiritual “depth”’ in early modern religious discourses regarding reading and understanding show that faith in deep, and concomitant suspicion of superficial, both go back a long way.

In this ‘emergent field of critical surficial thought’ this thesis has made a start, with Andrewes’s poetic prayers, Spenser’s praying poems and the shared cultures of reading which trained their writing, on using the appeal and effectiveness of Ramist summaries and diagrammatics to begin to define a preponderant and impactful early modern ‘surface reading’, disseminated by pedagogic ideologies, which is not focused by the specifics of historical surfaces *per se*, but is often primarily imaginary and metaphorical. The ‘surface reading’ I have begun to set out here is not a cheating shortcut or a lazy attempt to have smack in all, sounding nothing to the depth, but rather a laudable methodology for involved thinking with literary and creative, complicating formal possibilities. Drucker writes that

---

<sup>19</sup> Ingold, ‘Materials Against Materiality’, p.3.

<sup>20</sup> Heather Love, ‘Close Reading and Thin Description’, *Public Culture*, 25.3 (2013), 401–434 (p.403).

<sup>21</sup> Lucy Razzall, “‘Like to a title leafe’: Surface, Face, and Material Text in Early Modern England”, *JNR*, 8 (2017) <<https://www.northernrenaissance.org/like-to-a-title-leafe-surface-face-and-material-text-in-early-modern-england/>> [accessed 16th July 2019], n.p..

For the student of literary form, the crucial question is, How is time shaped in this work by the author? It is my theory that the shape of time (and hence of narrative, of history, of careers, “growths of mind,” etc.) can only be manifested by some spatial image (not necessarily visual or diagrammatic).<sup>22</sup>

Prayer, marking the hours, should also shape time. The preceding chapters have examined texts whose instructions for structuring reading time are all in their different shapes and dimensions (not necessarily visual or material), and in their synchronic or diachronic mechanisms for performing and directing the durative processes of theological thought. Tuve said of Spenser that ‘An author must be permitted to tell stories, and not draw up schemes’.<sup>23</sup> I hope to have shown here the falseness of this dichotomy: Spenser and Andrewes not only draw up schemes, but make such manifest scheming a vital aspect of their storytelling, and a tool for reading not only their own texts, but all others which find they haven’t the largeness to express divine extent or to speak back to it, or which try to dispatch a longer message in shorter time’s space, or the compass of a penny. Their visible digestions and pared-back skeleton pages are difficult, revealing miniature mechanisms worth long and repeated contemplation, and the reading attention they coach is worth turning more widely on their contemporaries, and those who follow them. By their diagrammatics, real or imaginary—‘*Hierarchy, juxtaposition, embedment, entanglement, enframing, interjection, branching, recursion, herniation, extension, penetration*’<sup>24</sup>—these are texts which can show by squashing a canto into an Argument the way that the psalter comprehends the effect of the whole Bible; or which—while they can never, as can Augustine’s God, perceive all at once in an eternal, time-freed instant—can use a braced diagram, the word ‘This’, or an identical rhyme, to almost imagine, for a moment, what it might be like to.

---

<sup>22</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.627.

<sup>23</sup> Qtd. Goldberg, *Endlesse Worke*, xiii–xiv.

<sup>24</sup> Drucker, ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, p.98.

## Works Cited

### Works of reference

Bussmann, Hadumod, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (London: Routledge, 1996)

Lanham, Richard, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)

*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edition available at <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/>> [accessed 21<sup>st</sup> August 2019]

*Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://www.oed.com/>> [accessed 21<sup>st</sup> August 2019]

*The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990)

*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* <<https://plato.stanford.edu/>> [accessed 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018]

Sutherland, Stuart, *The Macmillan Dictionary of Psychology*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995)

### Primary texts

Andrewes, Lancelot, *XCVI. Sermons* (London: Richard Badger, 1629)

———, *Institutiones Piae or Directions to Pray* (London: Henry Seile, 1630)

———, *The Private Devotions of the Right Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrewes*. (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1647)

———, *A Manual of Directions for the Sick. With many sweet Meditations and Devotions of the R. Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews* (London: Humphrey Moseley, April 1648)

———, *A manual of the private devotions and meditations of The Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews*, trans. Richard Drake (London: Humphrey Moseley, June 1648)

———, *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine At Large: or A Learned and Pious Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (London: Roger Norton, 1650)

———, *Holy devotions, with directions to pray* (London: Henry Seile, 1655)

———, ‘The Greek Devotions of Bishop Andrews, translated and arranged.’, trans. John Henry Newman, *Tracts for the Times*, 88 (25<sup>th</sup> March 1840)



- , *The Heart: Its Meditations and Exercises [...]*, trans. George Stanhope (London: H. & A. Macardy & Co., 1843)
- , *The Private Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes*, trans. F. E. Brightman (New York: Meridian Books, 1961)
- Ascham, Roger, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teaching children [...]* (London: John Day, 1579)
- Augustine, *The Retractions*, trans. Mary Inez Bogan (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1968)
- , *Revisions (Retractiones)*, trans. Boniface Ramsey, ed. Roland Teske (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2010)
- The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. VVith moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the epistle to the reader* (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1561)
- Buckeridge, John, ‘A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of [...] Lancelot, Late Lord Bishop of Winchester’, in Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI. Sermons* (London, 1629)
- Burton, Henry, *A tryall of priuate deuotions, Or, A diall for the houres of prayer* (London: Michael Spark, 1628)
- Cawdry, Robert, *A table alphabeticall contayning and teaching the true writing and vnderstanding of hard vsuall English wordes, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French &c. [...]* (London: Edmund Weaver, 1609)
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The workes of our Antient and lerned English Poet Geffrey Chaucer* (London: Adam Islip, 1598)
- Donne, John, ‘Upon the Translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke his Sister’, in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Robin Robbins (Harlow: Longman, 2010)
- Fenner, Dudley, *Artes of Logike and Rethorike* (Middelburg: R. Schilders, 1584)
- Fleming, Abraham, *The conduit of comfort* (London: Henry Denham, 1579)
- Foxe, John, *Actes and monuments of matters most special and memorable, happening in the Church [...]* (London: John Day, 1583)
- Fraunce, Abraham, *The Arcadian Rhetorike: or The praecepts of rhetorike made plaine by examples* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588)
- de Granada, Luis, *Of prayer, and meditation Wherein are conteined fovvertien deuoute meditations for the seuen daies of the weeke, bothe for the morninges, and eueninges. And*

- in them is treyted of the consideration of the principall holie mysteries of our faith. [...]*  
(London: Thomas Brumeau, 1582)
- Harington, John, *Orlando furioso in English heroical verse, by Sir Iohn Harington* (London: Richard Field, 1591)
- Holdsworth, Richard, 'Directions for a student in the Universitie', printed in H.F. Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton, Vol. II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963)
- Isaacson, Henry, *An exact narration of the life and death of the late reverend and learned prelate, and painfull divine, Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester* (London: John Stafford, 1650)
- Joye, George, *The Psalter of David in Englishe purely a[n]d faithfully tra[n]slated aftir the texte of Feline: euery Psalme hauynge his argument before, declarynge brefly thentente [and] substance of the wholl Psalme* (Argentine [i.e. Antwerp]: Francis Fox [i.e. Martin de Keyser], 1530)
- Kempe, William, *The art of arithmeticke in whole numbers and fractions [...]* (London: Richard Field, 1592)
- , *The education of children in learning declared by the dignitie, vtilitie, and method thereof [...]* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588)
- Macilmaine, Roland, *The Logike of P. Ramus* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1574)
- The Manual of prayers or the prymer in Englysh & Laten set out at length, whose contentes the reader by y[e] prologe next after the kale[n]der, shal sone perceauie, and there in shall se brefly the order of the whole booke.* (London: John Wayland, 1539)
- Marlowe, Christopher, *The Massacre at Paris: with the Death of the Duke of Guise*, ed. James Broughton (London, 1818)
- , *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe. Vol.2, Dr Faustus*, ed. Roma Gill (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990)
- , *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, Vol.5: Tamburlaine the Great, Parts 1 and 2, and The Massacre at Paris with the Death of the Duke of Guise*, ed. Edward Esche and David Fuller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Mulcaster, Richard, *The first part of the elementarie [...]* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1582)
- Nashe, Thomas, *The anatomie of absurditie [...]* (London: I. Charlewood, 1589)
- , 'To the Gentleman Students of both Uniuersities.', preface to Robert Greene, *Menaphon Camillas alarum to slumbering Euphues [...]* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1589)
- , *The apologie of Pierce Pennilesse. [...]* (London: John Danter, 1592)
- Perkins, William, *An exposition of the Lords praier* (London: Robert Waldegrave, 1593)

- The primer in English moste necessary for the educacyon of chyldren abstracted oute of the manuall of prayers or primer in Englishe and late[n] [...] (London: John Wayland, 1539)*
- Ramus, Petrus, *P. Rami Dialecticae libri duo, scholiis G. Tempelli Cantabrigiensis illustrati. Quibus accessit, eodem authore, de Porphyrianis praedicabilibus disputatio.* (Cambridge: Thomas Thomasius, 1584)
- Scott, William, *The Model of Poesy*, ed. Gavin Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Shelford, Robert, *Five pious and learned discourses [...] (London: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, 1635)*
- Southwell, Robert, *Saint Peters complaynt. With other Poems.* (London: John Wolf, 1595)
- , *St Peters complainte Mary Magdal. teares. With other workes of the author R:S* (London: Richard Field, 1620)
- Spenser, Edmund, *The shepheardes calender conteyning twelue aeglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes [...] (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579)*
- , *The faerie queene Disposed into twelue bookes, fashioning XII. morall vertues* (London: Richard Field, 1596)
- , *The Faerie Queene*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. A.C. Hamilton (Harlow: Longmans, 2001)
- , *Fowre Hymnes, made by Edmund Spenser* (London: Richard Field, 1596)
- Sternhold, Thomas, *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid & drawen into English metre by Thomas Sternhold [...] (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1547–9)*
- , *The whole booke of Psalmes, collected into English metre by Thomas Sternhold, Iohn Hopkins, and others [...] (London: John Day, 1566)*
- Tyros roring Megge Planted against the walles of melancholy. One booke cut into two decads.* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1598)

## Secondary texts

- Acheson, Katherine, *Visual Rhetoric and Early Modern English Literature* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013)
- Adams, John Charles, 'Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus* and the Place of Peter Ramus' *Dialecticae libri duo* in the Curriculum' (1990), *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43.3 (1990), 551–69
- Alpers, Paul, *The Poetry of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967)

- Andersen, Jennifer, and Elizabeth Sauer (eds), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002)
- Ashmore, Joseph, 'Faith and Scriptural History in Early Modern Religious Writing' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2018)
- Ashworth, E.J., *Language and Logic in the Post-Medieval Period* (Boston: Reidel, 1974)
- , 'Logic and Language: Traditional logic' in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.139–172
- Atkin, Tamara, and Emma Smith, 'The Form and Function of Character Lists in Plays Printed before the Closing of the Theatres', *The Review of English Studies*, 65.271 (2014), 647–672
- , *Reading Drama in Tudor England* (London: Routledge, 2018)
- Attridge, Derek, *The Experience of Poetry: from Homer's Listeners to Shakespeare's Readers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)
- Attwater, Aubrey, *Pembroke College, Cambridge: A Short History*, ed. S.C. Roberts (Cambridge: Pembroke College, 1973)
- Austin, J.L., *How To Do Things With Words: the William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, ed. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976)
- Austin, Warren, 'Gabriel Harvey's "Lost" Ode on Ramus', *Modern Language Notes*, 61.4 (1946), 242–247
- Ayres, Lewis, 'Christology as Contemplative Practice: Understanding the Union of Natures in Augustine's Letter 137', in *In the Shadow of the Incarnation: Essays on Jesus Christ in the Early Church in Honor of Brian E. Daley*, ed. Peter Martens (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), pp.190–211
- , 'Augustine on the triune life of God', in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, ed. Eleanore Stump and David Vincent Meconi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.61–77
- Bahr, Arthur, and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Medieval English Manuscripts: Form, Aesthetics, and the Literary Text', *The Chaucer Review*, 47.4 (2013), 346–60
- Bawcutt, N.W., 'James Broughton's Edition of Marlowe's Plays', *Notes & Queries*, 216 (1971)
- Bender, John, and Michael Marrinan, *The Culture of Diagram* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010)
- Bennett, Josephine, 'The Theme of Spenser's "Fowre Hymnes"', *Studies in Philology*, 28.1 (1931), 18–57

- Benin, Stephen, *The Footprints of God: Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993)
- Berger, Harry, *Imaginary Audition: Shakespeare on Stage and Page* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989)
- Best, Stephen, and Sharon Marcus, 'Surface Reading: An Introduction', *Representations*, 108.1 (2009), 1–21
- Bieman, Elizabeth, *Plato Baptized: Towards the Interpretation of Spenser's Mimetic Fictions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988)
- Bjorvand, Einar, 'Spenser's Defence of Poetry: Some structural aspects of the *Fowre Hymnes*', in *Fair Forms: Essays in English Literature from Spenser to Jane Austen*, ed. Maren-Sofie Rostvig (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1975)
- Blair, Ann, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (London: Yale University Press, 2010)
- , 'Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric Lindquist, Eleanor Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp.21–42
- Borris, Kenneth 'The Sacraments in *The Faerie Queene*', *Reformation*, 6.1 (2002), 145–54
- , 'Reassessing Ellrodt: Critias and the *Fowre Hymnes* in *The Faerie Queene*', *Spenser Studies*, 24.1 (2009), 453–490
- , and Meredith Donaldson Clark, 'Hymnic Epic and *The Faerie Queene*'s Original Printed Format: Canto-Canticles and Psalmic Arguments', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64.4 (2011), 1148–1193
- , *Visionary Spenser and the Poetics of Early Modern Platonism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)
- Botonaki, Effie, 'The Protestant Diary and the Act of Prayer', in *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word, and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.126–40
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)
- Bourne, Claire, 'Dramatic Pilcrowes', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 108.4 (2014), 413–452
- , 'Dramatic Typography and the Restoration Quartos of *Hamlet*', in *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640–1735*, ed. Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp.253–171

- , ‘Making a Scene; or, *Tamburlaine the Great* in Print’, in *Christopher Marlowe, Theatrical Commerce, and the Book Trade*, ed. Roslyn L. Knutson and Kirk Melnikoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)
- Brayman Hackel, Heidi, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Brennan, Michael, ‘William Ponsonby: Elizabethan Stationer’, *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography*, 7 (1983), 91–110
- Bringhurst, Robert, *The Elements of Typographic Style* (Point Roberts, WA: Hartley & Marks, 1992)
- Brink, Jean, ‘Materialist History of the Publication of Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*’, *The Review of English Studies*, 54.213 (2003), 1–26
- Briscoe, Marianne, ‘Preaching and Medieval English Drama’, in *Contexts for Early English Drama*, ed. Marianne Briscoe and John Coldewey (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp.150–72
- Brooke, Christopher and Victor Morgan, ‘Tutors and Students’, in *History of the University of Cambridge, Vol.2, 1546–1750*, ed. Victor Morgan, gen. ed. Christopher Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.314–43
- Brown, Laura Feitzinger, ‘Slippery Listening: Anxious Clergy and Lay Listeners’ Power in Early Modern England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 47.1 (2016), 3–23
- Brown, Matthew, ‘The Thick Style: Steady Sellers, Textual Aesthetics, and Early Modern Devotional Reading’, *PMLA*, 121.1 (2006), 67–86
- , *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007)
- Bruner, Jerome, ‘The Narrative Construction of Reality’, *Critical Inquiry*, 18.1 (1991), 1–21
- Bryson, Michael, ‘The Mysterious Darkness of Unknowing: *Paradise Lost* and the God Beyond Names’, in ‘*Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books*’: *Essays on the 1667 First Edition*, ed. Michal Lieb and John Shawcross (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), pp.183–212
- Buhler, Stephen, ‘Pre-Christian Apologetics in Spenser and Sidney: Pagan Philosophy and the Process of Metanoia’, *Spenser Studies*, 13 (1999), 223–43
- Burrows, Ian, “‘The peryod of my blisse’: Commas, ends and utterance in *Solyman and Perseda*”, *Textual Cultures*, 8.2 (2015), 95–120
- , “‘[Overhearing]’: Printing Parentheses and Reading Power in Ben Jonson’s *Sejanus*”, *Early Theatre*, 20.2 (2017), 99–120

- Burton, Ben, 'Forms of Worship', in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Ben Burton and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.56–72
- Bushnell, Rebecca, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (London: Cornell University Press, 1996)
- Cain, Thomas, *Praise in The Faerie Queene* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1978)
- Campana, Joseph, 'Boys Toys and Liquid Joys: Pleasure and Power in the Bower of Bliss', *Modern Philology*, 106.3 (2009), 465–96
- , 'Letters (1580)', in *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Richard McCabe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.178–97
- , 'Of Echo and Shadow: Reading John Hollander', *Spenser Review*, 48.1.15 (Winter 2018) <<http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/item/48.1.15>> [accessed 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019], n.p.
- Campi, Emidio, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony Grafton (eds), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2008)
- Carballo, Robert, 'The Incarnation as Paradox and Conceit in Robert Southwell's Poetry', *American Benedictine Review*, 43.3 (1992), 223–32
- Carrick, John, *The Imperative of Preaching: A Theology of Sacred Rhetoric* (Cambridge: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2002)
- Cefalu, Paul, 'Incarnational *Apophatic*: Rethinking Divine Accommodation in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*', *Studies in Philology*, 113.1 (2016), 198–228
- Cheney, Patrick, *Spenser's Famous Flight: A Renaissance Idea of a Literary Career* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1993)
- Christian, Margaret, 'Spenser's Theology: The Sacraments in *The Faerie Queene*', *Reformation*, 6.1 (2002), 103–07
- , *Spenserian Allegory and Elizabethan Biblical Exegesis: A Context for the Faerie Queene* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016)
- Clarke, Elizabeth, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry: Divinitie, and Poesie, Met* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)
- , and Simon Jackson, 'Lyric Poetry', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.151–64
- Cloud, Random, 'FIAT fLUX', in *Crisis in Editing: Texts of the English Renaissance*, ed. Randall McLeod (New York: AMS Press, 1994), pp.61–173

- Colclough, David, 'Upstairs, Downstairs: Doctrine and Decorum in Two Sermons by John Donne', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.2 (2010), 163–191
- Collinson, Patrick, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967)
- , 'The Coherence of the Text: How it Hangeth Together: The Bible in Reformation England', in *The Bible in Reformation England, and the Church: Essays in Honour of James Atkinson*, ed. W. Peter Stephens (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp.84–108
- , *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- , 'Fenner, Dudley', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn September 2014)  
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9287>> [accessed 9<sup>th</sup> May 2019]
- Connor, Francis, *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014)
- Cooper, Helen, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- , 'Poetic Fame', in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History, Twenty First Century Approaches vol. 2*, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.361–78
- Cormack, Bradin, and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005)
- Cox, John, and David Scott Kastan (eds), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997)
- , 'Shakespeare's Prayers', in *Shakespeare and Renaissance Ethics*, ed. Patrick Gray and John Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.123–39
- , 'Stage Prayer in Marlowe and Jonson', *Comparative Drama*, 50.1 (2016), 63–80
- Craig, John, 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547–1642', in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.104–24
- Craig, Hardin, *The Enchanted Glass: the Elizabethan Mind in Literature* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950)
- Craigwood, Joanna, 'The Poetics of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern England 1580–1630' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011)



- , ‘Diplomatic Metonymy and Antithesis in 3 *Henry VI*’, *The Review of English Studies*, 65.272 (2014), 812–30
- Crockett, Bryan, “‘Holy Cozenage’ and the Renaissance Cult of the Ear”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24.1 (1993), 47–65
- , *The Play of Paradox: Stage and Sermon in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995)
- , ‘The Act of Preaching and The Art of Prophecy’, *Sewanee Review*, 105.1 (1997), 39–52
- , ‘Thomas Playfere’s Poetics of Preaching’, in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600–1750*, ed. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) pp.59–83
- , ‘From Pulpit to Stage: Thomas Playfere’s Influence on Shakespeare’, *Notes & Queries*, 49.2 (2002), 243–245
- Cullen, Patrick, *Infernal Triad: The Flesh, the World and the Devil in Spenser and Milton* (London: Princeton University Press, 1974)
- Cummings, Brian, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- , ‘Prayer, Bodily Ritual and Performative Utterance: Bucer, Calvin and the *Book of Common Prayer*’, in *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word, and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.16–36
- Dames, Nicholas, ‘The Chapter in Western Literature’, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*  
<<http://literature.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.001.0001/acrefore-9780190201098-e-15> accessed> [accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2018]
- Davies, Laura, ‘Performing Devotion: Belief, the Body, and the Book of Common Prayer 1775–1840’, *Humanities*, ed. Hunter Dukes, 7.4 (2018) <doi:10.3390/h7040100> [accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2019]
- Davis, Thomas, *This is my body: The Presence of Christ in Reformation Thought* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008)
- DeNeef, Leigh, ‘Spenserian Meditation: The *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*’, *American Benedictine Review*, 25.3 (1974), 317–334
- Deutermann, Allison, and András Kiséry, ‘The Matter of Form: Book History, Formalist Criticism, and Francis Bacon’s Aphorisms’, in *The Book in History, The Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text: Essays in Honor of David Scott Kastan*, ed. Heidi

- Brayman, Jesse Lander, and Zachary Lesser (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp.29–65
- Dobranski, Stephen, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Dolven, Jeff, ‘The Method of Spenser’s Stanza’, *Spenser Studies*, 19 (2004), 17–25
- , *Scenes of Instruction in Renaissance Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)
- , ‘Panic’s Castle’, *Representations*, 120.1 (2012), 1–16
- , ‘Besides Good and Evil’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 57.1 (2017), 1–22
- Downer, Jennifer, “‘Disorder’d Clocks’: Time, Grace, and the Mechanics of the Soul in George Herbert’s “Even-song””, *George Herbert Journal*, 38 (2014), 41–53
- Drucker, Johanna, ‘Graphic Devices: Narration and Navigation’, *Narrative*, 16.2 (2008), 121–39
- , ‘Diagrammatic Writing’, *New Formations*, 78 (2013), 83–101
- Dubrow, Heather, ‘Neither Here nor There: Deixis in the Sixteenth-Century Sonnet’, in *The Lyric Poem: Formations and Transformations*, ed. Marion Thain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- , *Deixis in the Early Modern English Lyric: Unsettling Spatial Anchors like “Here”, “This”, “Come”* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)
- Duffy, Eamon, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)
- Dunn, Kevin, *Pretexts of Authority: the Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994)
- Eliot, T.S., ‘Lancelot Andrewes’, in T.S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928), pp.13–33
- , ‘Charles Whibley’ (1931), in *Selected Essays 1917–1932* (London: Faber, 1999), pp.403–15
- Elkins, James, ‘Art History and Images That Are Not Art’, *Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), 553–71
- Ellrodt, Robert, *Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser* (Geneve: Droz, 1960)
- Empson, William, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1947)
- Engammare, Max, *Time, Punctuality, and Discipline in Early Modern Calvinism*, trans. Karin Maag (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Erne, Lukas, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- , *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Ettenhuber, Katrin, *Donne’s Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

- , ‘Prayer in Context: The Dynamics of Worship in Donne’s *Encaenia* Sermon (1623)’, in *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word, and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.141–53
- Felski, Rita, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015)
- Ferrell, Lori Anne, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King’s Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603–1625* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998)
- , and Peter McCullough (eds), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600–1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)
- , ‘How-To Books, Protestant Kinetics, and the Art of Theology’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.4 (2008), 591–606
- , ‘Page *Techne*: Interpreting Diagrams in Early Modern English “How-to” Books’, in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), pp.113–26
- Fish, Stanley, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature* (London: University of California Press, 1972)
- Fitzgerald, Allan, ‘Jesus Christ, the knowledge and wisdom of God’, in *Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, pp.108–21
- Fleming, Juliet, ‘How to Look at a Printed Flower’, *Word and Image*, 22.2 (2006), 165–87
- , ‘How Not to Look at a Printed Flower’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38.2 (2008), 345–71
- , ‘Changed Opinion as to Flowers’, in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.48–64
- , ‘Damask Papers’, in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp.179–93
- , and Adam Smyth (eds), *Renaissance Collage: Towards a New History of Reading*, special issue of *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015)
- , *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016)
- Fletcher, Jefferson, ‘A Study in Renaissance Mysticism: Spenser’s “Fowre Hymnes”’, *PMLA*, 26.3 (1911), 452–75
- Fowler, Alistair, ‘Numerical Composition in *The Faerie Queene*’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25.3/4 (1962), 199–239
- Frasca-Spada, Marina, and Nick Jardine (eds), *Books and Sciences in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

- Frye, Northrop, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957)
- Freeman, Arthur, 'Octavo Nonce Collections of John Taylor', *The Library*, 5.1 (1963), 51–57
- Galbraith, Steven, 'Edmund Spenser and the History of the Book, 1569–1679' (Unpublished PhD thesis, The Ohio State University, 2006)
- , 'English Literary Folios 1593–1623: Studying Shifts in Format', in *Tudor Books and Readers*, ed. John King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.46–67
- Galloway, David, 'The Ramus Scene in Marlowe's "The Massacre at Paris"', *Notes & Queries*, 198 (1 April 1953), 146–47
- Gardner, Martin, *Logic Machines and Diagrams* (London: McGraw Hill, 1958)
- Gash, Anthony, 'Shakespeare's Comedies of Shadow and Substance: Word and Image in *Henry IV* and *Twelfth Night*', *Word and Image*, 4 (1988), 626–62
- Genette, Gerard, *Narrative Discourse*, trans. Jane Lewin (Oxford, 1980)
- , *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge, 1997)
- Gibbons, Daniel, 'Rewriting Spiritual Community in Spenser, Donne, and the Book of Common Prayer', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 54.1 (2012), 8–44
- Glenn, John Ronald, 'The Martyrdom of Ramus in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*', *Papers on Language and Literature*, 9.4 (1973), 365–79.
- Gless, Darryl, *Interpretation and Theology in Spenser* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Goeglein, Tamara, 'Reading English Ramist Logic Books as Early Modern Emblem Books: The Case of Abraham Fraunce', *Spenser Studies*, 20 (2005), 225–252
- , "'Wherein hath Ramus been so offensive?': Poetic Examples in the English Ramist Logic Manuals (1574–1672)", *Rhetorica*, 14.1 (1996), 73–101
- Goodblatt, Chanita, *The Christian Hebraism of John Donne: Written With the Finger of Man's Hand* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2010)
- Goldberg, Jonathan, *Endlesse Worke: Spenser and the Structures of Discourse* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 198)
- Grabes, Herbert, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance*, trans. Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- Grafton, Anthony, and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986)
- Graves, Neil, 'Milton and the Theory of Accommodation', *Studies in Philology*, 98.2 (2001), 251–72

- Green, Ian, *The Christian's ABC: Catechism and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
- , *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1980)
- Greg, W.W., *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942)
- Gregerson, Linda, *The Reformation of the Subject: Spenser, Milton, and the English Protestant Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Griffiths, Eric, 'Lists', in *If Not Critical*, ed. Freya Johnston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.8–28
- , 'Newman: The Foolishness of Preaching', in *Newman After a Hundred Years*, ed. Ian Ker and Alan Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp.63–91
- Grogan, Jane, *Exemplary Spenser: Visual and Poetic Pedagogy in The Faerie Queene* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009)
- Gross, Kenneth, 'Shapes of Time: On the Spenserian Stanza', *Spenser Studies*, 19 (2004), 27–35
- Guibbory, Achsah, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton: Literature, Religion, and Cultural Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Guillory, John, 'Marlowe, Ramus, and the Reformation of Philosophy', *English Literary History*, 81.3 (2014), 693–732
- Hadfield, Andrew, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- , 'Spenser and Religion—Yet Again', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 51.1 (2011), 21–46
- Hallett, Raphael, 'Ramus, Printed *Loci*, and the Re-invention of Knowledge', in *Ramism, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Steven Reid and Emma Annette Wilson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.89–113
- Hamling, Tara, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)
- Hecht, Paul, Hecht, 'Spenser Out of His Stanza', *Style*, 39.3 (2005), 316–334
- , and James Nohnberg, in 'In Memoriam: Paul Alpers, Oct.16, 1932–May 19, 2013', *Spenser Review*, 43.2 (2013) <[www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/volume-43/issue-432/43201-in-memoriam-paul-alpers-oct16-1932-may-19-2013](http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/volume-43/issue-432/43201-in-memoriam-paul-alpers-oct16-1932-may-19-2013)> [accessed 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2019]

- Helgerson, Richard, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System* (London: University of California Press, 1983)
- , *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994)
- Hetherington, Michael, “‘An Instrument of Reason’: William Scott’s Logical Poetics”, *The Review of English Studies*, 67.280 (2016), 448–467
- , ‘Disciplining Creativity: Habit, System, and the Logic of Late Sixteenth-Century Poetics’, *Parergon*, 33.3 (2016), 43–66
- , ‘Gascoigne’s Accidents: Contingency, Skill, and the Logic of Writing’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 46.1 (2016), 29–59
- , “‘The Coherence of the Text’” in Sixteenth-Century England: Reading Literature and Law with Abraham Fraunce’, *Studies in Philology*, 115.4 (2018), 641–78
- , ‘The Poetics of Coherence: Logic and Miscellaneity in Late Sixteenth-Century Literature’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013)
- Hieatt, A. Kent, *Short Time’s Endless Monument: The Symbolism of the Numbers in Edmund Spenser’s Epithalamion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960)
- Higman, Frances, ‘Without great effort, and with great pleasure: Sixteenth-Century Genevan Bibles and Reading Practices’, in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O’Sullivan (London, 2000), pp.115–22
- Hill, Benjamin and Henrik Lagerlund (eds), *Routledge Companion to Sixteenth-Century Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2017)
- Holland, Peter, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)
- Hollander, John, *The Substance of Shadow: A Darkening Trope in Poetic History*, ed. Kenneth Gross (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016)
- Hotson, Howard, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Houston, Keith, *Shady Characters: Ampersands, Interrobangs and Other Typographical Curiosities* (London: Particular Books, 2013)
- Huijgen, Arnold, *Divine Accommodation in John Calvin’s Theology: Analysis and Assessment* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011)
- Hume, Anthea, *Edmund Spenser: Protestant Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)
- Hunt, Arnold, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

- , ‘Shelford, Robert’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn September 2014)  
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65825>> [accessed online 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019]
- Hunter, Lynette, ‘Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, Behaviour’, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.514–32
- Ingold, Tim, ‘Materials Against Materiality’, *Archaeological Dialogues*, 14.1 (2007), 1–16
- , *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007)
- Ingram, Elizabeth, ‘Maps as Readers’ Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles’, *Imago Mundi*, 45 (2001), 29–44
- Jardine, Lisa, Jardine, ‘Humanism and the Sixteenth-Century Cambridge Arts Course’, *History of Education*, 4.1 (1975), 16–31
- , ‘Logic and Language: Humanist Logic’, in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.173–198
- , ‘The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 21 (1974), 31–62
- Javitch, Daniel, *Proclaiming a Classic: The Canonization of “Orlando Furioso”* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991)
- Jayne, Sears, ‘Ficino and the Platonism of the English Renaissance’, *Comparative Literature*, 4.3 (1952), 214–38
- Johnson, William, ‘Spenser’s *Amoretti* and the Art of the Liturgy’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 14.1 (1974), 47–61
- , ‘Spenser’s “greener” Hymnes and *Amoretti*: “Retractation” and “Reform”’, *English Studies*, 73.5 (1992), 431–43
- Jones, Norman, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).
- Kaske, Carol, Kaske, ‘Spenser’s “*Amoretti* and Epithalamion” of 1595: Structure, Genre, and Numerology’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 8.3 (1978), 271–95
- , *Spenser and Biblical Poetics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999)
- Kaufman, Peter Iver, ‘“Much in Prayer”: The Inward Researches of Elizabethan Protestants’, *The Journal of Religion*, 73.2 (1993), 163–82
- , *Prayer, Despair, and Drama* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996)
- Kearney, Hugh, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500–1700* (London: Faber, 1970)

- Kerrigan, John, 'The Editor as Reader: Constructing Renaissance Texts', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp.115–38
- Killeen, Kevin, 'Chastising with Scorpions: Reading the Old Testament in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 491–506
- , 'Veiled Speech: Preaching, Politics and Scriptural Typology', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011,) pp.387–403
- King, John, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990)
- Kinney, Arthur, *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986)
- Kintgen, Eugene, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996)
- Klapish-Zuber, Christiane, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree', *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, 4 (1991), 105–29
- Knight, Jeffrey Todd, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)
- Knight, Sarah, 'Flat Dichotomists and Learned Men', in *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Steven Reid and Emma Annette Wilson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.47–69
- , "'It was not mine intent to prostitute my Muse in English": Academic Publication in Early Modern England', in *Print and Power in France and England*, ed. David Adams and Adrian Armstrong (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp.39–51
- Knuuttila, Simo, 'Logic, Rhetoric, and Method: Rejections of Aristotle and the Ramist Affair(s)', in *Routledge Companion to Sixteenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Benjamin Hill and Henrik Lagerlund (New York: Routledge, 2017)
- Kress, Berthold, *Divine Diagrams: The Drawings of Paul Lautensack (1477/78–1558)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2014)
- Kusukawa, Sachiko and Ian MacLean (eds), *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Lambert, James, 'Spenser's *Epithalamion* and the Protestant Expression of Joy', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 54.1 (2014), 81–103
- Lake, Peter, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.113–33



- , with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (London: Yale University Press, 2002)
- Lee Miller, David, *The Poem's Two Bodies: The Poetics of the 1590 Faerie Queene* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988)
- Lennard, John, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parenthesis in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)
- , 'In/visible Punctuation', *Visible Language*, 45.1 (2011), 121–38
- Lerer, Seth, *Error and the Academic Self: The Scholarly Imagination, Medieval to Modern* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007)
- Lesser, Zachary, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the Early Modern Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Lethbridge, J.B., 'Recuperating the Return to History', in *Edmund Spenser: New and Renewed Directions*, ed. J.B. Lethbridge (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), pp.15–58
- Lewalski, Barbara, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)
- Lewis, C.S., *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954)
- , *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975)
- Lieb, Michael, *Theological Milton: Deity, Discourse, and Heresy in the Miltonic Canon* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2006)
- Lossky, Nicolas, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555–1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991)
- Love, Heather, 'Close but not Deep: Literary Ethics and the Descriptive Turn', *New Literary History*, 41.2 (2010), 371–91
- , 'Close Reading and Thin Description', *Public Culture*, 25.3 (2013), 401–434
- Luis-Martínez, Zenón (ed.), *Abraham Fraunce: The Shepherd's Logic and Other Dialectical Writings* (Cambridge: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2016)
- , 'Ramist Dialectic, Poetic Examples, and the Uses of Pastoral in Abraham Fraunce's *The Shepherds' Logic*', *Parergon*, 33.3 (2016), 69–95
- Lyne, Raphael, 'Thinking in Stanzas', in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann and Ben Burton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.88–103

- , ‘Reading for Evidence of Faith in Herbert’s Poems’, *The Review of English Studies* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgz046>> [accessed 20<sup>th</sup> August 2019], 1–19
- Macdonald, James Ross, ‘The Redcrosse Knight and the Limits of Human Holiness’, *Spenser Studies*, 30.1 (2015), 113–31
- Mack, Peter, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden: Brill, 1993)
- , ‘Spenser and Rhetoric’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Richard McCabe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.420–35
- , ‘Ramus and Ramism: Rhetoric and Dialectic’, in *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Steven Reid and Emma Annette Wilson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.7–25
- MacKenzie, Iain, *The ‘Obscurism’ of Light: A Theological Study into the Nature of Light* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1996)
- Maclean, Ian, ‘Logical Division and Visual Dichotomies: Ramus in the Context of Legal and Medical Writing’, in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus*, ed. Mordechai Feingold, Joseph S. Freedman and Wolfgang Rother (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), pp.228–48
- , *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Maguire, Laurie, ‘Typographical Embodiment: The Case of *etcetera*’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.527–49
- , *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: the “bad” Quartos and their Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Mak, Bonnie, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012)
- Mallette, Richard, *Spenser and the Discourses of Reformation England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957)
- Maltby, Judith, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Marno, David, ‘Easy Attention: Ignatius of Loyola and Robert Boyle’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 44.1 (2014), 135–61
- , *Death Be Not Proud: The Art of Holy Attention* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2016)
- Martz, Louis, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (revised 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962)

- , ‘Spenser’s Amoretti: “Most Goodly Temperature”’, in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Essays on Literature and Art* (London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp.100–14
- Matthews, David, ‘Speght, Thomas (d. 1621), literary editor’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn September 2014)  
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26098>> [accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2018]
- Mauss, Marcel, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls, (London: Routledge, 1990)
- May, Steven, ‘Marlowe, Spenser, Sidney and—Abraham Fraunce?’, *The Review of English Studies*, 62.253 (2011), 30–63
- McKenzie, D.F., ‘Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve’, in *Making Meaning: “Printers of the Mind” and Other Essays*, ed. Peter McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S.J. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp.198–236
- McCabe, Richard, *‘Ungainefull Arte’: Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- McCarthy, Kerry, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd’s Gradualia* (London: Routledge, 2007)
- McCullough, Peter, ‘Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626–1642’, *The Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 401–24
- , *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- , ‘Isaacson, Henry’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn September 2014)  
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14480>> [accessed 9<sup>th</sup> July 2019]
- (ed.), *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- , ‘Lancelot Andrewes’s Transforming Passions’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.4 (2008), 573–89
- , ‘Print, Publication, and Religious Politics in Caroline England’, *The Historical Journal*, 51.2 (2008), 285–313
- McCutcheon, Elizabeth, ‘Lancelot Andrewes’ “Preces Privatae”: A Journey Through Time’, *Studies in Philology*, 65.2 (1968), 223–241
- McGann, Jerome, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)
- McGee, J. Sears, *The Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans and the Two Tables, 1620–70* (London: Yale University Press, 1976)
- McGrath, Alister, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994)

- McKenzie, D.F., 'Speech–Manuscript–Print', in *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and other essays*, ed. Peter McDonald and Michael Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp.237–58
- Meerhoff, Kees, 'Petrus Ramus and the Vernacular', in *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Steven Reid and Emma Annette Wilson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.133–53
- Mentz, Steven, 'Selling Sidney: William Ponsonby, Thomas Nashe, and the Boundaries of Elizabethan Print and Manuscript Cultures', *Text*, 13 (2000), 151–74
- Merrill, Thomas, *Christian Criticism: A Study of Literary God-talk* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1976)
- , *Epic God-talk: Paradise Lost and the Grammar of Religious Language* (London: McFarland, 1986)
- Miller, Carolyn, 'The Aristotelian *Topos*: Hunting for Novelty', in *Rereading Aristotle's Rhetoric*, ed. Alan Gross and Arthur Walzer (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), pp.130–49
- Miller, Perry, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939)
- Mitchell, Fraser, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: A Study of its Literary Aspects* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962)
- Mitchell, W.J.T., 'Diagrammatology', *Critical Inquiry*, 7.3 (1981), 622–33
- , 'Spatial Form in Literature: Toward a General Theory', *Critical Inquiry*, 6.3 (1980), 539–67
- Mohamed, Feisal, 'Renaissance Thought on the Celestial Hierarchy: The Decline of a Tradition?', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65.4 (2004), 559–582
- , *In the Anteroom of Divinity: The Reformation of Angels from Colet to Milton* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008)
- Molekamp, Femke, 'Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices: The British Library Geneva Bibles and a History of their Early Modern Readers', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2006) pp.1–13
- Moore, Helen, "'Gathering Fruit": The "Profitable" Translations of Thomas Paynell', in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Frederick Schurink (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.39–57
- Morgan, John, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Morgan, Victor, 'Cambridge in the Age of the Puritan', in *History of the University of Cambridge, Vol.2, 1546–1750*, ed. Victor Morgan, gen. ed. Christopher Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.464–83

- Morrissey, Mary, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Moshenska, Joseph, *Feeling Pleasures: The Sense of Touch in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Mueller, Janel, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style, 1380–1580* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1984)
- , 'Periodos: Squaring the Circle', in *Renaissance Figures of Speech*, ed. Gavin Alexander and Katrin Ettenhuber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.61–78
- Munro, Lucy, *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Murphy, Kathryn, 'Robert Burton and the Problems of Polymathy', *Renaissance Studies*, 28.2 (2014), 279–97
- Murray, Molly, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Narveson, Kate, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012)
- , 'Assistances and Encouragements in the Ways of Piety: Conceptions of Private Devotion in Early Modern England', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, 24.1–2 (2011), 1–10
- Nohrnberg, James, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976)
- Oakley-Brown, Liz, and Kevin Killeen, 'Introduction: Scrutinizing Surfaces in Early Modern Thought', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 8 (2017)  
 <<https://www.northernrenaissance.org/introduction-scrutinizing-surfaces-in-early-modern-thought/>> [accessed 16th July 2019], n.p.
- Ong, Walter, 'From Allegory to Tableau', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 17.4 (1959), 423–40
- , *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)
- Oram, William, 'Introduction: Spenser's Paratexts', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 38 (2005), vii–xviii
- Oras, Ants, 'Intensified Rhyme Links in "The Faerie Queene": An Aspect of Elizabethan Rhymecraft', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 54.1 (1955), 39–60
- Orlin, Lena Cowen, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994)

- , *Didactic Literature in England, 1500–1800: Expertise constructed*, ed. Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)
- Orgel, Stephen, ‘What is an Editor?’, *Shakespeare Studies*, 24 (1996), 23–39
- Owst, G.R., *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966)
- Palfrey, Simon, and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Parker, Patricia, *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979)
- Parkes, Malcolm, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992)
- Parry, Graham, ‘The Tradition of High Church Prayer in the Seventeenth Century’, in ed. Joseph William Sterrett, *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word, and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.37–49
- Partridge, A.C., ‘The Periphrastic Auxiliary Verb “Do” and Its Use in the Plays of Ben Jonson’, *The Modern Language Review*, 43.1 (1948), 26–33
- Patrides, C.A., ‘*Paradise Lost* and the Theory of Accommodation’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 5 (1963), 58–63
- Pickstock, Catherine, *Repetition and Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Pomeroy, Ralph, Pomeroy, ‘The Ramist as Fallacy-Hunter: Abraham Fraunce and the Lawiers Logike’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 40.2 (1987), 224–46
- Poole, Kristen, ‘Garbled Martyrdom in Christopher Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris*’, *Comparative Drama*, 32.1 (1998), 1–25
- Prescott, Anne Lake, ‘Complicating the Allegory: Spenser and Religion in Recent Scholarship’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 25.4 (2001), 9–23
- , ‘Why Argument over Communion matters to Allegory: Or Why are Catholics like Orgoglio?’, *Reformation*, 6.1 (2002), 163–77
- Prewitt, Kendrick, ‘Gabriel Harvey and the Practice of Method’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 39.1 (1999), 19–39
- Price, Leah, ‘From the History of a Book to “The History of the Book”’, *Representations*, 108 (2009), 120–38
- , ‘Reading Matter’, in *PMLA*, 121.1, Special Topic: ‘The History of the Book and the Idea of Literature’ (January 2006), 9–16
- Quitslund, Beth, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)

- Quitslund, Jon, 'Spenser's Image of Sapience', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 16 (1969), 181–213
- , 'Thinking About Thinking in the *Fowre Hymnes*', *Spenser Studies*, 24.1 (2009), 499–517
- , *Spenser's Supreme Fiction: Platonic Philosophy and The Faerie Queene* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)
- Raven, James, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (eds), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Raymond, Joad, *Milton's Angels: The Early-Modern Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)
- Razzall, Lucy, "'Like to a title leafe": Surface, Face, and Material Text in Early Modern England', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 8 (2017)
- <<https://www.northernrenaissance.org/like-to-a-title-leaf-surface-face-and-material-text-in-early-modern-england/>> [accessed 16th July 2019], n.p.
- Read, Sophie, 'Lancelot Andrewes's Sacramental Wordplay', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 36.1 (2007), 11–31
- , *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Reid, Pauline, *Reading by Design: The Visual Interface of the English Renaissance Book* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019)
- Reid, Steven, and Emma Annette Wilson (eds), *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Steven Reid and Emma Annette Wilson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011)
- Reisner, Noam, 'Textual Sacraments: Capturing the Numinous in the Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes', *Renaissance Studies*, 21.5 (2007), 662–78
- Rhatigan, Emma, "The sinful history of mine own youth": John Donne Preaches at Lincoln's Inn', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)
- , 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.87–119
- , 'Audience, Actors and "Taking Part" in the Revels', in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama, 1558–1642*, ed. Jennifer Low and Nova Myhill (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.151–71

- , ‘Reading the White Devil in Thomas Adams and John Webster’, in *Early Modern Drama and the Bible: Contexts and Readings, 1570–1625*, ed. Adrian Streete (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.176–94
- Rhodes, Neil, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- , ‘Punctuation as Rhetorical Notation? From Colon to Semicolon’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 82.1 (2019), 87–106.
- Richards, Jennifer, and Frederick Schurink, ‘Introduction: The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 345–61
- , *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Richardson, Catherine, *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)
- , ‘Domestic Manuals and the Power of Prose’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500–1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.484–501
- Ricks, Christopher, ‘At-one-ment’, in *The Force of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp.319–55
- Rosendale, Timothy, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- , *Theology and Agency in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)
- Rossen, Janice, *Philip Larkin: His Life’s Work* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989)
- Royster, James Finch, ‘The “Do” Auxiliary–1400 to 1450’, *Modern Philology*, 12.7 (1915), 449–456
- Rutherglen, Michael, ‘Hopkins’s Material Poetics: Sense and the Inscapes of Speech’, *Victorian Poetry*, 56.2 (2018), 167–79
- Ryken, Leland, *The Apocalyptic Vision in Paradise Lost* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970)
- Ryrie, Alec, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Schiavoni, James, ‘Predestination and Free Will: The Crux of Canto Ten’, *Spenser Studies*, 10 (1992), 175–95
- , ‘Sacrament and Structure in *The Faerie Queene*’, *Reformation*, 6.1 (2002), 115–18
- , ‘Spenser’s Augustine’, *Spenser Studies*, 20 (2005), 277–81
- Schmitt, Charles B., *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983)



- , *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983)
- Scott Kastan, David, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- , 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric Lindquist, Eleanor Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp.105–25
- Sellberg, Erland, 'Petrus Ramus', in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ramus/>> [accessed 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018]
- , 'The Influence of Ramism', in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus*, ed. Mordechai Feingold, Joseph S. Freedman and Wolfgang Rother (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), pp.107–26
- Shami, Jean, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003)
- Sharratt, Peter, 'Introduction: Ramus, Perelman and Argumentation, a way through the wood', *Argumentation*, 5.4 (1991), 335–45
- Shin, Sun-Joo, *The Iconic Logic of Peirce's Graphs* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002)
- Shuger, Debora, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)
- , *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)
- Singh, Devani, "'In his old dress": Packaging Thomas Speght's Chaucer for Renaissance Readers', *Chaucer Review*, 51.4 (2016), 478–502
- Skerpan-Wheeler, Elizabeth, 'The Logical Poetics of *Paradise Regained*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76.1 (2013), 35–58
- Slights, William, "'Marginall Notes That Spoile the Text": Scriptural Annotation in the English Renaissance', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55.2 (1992), 255–278
- Smith, Helen, "'Imprinted by Simeon such a signe": Reading Early Modern Imprints', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.17–33
- Smith, Pamela, 'Making as Knowing: Craft as Natural Philosophy', in *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge*, ed. Pamela Smith, Amy Meyers, and Harold Cook (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), pp.17–47
- Smyth, Adam, "'Rend and Teare in Peeeces": Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 19.1 (2004), 36–52
- , 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38.2 (2008), 200–44

- , *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- , ‘Cutting and Authorship in Early Modern England’, *Authorship*, 2.2 (2013)  
 <<https://doi.org/10.21825/aj.v2i2.790>> [accessed 12<sup>th</sup> July 2019]
- , ‘Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity’, in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp.125–33
- , *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)
- Spiller, Elizabeth, *Science, Reading, and Renaissance Literature: The Art of Making Knowledge, 1580–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Stallybrass, Peter, ‘Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible’, in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp.42–70
- , ‘Afterword’, in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.204–20
- , ‘Visible and Invisible Letters: Text versus Image in Renaissance England and Europe’, in *Visible Writings: Cultures, Forms, Readings*, ed. Marija Dalbello and Mary Shaw (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2011), pp.77–98
- Stamatakis, Chris, “‘With diligent studie, but sportingly’: How Gabriel Harvey read his Castiglione”, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 5 (2013)  
 <<http://www.northernrenaissance.org/with-diligent-studie-but-sportingly-how-gabriel-harvey-read-his-castiglione/>> [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2019], n.p.
- Stern, Tiffany, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Sterrett, Joseph, ‘Re-reading Prayer as Social Act: Examples from Shakespeare’, *Literature Compass*, 10.6 (2013), 496–507
- Stewart, Susan, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1993)
- Stjernfelt, Frederik, *Diagrammatology: An Investigation on the Borderlines of Phenomenology, Ontology, and Semiotics* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007)
- Stock, Brian, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996)
- Straznicky, Marta (ed.), *The Book of the Play* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006)

- Strier, Richard, *Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert's Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983)
- , 'How Formalism Became a Dirty Word, and Why We Can't Do Without It', in *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements*, ed. Mark David Rasmussen (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp.207–16
- Sullivan, Ceri, Sullivan, 'The Art of Listening in the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Philology*, 104.1 (2006), 34–71
- , *The Rhetoric of Conscience in Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Syme. Holger, 'Becoming Speech: Voicing the Text in Early Modern English Courtrooms and Theatres', *Compar(a)ison: An International Journal of Comparative Literature*, I (2007), 107–24
- , 'The Look of Speech', *Textual Cultures*, 2.2 (2007), 34–60
- , 'Unediting the Margin: Jonson, Marston, and the Theatrical Page', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38.1 (2008), 142–71
- Targoff, Ramie, 'The Performance of Prayer: Sincerity and Theatricality in Early Modern England', *Representations*, 60 (1997), 49–69
- , *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)
- , 'A Retrograde Reading of Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes*', *Spenser Studies*, 24.1 (2009), 481–97
- Toner, Anne, *Ellipsis in English Literature: Signs of Omission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Traninger, Anita, 'The Secret of Success: Ramism and Lullism as Contending Methods', in *Ramism, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. Steven Reid and Emma Annette Wilson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp.113–33
- Tuve, Rosemond, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1947)
- , 'Sacred "Parody" of Love Poetry, and Herbert', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), 249–90
- , *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: Spenser, Herbert, Milton*, ed. Thomas Roche (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970)
- Tyacke, Nicholas, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp.5–33

- Venables, Edmund, 'Editor's Note', *The Private Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes, D.D.*, ed. Edmund Venables (London, Amen Corner: Suttaby and Co., 1883), ix–x
- Visser, Arnoud, 'Reading Augustine through Erasmus' Eyes: Humanist Scholarship and Paratextual Guidance in the Wake of the Reformation', *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, 28.1 (2008), 67–90
- , *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: the Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Wall, John, *Transformations of the Word: Spenser, Herbert, Vaughan* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988)
- Wall, Wendy, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (London: Cornell University Press, 1993)
- Wall-Randell, Sarah, *The Immaterial Book: Reading and Romance in Early Modern England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013)
- Walsham, Alexandra, 'The Happiness of Suffering: Adversity, Providence, and Agency in Early Modern England', in *Suffering and Happiness in England 1550–1850: Narratives and Representations: A collection to honour Paul Slack*, ed. Michael Braddick and Joanna Innes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.45–65
- Walter, John, 'Drake, Richard', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn September 2014)  
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/67856>> [accessed online 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019]
- Ward Holder, R., *John Calvin and the Grounding of Interpretation: Calvin's First Commentaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2008)
- Watt, Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Weatherby, Harold, *Mirrors of Celestial Grace: Patristic Theology in Spenser's Allegory* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1994)
- , 'Spenser and the Sacraments', *Reformation*, 6.1 (2002), 119–23
- Webber, Joan, 'Celebration of Word and World in Lancelot Andrewes' Style', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 64.2 (1965), 255–69
- Wels, Volkhard, 'Melanchthon's Textbooks on Dialectic and Rhetoric as Complementary Parts of a Theory of Argumentation', in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony Grafton (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2008), pp.139–156
- Wesley, John, 'Mulcaster's Boys: Spenser, Andrewes, Kyd' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2008)

- , ‘Acting and *actio* in the Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes’, *Renaissance Studies*, 23.5 (2009), 678–93
- West, Michael, ‘Spenser and the Renaissance Ideal of Christian Heroism’, *PMLA*, 88.5 (1973), 1013–32
- Wheatley, Chloe, *Epic, Epitome, and the Early Modern Historical Imagination* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011)
- Wilcox, Helen, ‘Your Suit is Granted: Performing Prayer in Early Modern English Poetry’, in *Prayer and Performance in Early Modern English Literature: Gesture, Word, and Devotion*, ed. Joseph Sterrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.154–68
- Wilkinson, Hazel, *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)
- Williams, Rowan, ‘Augustine’s Christology: Its Spirituality and Rhetoric’, in *In the Shadow of the Incarnation: Essays on Jesus Christ in the Early Church in Honor of Brian E. Daley*, ed. Peter Martens (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), pp.176–89
- Williamson, Elizabeth, and Jane Hwang Degenhardt (eds), *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012)
- Wilson, Emma Annette, ‘The Art of Reasoning Well: Ramist Logic at Work in *Paradise Lost*’, *The Review of English Studies*, 61.248 (2010), 55–71
- Wilson, H.S., ‘The Cambridge Comedy “Pedantius” and Gabriel Harvey’s “Ciceronianus”’, *Studies in Philology*, 45.4 (1948), 578–91
- Wimsatt, W.K., ‘One Relation of Rhyme to Reason: Alexander Pope’, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 5.3 (1944), 323–38
- Woolf, Virginia, ‘*The Faery Queen*’, in *Virginia Woolf, Collected Essays: Volume One*, ed. Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth, 1966–67), pp.14–19
- Worthen, William, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Woudhuysen, Henry, ‘Gabriel Harvey’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500–1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.611–629
- Wright, Stephen, ‘Kemp [Kempe], William (c.1560–1601)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn September 2014) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15333>> [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2019]
- Young, R.V., *Doctrine and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Poetry: Studies in Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, and Vaughan* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000)

- Zarnowiecki, Matthew, 'Spenser's Angels: Salvation, Retractation, and Superhuman *Poiesis* in *Fowre Hymnes*', *Spenser Studies*, 30.1 (2015), 75–103
- Zim, Rivkah, 'The Reformation: "The Trial of God's Word"', in *Reading the Text: Biblical Interpretation and Literary Theory*, ed. Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp.64–135
- Zurcher, Andrew, 'Getting it Back to Front in 1590: Spenser's Dedications, Nashe's Insinuations, and Raleigh's Equivocations', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 38.2 (2005), 173–240