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The Art of Memory and the Art of Salvation: A study with reference to the works of Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne, and T.S. Eliot

Abstract

This thesis seeks first to demonstrate the centrality of memory as a theme in the sermons and meditations of Andrewes and Donne; secondly, to show the hidden influence of rhetorical arts of memory on the form and content of their sermons; and thirdly, to explore the extent of their influence, particularly that of Andrewes, on the treatment of memory in T.S. Eliot's poetry.

Chapter One analyses the background of biblical, classical and patristic teaching about memory, emphasising the importance of Augustine's christianising of Platonic doctrines of recollection as a means of access to eternal truth.

Chapter Two surveys the large body of teaching on the rhetorical art of memory, that is, the development of systems of imagined places and images through which the memory of the orator is assisted. There is a consideration of Frances Yates's pioneering work in this field, and an attempt to apply and develop her work specifically to the memory training of the Renaissance preacher.

Chapters Three and Four are a detailed analysis of how all the foregoing material surfaces in the sermons of Andrewes and Donne. First, studying the way in which their own teaching reaffirms and develops the biblical and Augustinian inheritance, arguing that for both of them the exercise of memory is centrally bound up with the process of salvation; secondly, seeking to demonstrate the clear influence of formal arts of memory on the structure and imagery of their sermons, which were for the most part delivered memoriter.

Chapter Five considers the influence of the memory tradition on Andrewes's *Preces Privatae* and Donne's *Devotions* and *Divine Poems*, and then gives an extended survey of the way in which their teaching and emphasis on the spiritual importance of memory re-emerges in the poetry of T.S. Eliot.

**The Art of Memory and the Art of Salvation:
A Study with Reference to the Works of Lancelot Andrewes,
John Donne, and T.S. Eliot.**

by

Ayodeji Malcolm Guite

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A thesis presented to the
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for the degree of Ph.D.,
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1993.

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Declaration

No part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in the University of Durham, or any other university. The entire work is the candidate's own contribution.

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Chapter One. Memory: The Great Tradition

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the background of scriptural and philosophical traditions about memory in which Andrewes and Donne worked. These can be divided into three main groups: biblical, classical, and theological. The biblical and theological reflection are in some respects more important, since they can be shown to have been more directly influential on the formation of Donne and Andrewes's thought. Nevertheless, I have deemed it necessary to rehearse some of the classical doctrines here, because even though the *direct* influence of thinkers like Plato and Plotinus on Andrewes and Donne is fairly slight (in spite of the so-called Platonising tendency of some Renaissance theology), the influence of their thought *indirectly*, through the mediation of Augustine, is very considerable. Clearly the three sources are cumulative and inter-related, since the patristic writers in their theology and psychology of memory drew on ideas in both Scripture and classical philosophy. Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas each had a special influence on the development and adaptation of ancient mnemonic systems which formed the medieval and renaissance *ars memorativa* traditions which are examined in the second chapter of this thesis. In this chapter therefore I will be dealing only with their ideas about 'natural' memory, as contrasted with systematised or artificial memory. Consideration of their teaching on mnemonics and the art of memory will be reserved for separate treatment in Chapter Two.

A) The Biblical Background

i) Old Testament

The faculty of memory and the act of remembering is one of the absolutely central themes of the Old Testament, and indeed of the

entire Jewish religious experience. The Scripture itself serves primarily as an aid and stimulus to memory, and becomes a means whereby acts of memory become sacramental, become an entry into the divine presence through a ritualised re-enaction and participation in the divine acts of creation and redemption, which Scripture enshrines for the memory. Old Testament cultic worship has been described as 'sacred memory becoming sacred reality and life for the participants.' (1)

The theme of memory runs right through the Old Testament, but it is especially vivid and prominent in Deuteronomy, the Psalms, and Isaiah. A complete analysis of the place of memory in the Old Testament would require fuller treatment, but in this brief introduction I shall concentrate on the ways in which the Creation and the Exodus, two biblical themes especially dear to both Donne and Andrewes, have been treated as objects of memory in the Psalms and Isaiah. I have selected those particular texts, both because in them the Old Testament psychology of memory is given its richest and most fruitful expression, and because they were texts which called forth some of the best insights from Andrewes and Donne.

Before turning to the texts themselves it is worth examining briefly the Old Testament use of the verb *zakhar* (to remember), and the range of meanings it came to acquire. In this brief lexicographical analysis we will be following the path and method of Andrewes himself in his deep interest in the Hebrew language and his extensive work in helping to prepare the Authorised Version of the Bible. Brevard Childs gives an analysis of all the noun and verb forms of *zkr* in his 'Memory and the Tradition of Israel'.(2) For the verb in the Qal form he gives an initial range of meaning over its one hundred and sixty-nine occurrences in the Old Testament as follows:

- 1) to call to mind
- 2) to keep in mind or consider
- 3) to remember for good or evil
- 4) to commemorate.

He also comments at length on the fact that in the Hiphil form the word acquires two specific technical meanings: in a cultic context it means to name the Name, in the juridic context to make an accusation of sin. In both cases it is an act of utterance.

What is significant is that in all but the first of these categories of meaning, the act of remembrance is indissolubly linked with a direct action or motion of the will, in other words with direction, intention, and commitment, rather than passive reflection. This is very clear in the Book of Psalms for example, where significantly *zakhar* has its most frequent occurrence. Almost every use of the word in the Psalms is followed by a consequent action, or shown in the subsequent parallelism to be the equivalent of an action.

In Psalm 115.12 for example:⁽³⁾

The Lord has been mindful of us;
he will bless us.

The blessing is intrinsically linked with the mindfulness. Or even more clearly in Psalm 136.23:

It is he who remembers us in our low estate,
for his steadfast love endures for ever.

Here, merely to be remembered is itself to be redeemed and loved. Even the opposite of *zakhar*, the verb *skh*, to forget, is seen as a deliberate motion of the soul, an action, rather than a passive absent-mindedness, as, for example, in Isaiah 49.14:

But Zion said, 'the Lord has forsaken me,
my Lord has forgotten me'.

To be forgotten is to be forsaken.

This constant association of memory with volition has led some scholars to assume that memory in ancient Israel was not, as it is in modern western culture, one of several separate mental faculties, but an integral part of a unified, mythopoeic or 'primitive' outlook in which the whole self is involved in every perception and no distinction is made between the subjective and the objective, the concrete and the abstract.⁽⁴⁾ In the words of Pederson, the chief exponent of this theory, 'the peculiarity about the Israelite is that he cannot at all imagine memory unless at the same time an effect on the totality and its direction of will is taken for granted'.⁽⁵⁾ It follows from this theory, which suggests there is no distinction in primitive psychology between memory and perception, that any remembered event would be as 'objectively' present as any perceived one. Whilst this is an initially attractive idea, it has been rightly criticised on the grounds that linguistic structures may not always reflect thought-patterns exactly, although they are obviously related, and that modern anthropologists' attempted reconstruction of a supposedly 'primitive' outlook can never be anything more than conjecture. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the verb *zakhar* is intended to convey something more dynamic and, as it were, closer to the heart, than the English verb *remember*, outside its biblical context, would suggest. Whether it is God or Israel who

remembers, that memory involves a motion of the soul, an act of obedience or disobedience, of blessing or cursing. Moreover, the act of remembering was to assume for those priestly writers through whose cultic activities the traditions of Israel, the interpreted events of her sacred history, were recalled and made present for the worshipper, a theological significance by becoming the medium through which future generations of Israelites could participate in the redeeming events of the Exodus, and so enter the covenant and have access to God's *chesed* (steadfast covenant love - given as 'mercy' in the Authorised Version). This can be clearly seen in the institution of the Passover, which in Exodus and Deuteronomy is more than simply a way of preserving an historical tradition for future generations, but is rather a sacred medium through which they may experience in their own generation the same redeeming event.

Turning from this particular word study back to the Psalter, one finds, as one would expect, in the great hymns like Psalm 78, a ritual act of remembrance not only of God's saving acts, but also of Israel's different responses to those acts, in disobedience or obedience, made for the benefit of future generations. Thus this psalm, which may have been used, significantly, at the renewal of the covenant, is concerned with,

things that we have heard and known,
that our fathers have told us.
We will not hide them from their children,
but tell to the coming generation
the glorious deeds of the Lord. (vv.3 and 4).

The purpose of this reminding is not passive reflection on the historical truth, but a motion of the souls of those alive now to the

author of those events as he is in the present, and imaginatively, to those to come who will in the future remember and so participate in the same events. These things will be taught to children yet unborn,

so that they should set their hope in God,
and not forget the works of God,
but keep his commandments. (v.7.)

The psalmist recalls the great wonders of the Exodus:

He divided the sea and let them pass through it,
and made the waters stand like a heap, (v.13),

not simply because they are marvellous and memorable in themselves, but because they are signs of God's unwearying compassion, the steadfast covenant love which, despite all their remembered disobediences, is still undiminished and evident to his people in the promises to David.

This theme, that the memory of the Exodus will lead to a seeking of God in the present, and a deeper understanding of *chesed*, is made even clearer in Psalm 105, a hymn of triumphant thanksgiving. We are to seek the Lord in His strength, to seek His *presence* continually, and we do so if we,

remember the wonderful works that he has done,
his miracles, and the judgments he uttered. (v.5.)

'Judgments' here are as great a sign of love, as great a cause of rejoicing, as miracles, a point which, as we shall see, Andrewes felt very keenly, for many of his sermons concern the right or helpful

remembrance of memorable judgements. This idea is emphasised even more clearly in Psalm 106, where one of the things God is praised for is the wasting disease he sent on those who forgot his works, and did not wait for his counsel in the wilderness (vv.13-15.).

But the most significant thing revealed in these two psalms, as far as the role of memory in devotion is concerned, is that both the covenant (*berith*) and God's covenant love (*chesed*) are eternal:

He is mindful (*zkr*) of his covenant for ever,
of the word he commanded,
for a thousand generations, (Psalm 105.8.),

and

Praise the Lord!
O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good;
for his steadfast love endures forever! (Psalm 106.1.)

This is crucial because it is the theological basis for using the memory of *past* acts of God as a means of access to his *present* love and mercy. The outer shell of the Exodus event has been dissolved by the passage of time, but the seed and grain of its meaning, nourished by an *eternal* act of God, continue to bear fruit in the present. This truth, evident in the Psalms, about the relation of a single saving event to the passage of time, and the consequent significance and power of memory, is developed in Isaiah as the key to an even more profound and joyful mystery.

It was because *chesed*, in whatever historical context it was manifested, was seen by the psalmists as an eternal quality of God, that they could

discern it in considering any of his acts. This will be evident if we turn now to the way in which the psalmists remember the Creation, the great act of triumph not merely over Pharaoh and his hosts, but over chaos itself. Psalm 89, for example, a royal psalm, proclaims itself at the outset to be an exposition of *chesed*:

I will sing of thy steadfast love, O Lord, forever;
with my mouth I will proclaim thy faithfulness to all
generations, (v.1.),

and it moves straight from *chesed* manifested in the covenant with David (vv. 3 and 4) to a powerful account of the dividing of the waters of chaos to create the space and order of the world:

Thou dost rule the raging of the sea;
when its waves rise, thou stillest them.
Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass,
thou didst scatter thy enemies with thy mighty arm. (vv.9 and 10.)

This primaeval triumph is remembered again in the enthronement hymn, Psalm 93 :

Yea, the world is established; it shall never be moved...
The floods have lifted up, O Lord,
the floods have lifted up their voice,
the floods lift up their roaring.
Mightier than the thunders of many waters,
mightier than the waves of the sea,
the Lord on high is mighty! (vv.1,3, and 4.)

The Creation for the psalmists, then, was as much a manifestation of *chesed* as the redemption; but before turning to those passages in Isaiah which, by comprehension of the theological truth and by an inspired fusion of imagery were to express the complete unity of these two acts, I would like to comment in detail on one more psalm which shows the use of memory as a means of hope, and of access through the past to God's power in the present, actually in operation as the psalmist moves from despair to triumph.

Psalm 77 is supremely the psalm about memory, and it shows most clearly the contrast between that shallow memory which leads to despair, and the profound memory which leads to hope, a distinction which, as we shall see, was developed most brilliantly in Donne's thought, who made the Psalter profoundly his own, and called David the prophet not only of Christ but of every particular Christian.⁽⁶⁾

The psalmist begins with an experience of alienation and despair, with a deep-rooted need for an absent God:

I cry aloud to God,
aloud to God, that he may hear me.
In the day of my trouble I seek the Lord;
in the night my hand is stretched out without wearying;
my soul refuses to be comforted. (vv.1 and 2.)

Then, in verses 3-9, the psalmist remembers the days when he was not distressed, and the contrast just increases his misery, makes him feel abandoned, and leads him to ask:

Will the Lord spurn forever
and never again be favourable?
Has his steadfast love forever ceased?

He ends with the despairing acquiescence in verse 10 that this may well be the case:

And I say, 'It is my grief
that the right hand of the Most High has changed'.

Had the psalmist finished there, and remained trapped in the shallows of his own personal memory, there would be no cause for hope, but he turns instead in verse 11, prompted perhaps by the memory of the other contexts of the word *chesed* whose certainty and perpetuity he has been doubting, to consider something much deeper:

I will call to mind the deeds of the Lord;
yea I will remember thy wonders of old.

How old? we may wonder, for here is the image this deeper memory calls up:

When the waters saw thee, O God,
when the waters saw thee, they were afraid,
yea the deep trembled. . .
Thy way was through the sea,
thy path through the great waters;
yet thy footprints were unseen. (vv.16-19.)

Is this the Creation or the Exodus? A triumph over the cosmic deep or over the waters of the Red Sea? For the psalmist it is both. The

memory of the one suggests the other, and he moves from a memory of God's power in the Creation to a fuller understanding of his power to redeem. With this the psalmist concludes in triumph the psalm he had begun in despair. All the power of that primary creation imagery is concentrated in a masterful return to the level of human experience in the concluding line:

Thou didst lead thy people like a flock
by the hand of Moses and Aaron. (v.20.)

Turning to Isaiah, we can see an even more powerful fusion of these two remembered images of creation and redemption, together with a clearer working of the theology that lies behind them.

Isaiah shares on a much larger scale the problem of the psalmist in Psalm 77; failure of access, distance from God, and despair, for he is writing in exile for an exiled community in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple, and with it the hope of a people sold by their own God into slavery. Yet his calling from God is to comfort them: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people...'.(Isaiah 40.1.) How does he do it? He does it by reminding them in the depths of their experience, of the love and power of God, and like the psalmist, his deep memory in response to distress calls up and brings together the two great images of divided water which symbolise creation and redemption:

Awake, awake, put on strength,
O arm of the Lord;
Awake, as in the days of old,
the generations of long ago.
Was it not Thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces,
that didst pierce the dragon?

Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea,
the waters of the great deep;
that didst make the depths of the sea a way
for the redeemed to pass over? (Isaiah 51.9 and 10.)

Isaiah does not restrict his reach, like the psalmist, to comfort in the present, but sees in the past a great sign of hope for the future, for he follows these verses with the words:

And the ransomed of the Lord shall return,
and come to Zion with singing;
everlasting joy shall be upon their heads. (Isaiah 51.11.)

Isaiah looks forward in the first instance to the redemption and return of the exiles to Jerusalem through the agency of Cyrus, raised up by God for the purpose, but his vision goes further than that. By encouraging the exiles, whose own personal circumstances and memories might well have led to despair, to probe more deeply and remember instead the great creative and redemptive acts of God, he presents a theology of creation and redemption which pierces beyond the circumstances to which in this instance he has directed it, and illuminates the lives and memory of all those future generations who were able to appropriate it and make it their own.

The forlorn exiles who may have been tempted to fear that their Lord was powerless or changed are directed first to remember the awesome power and majesty he manifested in creation:

Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand,
and marked off the heavens with a span? (Isaiah 40.12.)

They are admonished for not seeing that this immense power is always present with their redeemer:

Have you not known? Have you not heard?
Has it not been told you from the beginning?
Have you not understood from the foundations of the earth?
It is he who sits above the circle of the earth. . .
who brings princes to naught,
and makes the rulers of the earth as nothing. (Isaiah 40.21 and 23.)

They are called again and again to remember the Lord's acts, in the knowledge that the Lord is remembering them:

Remember these things, O Jacob,
and Israel, for you are my servant;
I formed you, you are my servant;
O Israel, you will not be forgotten by me. (Isaiah 44.21.)

Even in this one verse, the twin concepts of creation and covenant are implicit. This great commandment and vocation to remember is summed up in the injunction in chapter 46, verses 8-10:

Remember this and consider,
recall it to mind, you transgressors,
remember the former things of old;
for I am God, and there is no other;
I am God and there is none like me,
declaring the end from the beginning
and from ancient times things not yet done,

saying, 'My counsel shall stand,
and I shall accomplish all my purpose'. (Emphasis mine.)

Here the relationship between creation and redemption is made explicit, and the role of memory as mediator between temporal experience and an eternal God is shown at its fullest. It is not simply that God knew from the beginning that he would raise up Cyrus and overthrow Babylon, and said so through his prophets; it is also that his very act of creation was itself not only a sign or a prophecy, but a very part of his redemption, and redemption a part of his creative act, both aspects of the same action of that God whose *chesed* is from the foundation of the world, and who 'declares the end from the beginning'. This is why the redemption of which Isaiah speaks is not only the historical return to which he directly refers, but also the great end declared from the beginning, which will be the consummation of history itself.

For Isaiah, therefore, to remember is not simply to re-enact the past or to learn from it, but to come into contact with the living God who reigns and redeems in the present, and in whom the whole future, the end and meaning of time, is also present. Thus memory itself, the reminder in all men of what it is to be in time, by meditating on creation and redemption, signs of the beginning and of the end, and following them to the living God to whom they point, becomes a door out of time to him whose steadfast love endures forever.

Andrewes and Donne were both steeped in the biblical theology of memory, of which this has been a small sampling, and we can trace its influence not only in their method, but also in specific exegesis of passages concerned with memory. It is perhaps worth noting at this early stage one or two of these Old Testament ideas which we shall encounter in their work. Donne, as we have noted, was a great reader

of the Psalms, and we shall find that he re-enacts in a number of different contexts the sort of dramatic spiritual encounter through memory which we looked at in Psalm 77. Both Andrewes and Donne shared the psalmists' and Isaiah's conviction that one of the keys to the right use of memory was a ritual remembering and contemplation of the story of the Creation in Genesis, and as we shall see in both sermons and private devotion, they were able to work out elaborate and systematised meditative memorials of the week of the Creation. Andrewes's interest in the concepts of pattern and repetition led him to emphasise Old Testament ideas of memory as a means of discerning the pattern of God's activity in historical events, whereas Donne's interest in the relationship between the experience of time and eternity led him to emphasise the exercise of memory as the way to an experience of God who is outside the stream of time, and is eternal. Both these possibilities are in the Old Testament, as we have seen, and both are strongly associated with the notion of salvation or redemption. I hope to show how they contributed to the profound understanding of memory which led Andrewes to sum up all that was involved in the dual ministry of priest and preacher as being 'the Lord's remembrancer', and which led Donne to declare that 'the art of salvation is but the art of memory'. (*Sermons* II, p.73.)

ii) New Testament.

The Greek equivalent of *zkr*, when it was translated in the Septuagint, the Greek version of the Old Testament which was used by writers of the New, and is quoted frequently by Andrewes and Donne, is *μνημόκεια*. This word was taken up and developed by New Testament writers with a full consciousness of the depth of meaning and possibility it had acquired in the Old Testament. It is often used in the context of direct quotation from, or reminiscence of, the Old Testament.

Indeed because this echoing and reminiscence of the Old Testament largely consists of remembering that which is now fulfilled, the Old Testament sense of memory as leading to new understanding in the present and a renewed sense of God's present power, is if anything intensified in the New Testament. The canticles in Luke, for example, strongly influenced by Old Testament conventions, make a direct connection between God's saving power and effective remembering:

He has helped his servant Israel,
in remembrance of his mercy. (Luke.1.54.)

In Zechariah's song, 'to perform the mercy promised to our fathers', is, according to the parallelism, 'to remember his holy covenant'. (Luke 1.72.)

Both these verses, recalling that for God to remember his people is for him to redeem them, were enshrined in the canticles of the Prayer Book services, and were thus memory verses of which Donne and Andrewes as priests, with an obligation to recite the office, were daily reminded. There are many other examples of the saving power of God's memory in the New Testament, of which perhaps the most direct and telling is the thief's prayer from the cross, 'Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom'. (Luke 23.42.)

Human acts of memory are equally charged with significance for salvation in the New Testament. There is a call to exercise saving acts of memory very much on the model of the Old Testament, as for example the call to Dives to remember his own life so as to understand his sin, which Jesus, significantly puts into the mouth of the Old Testament figure of Abraham. (Luke 16.25.) And Christ's admonition (recalling Old Testament examples, very much in the manner of Psalm

78) to 'remember Lot's wife'. (Luke 17.32.) Andrewes, as we shall see, preached on both these texts, and they called forth some of his most central insights into the nature of memory.⁽⁷⁾ A special New Testament emphasis is on remembering the words or sayings of Jesus, as for example in the case of Peter's sudden memory of Christ's words when the cock crows. (Mark 14.72; Matt. 26.75; Luke 22.61.) A comprehensive article in Gerhard Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* comments that 'the word of Jesus displays its power in the fact that it is alive in the disciples through recollection', and points to the firm gospel tradition that 'after the resurrection the disciples remember, and now for the first time, understand the words of Jesus' (eg. Luke 24.8).⁽⁸⁾ John especially emphasises the idea, which fascinated Andrewes, that some events cannot be understood until they are remembered. The analysis in Kittel of remembrance in the fourth Gospel concludes, 'this Johannine remembrance is a new and true knowledge, and it thus belongs to the doctrine of the spirit of God'. John makes this connection between memory and the Holy Spirit explicit. 'The Counselor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you.' (John 14.26.) As we shall see, Donne, following Augustine, meditated deeply on this verse, and the linking of memory with the Holy Spirit, as part of the trinity from the Trinity, which was the image of God in Man's soul, became a central part of Donne's high doctrine of memory.

The analysis in Kittel of *μνήσκειν* in the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul concludes that 'apostolic preaching is not just recollection; it also demands recollection'.⁽⁹⁾ This was certainly the understanding of the office of preaching shared by Donne and Andrewes. Peter as well as Paul has a strong emphasis on the exercise of memory:

Therefore I intend always to remind you of these things, though you know them and are established in the truth that you have. I think it right, as long as I am in this body, to arouse you by way of reminder. (II Peter 1.12 and 13.)

Or again:

This is now the second letter that I have written to you, beloved, and in both of them I have aroused your sincere mind by way of reminder; that you should remember the predictions of the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through your apostles. (II Peter 3.1 and 2.)

Here the act of memory is intended to alter the present state of him who remembers, by arousing a 'sincere mind'. Peter's concern for the right exercise of memory here is more than practical, for it acquires an intensity which is suggestive of some of the mystical developments of memory, and this is reflected in his choice of vocabulary in which he intensifies *μυνησκομαι*; in this letter is the one New Testament occurrence of the verb *μνηστη*, which, as we shall see, is a key term in the Platonic understanding of memory. It occurs in the promise of supernaturally inspired memory in II Peter 1.15: 'I will see to it that after my departure you may be able at any time to recall these things'.

Ἀνάμνησις is the other key New Testament memory term, and is, as we shall see, also central in Platonic philosophy, where it is used in a separate, more technical way. *Ἀνάμνησις* is distinguished from any merely reflective act of memory by being a deliberate ritual action of symbolic recollection, in which a sacred event of the past is made effective in the present. The great act of *ἀνάμνησις* in the Old Testament is the ritual feast of the Passover in memory of the Exodus;

the act of *ἀνάμνησις* in the New Testament, which was seen by the Fathers as fulfilling the type of the Passover, was, of course, the ritual recollection of the Lord's Supper. As in the Old Testament, 'the recollection of the past means that what is recalled becomes a present reality, which in turn controls the will'.⁽¹⁰⁾ The term *ἀνάμνησις* is used in the Gospels, and repeated twice in I Corinthians 11.24 and 25, in the words with which Christ broke bread and took the cup, and is translated in both the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorised Version as *remembrance*.

Both Andrewes and Donne, of course, knew the Greek, and were familiar with its Old Testament background in the Septuagint. Anglican definition of the senses in which the Communion was a sacrament, and the extent to which one could speak of a 'real presence', whilst repudiating the specifically Thomist doctrine of transubstantiation which had its roots in Aristotle's physics, was nevertheless sufficiently ambiguous to permit a wide range of views. Donne and Andrewes both held 'high' doctrines of the sacrament, and for both of them it was central to their lives and thought. I will argue that the sacrament is central to both men because they have assimilated the biblical tradition of memory itself as a sacrament, or means of access to the presence of God. Donne, as we shall see, calls the memory of the Last Supper a seal upon a seal and a sacrament upon a sacrament, ⁽¹¹⁾ and Andrewes devotes the peroration of all his major festival sermons to an invitation to his congregation to realise the presence of Christ among them through the memorial of the Last Supper.

In conclusion, we can see that the Bible, with whose translation Andrewes was so intimately involved, and in whose thought and language both men were so thoroughly steeped, was to provide

Andrewes and Donne with the rudiments of a doctrine of memory which gave it central importance in the understanding of both God and Man.

B) The Classical Background

In turning from the Bible to the legacy of Greek and Latin writing on philosophy and rhetoric, we are entering a completely different thought-world. Nowhere in Scripture is there any concern to analyse the nature of memory itself, or to speculate on its relation to perception, to imagination, and to knowledge, whereas it is with these questions about memory that classical philosophy is primarily concerned. Again, in such a brief survey as this, one is faced with a problem of selection from a vast range of material. Once more I have chosen briefly to survey those ideas which seem directly, or indirectly, to have influenced Andrewes and Donne. This section will deal with the place of memory in philosophy, drawing on the Greek authors who laid down the basic positions held in the classical world. Memory as part of the art of rhetoric will be dealt with in Chapter Two, when we consider the background for the art of memory, drawing largely on Latin works, particularly Cicero and psuedo-Ciceronian dialogues, because these had the widest circulation and the greatest influence.

We will begin, then, briefly with the doctrine of recollection in Plato, with the appendix to Aristotle's work on the soul, which concerns memory, and with Plotinus's further elaboration and summary of the Platonic doctrine.

i) Plato's Doctrine of Recollection.

'Plato placed all learning in the memory.' So Donne succinctly summed up, in a sermon, which will be discussed at length in a later chapter, the Platonic doctrine of recollection.⁽¹²⁾ Plato was concerned both to find an adequate theory of knowledge, and to demonstrate rationally the immortality of the soul. In trying to account for the fact that we acknowledge and recognise absolute predicates such as equality, even though we have never actually encountered through the senses any two things which are truly equal, Plato developed the theory that we recognise features in the world which approximate to, and so remind us of, absolutes of which our souls have had perfect knowledge before they were united with our bodies. It is by referring the confused jumble of sense-data back to the memory of pre-existent forms that we make valid acts of perception and arrive at knowledge. Thus, by a theory that knowledge is a series, not of new mental acquisitions, but of more and more profound memories, Plato both solved a problem in epistemology and also demonstrated the soul's existence separate from the body, and hence its immortality. Furthermore, he did not confine this process of learning through recollection to the memory of mathematical absolutes only, but also of moral absolutes, thus making the exercise of this kind of memory an ethical and religious, as well as an intellectual experience.

The term which Plato uses for this exercise of a deep memory which leads to the recovery in the soul of absolute truth, which it had known and lost, is in fact *ἀνάμνησις*, the same term which, as we have seen, acquired special significance in the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament as meaning a special and deliberate act of memory, which recovers and makes present divine truth. Plato, of course writing long before, selects the word and distinguishes it from *μνήμη* because he

wants it to represent a deliberate act of recollection rather than the general faculty of memory, which is the medium of consciousness. Nevertheless, it meant that for Christian thinkers, conscious of both traditions, *ὑπόμνησις* acquired an aura of importance, as being associated with knowledge of the deepest and most important truth, both at an epistemological and a sacred level.

Modern scholars would not now attempt a synthesis of the Greek and Hebrew thought-world, regarding them as fundamentally different in almost every cultural and imaginative assumption. Nevertheless, the Fathers of the Church saw it as precisely their role to integrate the insights of reason with the data of revelation, between which there could be no ultimate contradiction, because the truth is not divided. They used two dominant models to explain the relations of Greek, and especially Platonic, thought to the revelations of the Gospel: one, put forward for example by Clement, was that it formed a parallel in Gentile culture to the Old Testament dispensation to Israel. Just as the Hebrews were given the Law and the Prophets to lead them up to Christ, like a school master (for in the Law and the Prophets those with eyes to see and ears to hear will find many truths about Christ), so God gave the Greek world philosophy, and particularly the love of the *Logos*, so that when the true *Logos*, the Word himself, came into the world, they would be ready to recognise and receive him. Many, including Augustine, even believed that Plato had somehow met the prophet Jeremiah, who had communicated to him the divine truths which were to be found in his works. (Augustine, it should be added, came to reject this particular historical fancy towards the end of his life, but he never rejected the idea that many, though not all, things in Platonic doctrine can and should be integrated into Christian theology.)

The second model for the integration of Greek and Hebrew thought, set forth especially by Augustine in his *De Doctrina Christiana* which had extensive influence as an authoritative preaching manual, is the idea of 'spoiling the Egyptians'.⁽¹³⁾ This is an allegorical application of the story that when the children of Israel were preparing for the Exodus from Egypt, they 'borrowed' precious vessels and treasure from the Egyptians, which they had no intention of returning, but which they took with them to the Promised Land and rededicated to the Lord. Augustine argued that they were justified in doing this because these things, in so far as they were good, belonged to the Lord anyway. He then says that in precisely the same way, when we are rescued by God and make our great exodus from the 'Egypt' of the world and the slavery of sin into the community of believers, through the parted Red Sea waters of Baptism, we should take with us and rededicate to God all those good things or noble truths which we found in the world among the pagans. If a pagan philosopher has spoken the truth, then the truth he has spoken belongs not to paganism but to the Truth himself, that is to say to Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. This opened the way for an extensive incorporation into the biblical inheritance of large parts of Platonic and later of Aristotelian philosophy, which in turn changed the understanding and emphasis of various parts of Scripture with which it was not in harmony, as for example the essentially Greek doctrine of the impassibility of God, which was brought into dramatic tension with the thoroughly passible, active and emotional picture of him in both the Old and New Testaments.

In the case of the understanding of memory, however, there was not so much tension or contradiction as rather the mutual reinforcing and crossfertilisation of different kinds of emphasis. The centrality of *ἀνάμνησις* in Platonism tended to reinforce its importance as a biblical

theme, and the biblical understanding of memory led to a reading of Plato which underemphasised its importance as one stage in a technical argument in epistemology, but emphasised instead its importance as a means of access to divine truth. That is to say, Plato's teaching on memory was understood more and more in a religious and spiritual sense than in a strictly philosophical one, so that it is not surprising that Donne follows his recollection that Plato placed all learning in the memory with the statement that 'we may place all religion in the memory too'. (*Sermons* II, p.74.)

It is worth looking briefly at the two passages in the *Meno*⁽¹⁴⁾ and the *Phaedo* (*Dialogues* I, pp.385-477) where the doctrine of *anamnesis* is set out, and at the passage in the *Phaedrus* (*Dialogues* III, pp.107-189) where we get some glimpse of Plato's handling of its religious and imaginative possibilities, though it should be added that these dialogues do not form a direct source for Andrewes and Donne, who did not have direct access to them, but their ideas and images were certainly available through intermediaries such as the Florentine neo-Platonists and the Church Fathers.

The first thing to be noted about the *Meno* is that its subject is virtue: what is virtue, and whether it can be taught. It is significant that the doctrine of *anamnesis* is always expounded as part of the pursuit of ethical or religious truth even when it is demonstrated or illustrated by mathematical truth. In this dialogue, Meno presents to Socrates the sophistical puzzle that all enquiry must be into what one knows, in which case it is redundant, or into what one does not know, in which case it is impossible. Therefore, all enquiry is futile. In order to escape this dilemma Socrates introduces, with the authority of poets, priests, and priestesses, the Pythagorean doctrine of the pre-existence and transmigration of souls:

They say - mark now and see whether their words are true - they say that the soul of man is immortal and at one time has an end which is termed dying, and at another time is born again, but is never destroyed. And the moral is that a man ought to live in perfect holiness...The soul, then, as being immortal, and having been born again many times, and having seen all things that exist whether in this world or in the world below, has knowledge of them all; and it is no wonder that she should be able to call to remembrance all that she ever knew about virtue, and about everything; for as all nature is akin and the soul has learned all things, there is no difficulty in a man eliciting/out of a single recollection, all the rest - the process generally called learning - if he is strenuous and does not faint; for all enquiry and all learning is but recollection.

After demonstrating his doctrine by showing that a slave-boy, properly questioned, can pronounce mathematical truths and their proofs which he has never been taught, Socrates concludes:

And if the truth of all things always existed in the soul, then the soul is immortal. Wherefore be of good cheer and try to recollect what you do not know, or rather what you do not remember. (*Dialogues* I, pp.278 and 285.)

The fact that Socrates singles out virtue from the 'everything' which it is possible to recollect, and draws the moral that 'a man ought to live always in perfect holiness', made it easy for Christian thinkers to assimilate and integrate his ideas, especially as they were working with a strong presumption in favour of the wisdom of the ancients. Obviously the doctrine of the pre-existence and transmigration of souls, on which

the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις actually rests, was completely unacceptable to Christian orthodoxy, but curiously this did not prevent Christian writers, as we shall see, from drawing from Plato a strong relation between memory, knowledge, and virtue. Indeed, it is fascinating to see how Augustine in particular, who felt that ἀνάμνησις was an admirable and compelling solution to the problem of how truth is recognised, manages to preserve its depth and force whilst disengaging it from its Pythagorean background, by substituting a recollection not of previous existence, but of truth spoken in the depth of the soul by the *Logos*, the inner master who knows all things from the beginning.⁽¹⁵⁾

The *Phaedo*, named after the 'beloved disciple' of Socrates, has always had a special power of moving its readers, because it is set immediately before Socrates's execution and forms, as it were, the last words of the great master before his martyrdom. Its subject is the immortality of the soul and how the whole life of wisdom is a continual practice of death. The doctrine of ἀνάμνησις is introduced to counter the fear expressed by one of his disciples that on death the soul may perhaps vanish away like smoke or air.

Your favourite doctrine, Socrates, that knowledge is simply recollection, if true, also necessarily implies a previous time in which we have learned that which we now recollect. But this would be impossible unless our soul had been in some place before existing in the form of man; here then is another proof of the soul's immortality. (*Dialogues I*, p.425.)

Socrates, in the subsequent part of the dialogue, emphasises that a central part of the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις is the principle of association; that the memory of one thing leads to and suggests the memory of another, so that in time, as it were by the links of a chain, all things

are remembered. This principle of association was important for the future development of thought about memory in two ways. First, because, as we shall see, it was fundamental to the development of artificial memory systems, in which the principle was systematised and exploited; and secondly, because its image of a chain of association leading back became essential in the later devotional use of memory especially emphasised by Donne, in which starting with any particular memory, one can eventually work one's way back to a memory of God.

It was in the *Phaedrus* that the Doctrine of ἀνάμνησις was given the expression which most directly suited to incorporation within the Christian biblical tradition, because in that dialogue it is directly linked with the knowledge of God. Socrates at the end of his 'mythical' picture of the pre-existent soul as a chariot driven through the heavens by a pair of winged steeds, says that the faculty of reason in Man is,

the recollection of those things which our soul once saw while following God - when regardless of that which we now call being, she raised her head towards the true being. And therefore the mind of the philosopher alone has wings; and this is just, for he is always, according to the measure of his abilities, clinging in recollection to those things in which God abides, and in beholding which He is what He is. And he who employs aright these memories is ever being initiated into perfect mysteries and alone becomes truly perfect. (*Dialogues* III, p.156.)

Every earthly image and memory of justice or beauty becomes by association a reminder of the divine truths he once knew. But the art of remembering these things is difficult and involves us in the struggle against corruption and the search for purity:

But all souls do not easily recall the things of the other world; they may have seen them for a short time only, or they may have been unfortunate in their earthly lot, and, having had their hearts turned to unrighteousness through some corrupting influence, they have lost the memory of the holy things which once they saw. Few only retain an adequate remembrance of them; and they, when they behold any image of that other world, are rapt in amazement; but they are ignorant of what this means because they do not clearly perceive. For there is no radiance in our earthly copies of justice or temperance, or those other things which are precious to souls: they are seen but through a glass dimly; and there are few who, going to the images, behold in them the realities, and these only with difficulty. But beauty could be seen, brightly shining, by all who were with that happy band...at which time we beheld the beatific vision and were initiated into a mystery which may truly be called most blessed, celebrated by us in our state of innocence, before we had any experience of evils to come, when we were admitted to the sight of apparitions innocent and simple and calm and happy, which we beheld shining in pure light, pure ourselves and not yet enshrined in that living tomb which we carry about, now that we are imprisoned in the body like an oyster in his shell. Let me linger thus long over the memory of scenes which have passed away. (*Dialogues* III, p.157.)

It is easy to see how, purified of its heretical elements, this exalted vision of memory, rich with the language of sacrament and ceremony, linked with the direct knowledge and presence of God, came to be seen as a confirmation and reinforcement of the biblical theology of memory, which saw it as a means of access to eternal truths and qualities in God. Certainly Augustine did not feel he was christianising a pagan Plato so much as interpreting a prophet, in the light of the fulfilment

of his words in Christ who is the Wisdom of God. Thus, through Augustine, what could be called the mystical side of the Platonic doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις* came to be incorporated into the Christian psychology and theology of memory, of which Donne and Andrewes were inheritors and developers.

Plato's main concern was with the meaning and ultimate significance of memory as a sign of the soul's divine origin, and he was less concerned with the question of what the memory actually is and the 'mechanics' of how it operated. Nevertheless, he did give these questions some consideration, and used two images or models of the physical operation of memory. Plato's two images are of a block of wax which receives an imprint like the imprint from a signet ring, and an aviary progressively filled with more and more birds, some of which we merely possess because they are in the cage, others of which we may call and actually have in the hand. This latter image represents the difference between memory and recollection, between merely having something stored in memory, and deliberately calling it to mind. These two images are used by Socrates in *Thaetetus*. (*Dialogues* III, pp.294-302.) The image of the aviary was to become in Augustine the image of memory as a vast interior storehouse, in which all our knowledge is collected and arranged. Both the image of the wax and the signet ring, and the idea of memory as a place where knowledge as a series of imprints or images is stored and arranged so as to be capable of recall, were given their most important development and expression by Aristotle, who, as we shall see, was much more concerned with the fundamental question of what memory is than Plato had been.

ii) Memory in the Thought of Aristotle.

Although Aristotle disagreed with Plato about their epistemological and metaphysical significance, he inherited from him a deep interest in memory and recollection,⁽¹⁶⁾ and indeed devotes a whole treatise, the *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*⁽¹⁷⁾ to the subject. Fundamental to Aristotle's understanding of memory is the idea that all thought involves mental pictures or images, and that therefore all memory is memory of images; for this reason, memory belongs to the same part of the soul as imagination: 'An account has already been given of imagination in the discussion of the soul, and it is not possible to think without an image.' (*De Memoria*, p.48.) Memory then is a collection of sense impressions stored as images. This emphasis on the image as essential to memory was to be transformed and have enormous effect as part of the advice on cultivating an artificial memory. The influence of the *De Memoria* on the *ars memorativa* tradition will be dealt with in Chapter Two.

Aristotle's development of Plato's wax and seal image of memory was to have a lasting effect, regarded purely as a piece of neurophysiological theory which accounted both for the phenomenon of memory itself, and also for the fact that facility of memory varies from person to person. The signet ring and sealing wax, taken from the following passage, became a standard image for understanding memory right down to the time of Locke and beyond:

One might be puzzled how, when the affection is present but the thing is absent, what is not present is ever remembered. For it is clear that one must think of the affection, which is produced by means of perception in the soul...as being like a sort of picture, the having of which we say is memory. For the change that occurs marks in a sort of imprint, as it were of the sense-image, as people do who seal things with signet rings.

(And that is also why memory does not occur in those who are subject to a lot of movement, because of some trouble or because of their time in life, just as if the change, and the seal were falling on running water. In others, because of wearing down, as in old parts of buildings, and because of the hardness of what receives the affection, the imprint is not produced.) (*De Memoria*, p.50.)

We can see from the latter part of this passage how literally and physically Aristotle understood this notion of the sense imprint. It is also interesting to note his simile of the building, which will become a key idea in the *ars memorativa*. Aristotle is also the first to analyse (though Plato in fact makes use of) what are now referred to as the laws of association, recognising that the association of one thing with another in a remembered sequence is often 'incidental', a mere matter of association, rather than intrinsic:

It is apparent, then, to which part of the soul memory belongs, namely the same part as that to which the imagination belongs. And it is the objects of imagination that are remembered in their own right, whereas things that are not grasped without imagination are remembered in virtue of an incidental association. (*De Memoria*, p.49.)

In the second chapter of the treatise Aristotle distinguishes memory as a state from recollection as a deliberate act, following Plato. But he rejects the full Platonic doctrine of ἀνάμνησις, and concerns himself almost exclusively with the problem of how chains of associated recollections can be set up and manipulated by the organisation of topics, or places in which mnemonic images are stored in sequence. This part of the treatise will be dealt with in the chapter on the *ars memorativa*.

Although in the *De Memoria* Aristotle sees the act of recollection (*ἀναμνηστικόν*) as deliberate and voluntary, he sometimes uses the verb not for a deliberate search, but for a reminder imposed from without. A significant example of this sense occurs in the *Nicomachean Ethics* where he shows that wicked men are reminded of unpleasant things against their wills:

Also bad people seek constant companionship and avoid their own society because when they are by themselves they recall many disagreeable experiences and expect to have more of the same kind, whereas when they are with others they can forget.⁽¹⁸⁾

What is interesting here is the link between memory and conscience or self-knowledge, a link which is to be developed in the Christian scheme into the deliberate exercise of memory to stimulate repentance.

iii) Memory in the Thought of Plotinus

The third Greek thinker whose influence on ideas about memory we have to consider, is Plotinus, the chief exponent of that neo-Platonism whose revival and further elaboration by the Florentine neo-Platonists exercised such an influence over renaissance thought. Plotinus's thought was accessible to Donne and Andrewes indirectly through his influence on St Augustine, and directly through Ficino's translation of the *Enneads* in 1492.

Because Plotinus rejects Aristotle's conception that the soul's perception of the world is a passive reception of exterior sense impressions, his treatise on perception and memory begins with an outright dismissal of Aristotle's contention in the *De Memoria* that

individual memories consist of the retention of these impressions made in the passive soul like the marks of a seal-ring in wax.

Perceptions are no imprints, we have said, are not to be thought of as seal impressions on the soul or mind; accepting this statement there is one theory of memory which must be definitely rejected. Memory is not to be explained as the retaining of information in virtue of an impression which in fact was never made; the two things stand or fall together; either an impression is made upon the mind and lingers when there is remembrance, or, denying the impression, we cannot hold that memory is its lingering. Since we reject equally the impression and the retention we are obliged to seek for another explanation of perception and memory.⁽¹⁹⁾

For Plotinus, the soul cannot be the mere passive recipient of sense-data from the phenomenal world, because the soul itself by its origin and nature partakes of the higher reality of the intellectual realm. Consequently when it descends, as it does in the case of the human soul, into the less real, phenomenal world, it operates there as a power, and all its faculties, but especially the related faculties of perception and memory, are acts of power or strength rather than passive receptions. Plotinus does not reject Aristotle's contention that the soul thinks and remembers by means of images, but for him the soul's possession and manipulation of these images is by virtue of power and activity rather than passivity. Plotinus thus transmits Aristotle's emphasis on the importance of the image to thought and memory, whilst at the same time developing Plato's emphasis on the memory as a potential means of access to divine truth. He further enhances the status of memory by granting it the dignity of an inherent power. This is made clear in the solution to the twin problems of perception and

memory which Plotinus offers after the rejection of Aristotle's solution quoted above:

That the Soul, or mind, having taken no imprint, yet achieves perception of what it in no way contains need not surprise us; or rather, surprising though it is, we cannot refuse to believe in this remarkable power.

The Soul is in its essential nature the Reason-Principle of all things, it is ultimate among Intellectual Beings, and the ultimate Reason-Principle of the Beings of the Intellectual Realm and it is the primal Reason-Principle of the entire realm of sense.

Thus it has dealings with both orders - benefited and quickened by the one, but by the other beguiled, falling before resemblances, and so led downwards as under a spell. Poised midway, it is aware of both spheres.

Of the intellectual it is said to have intuition by memory upon approach, for it knows them by a certain natural identity with them; its knowledge is not attained by besetting them, so to speak, but by in a definite degree possessing them; they are its natural vision; they are itself in a more radiant mode, and it rises from its duller pitch to that greater brilliance in a sort of awakening, a progress from its latency to its Act.

To the sense-order, it stands in a similar nearness, and to such things it gives a radiance out of its own store, and, as it were, elaborates them towards visibility; the power is always ripe and, so to say, in travail towards them, so that, whenever it puts out its strength in the direction of what has once been present in it, it

sees that object as present still; and the more intent its effort the more durable is the presence. This is why, it is agreed, children are better at remembering; the things presented to them are not constantly withdrawn but remain in sight; in their case the attention is still limited and not scattered: those whose faculty and mental activity are busied on a multitude of subjects pass quickly over all, lingering on none. (*Enneads*, pp. 339-340.)

It is clear that Plotinus sees that the memory of truths in the intellectual realm constitutes part of a religious experience whereby the soul is gradually enlightened as to its own divine origin. Thus he sees this exercise of memory as an act of 'possessing', 'arising', 'awakening' a discovery of one's own true being 'in a more radiant mode'. By contrast, memory of things in the world of perceptions is an act and experience of an altogether lower order, but nevertheless the soul brings to it a power whose source is in a higher realm. Both perception and memory of things in this world are seen as deliberate and, as it were, creative acts; the soul 'gives radiance', 'elaborates', 'travails towards', 'puts out its strength', towards the objects of its memory, and is able, in a way strangely reminiscent of the Hebrew understanding of memory, to 'see the object as present still'. It is also interesting to note his emphasis on concentration and attention through memory, as opposed to the mere scattering of experience, an approach which was very important for Donne. Plotinus goes on in this passage to allude to the practice of training the mind in arts of memory, as supporting his view of memory as a strength or power which can be developed, and which in turn strengthens the whole mind: 'The very fact that we train ourselves to remember shows that what we get by the process is a strengthening of the mind.' (*Enneads*, p.340.) He then briefly summarises his view in the words: 'Sensation and memory then are not passivity but power.' (*Enneads*, p.341.)

Because memory is for Plotinus such an essential power of the soul, he has many incidental remarks to make upon it throughout the *Enneads*, especially in the two-part treatise on problems of the soul which precedes the treatise on sensation and memory. Some of these remarks, such as his speculations on the degree and nature of the memory exercised by the sun, the stars and other heavenly bodies, were not destined to have a lasting influence on the shape of Christian thought; other comments, however, in so far as they emphasised the role memory had to play in the direction and ultimate destiny of the soul, were more influential. The tendency of all these passages is to emphasise the role of memory as a medium of direct or intuitive knowledge in which the soul can become virtually identified with that which it chooses to remember. The element of choice then becomes crucial and we then get the interplay of memory and will with which Augustine is so concerned. The other feature of Plotinus's thought which is also central in Augustine is the idea that there is a choice open to the soul between greater and lesser goods, represented for Plotinus by the intellectual realm and the realm of the senses, and that there are opposite processes of degeneration (whereby the soul turns away from the supreme good towards itself, and falls from a love of a false image of itself into captivity with the world of sense in which it loses rather than gains true self knowledge) and of regeneration (whereby the soul can reverse the process, turning from the world of sense data to itself, and then from itself back to the intellectual realm where paradoxically, by having abandoned self-contemplation, it regains true knowledge of itself).

In Plotinus's system, of course, in which the soul originates in the intellectual realm and can undergo these processes in either direction, acts of memory can be either destructive or redemptive. For the soul which has already reascended to blissful participation in the

intellectual realm, the exercise of memory, even memory of itself, is a retrograde step, which leads it to fall into self-consciousness and so back into the inferior realm of sense. On the other hand, for the soul which has not yet reascended, the memory of truth in the intellectual realm will change its direction and draw it back to the higher reality. It is the soul's potential for movement between these two regions which gives memory its double edge. A short passage from the treatise on the problems of the soul may serve to illustrate this point. Plotinus begins by describing the soul in its state of blissful union with the intellectual principle once it has fully entered the intellectual realm:

When it is in that region it must of necessity enter into oneness with the Intellectual-Principle by the sheer fact of its self-orientation, for by that intention all interval ^{is} disappears, the Soul advances and is taken into unison, and in that association becomes one with the Intellectual-Principle - but not to its own destruction: the two are one, and two...for it has become one simultaneous existence with the Supreme. (*Enneads*, pp.289-290.)

Unfortunately this happy state of affairs is not destined to last as Plotinus proceeds to explain:

But it leaves that conjunction; it cannot suffer that unity; it falls in love with its own powers and possessions, and desires to stand apart; it leans outward, so to speak: then, it appears to acquire memory of itself.

In this self-memory a distinction is to be made: the memory dealing with the Intellectual Realm upbears the Soul, not to fall; the memory of things here bears it downwards to this universe; the intermediate memory dealing with the heavenly sphere holds it

there too; and, in all its memory, the thing it has in mind it is and grows to. (*Enneads*, p.290.)

This distinction in self-memory continues to hold good for Christian writers, though of course in a different way. They are obliged to abandon the doctrine of the pre-existence and transmigration of souls which lies behind the Plotinus passage, but they nevertheless maintain the idea of a memory of divine things upbearing the soul and prompting it towards heaven. Augustine, as we shall see, made this possible by his notion of Christ as the inner master reminding the soul of heavenly realities which he contains as *Logos*. Plotinus's second type of self-memory, that which bears the soul downwards, becomes in christianised neo-Platonism, not the memory after death of the phenomenal world, as it is for Plotinus, but the memory in this life of sins and sinful affections which prevent the soul from turning to God. A deep problem for Christian psychology therefore was how to engage with these memories of sin in such a way as to use them as a means of assistance to the soul in its journey to God, rather than an impediment. As we shall see, it is to the solution of this problem that many of the sermons of Andrewes and Donne are addressed.

C) The Theological Background

Clearly many theologians had dealt with the question of memory by the time Andrewes and Donne came to preach. I will deal here only with Augustine and Aquinas, whom I consider to have been the two most influential, and whose thought continues the diverse developments set in motion by Plato and Aristotle.

i) St Augustine

With St Augustine we come to the single most important influence on the thought-world of Andrewes and Donne where the subject of memory is concerned. It was Augustine who created the fusion of those biblical and philosophical influences (especially those of Plato and Plotinus, the latter of whom Augustine believed to have been directly illuminated by God) which we have been discussing, and which was to constitute the basis of all subsequent informed Christian thought about memory.⁽²⁰⁾ For almost all subsequent writers, reference to the works of Augustine becomes almost obligatory before dealing with the subject of memory. His influence with regard to thought on memory rests on three great achievements. The first was to detach Platonic reminiscence from its original background of psychic pre-existence and transmigration, and to restate it in terms acceptable to Christian orthodoxy. The second was to provide in the *Confessions* a *locus classicus* for the celebration and exploration of the awesome powers and extent of memory, together with a worked example of how the memory even of sin can become the road to God.⁽²¹⁾ The third was to give memory an exalted role as corresponding to one of the three persons of the Godhead in that image of the Trinity in which all human souls are made.

Platonism had been for Augustine a liberating intellectual and religious experience which freed him from the toils of Manicheism and prepared the ground for his conversion to Christianity. What he found most appealing and saw as essential in the doctrine of reminiscence was the notion that truth has an objective existence independent of the human mind, which does not make truth, but rather finds or discovers it. Augustine developed the theory that the phenomenon of discovering that we already seem to know the truth for which we search, and that there is knowledge of perfect forms within us, with which we compare

and so recognise exterior forms, was not - as Plato had mistakenly thought - evidence for recollection of prenatal knowledge of truth, but was rather the experience of turning to Truth itself, God abiding in the soul in one mode of his omnipresence, as an inner master who teaches and confirms the soul in its quest for truth. And it is God who is the source of agreement about fundamental truths between diverse individual minds. This doctrine is developed in a number of early works but most particularly in *De Magistro*.⁽²²⁾ The striking thing is that although this doctrine has obviated the need for a belief in pre-existence, Augustine continues to refer to the process of inner learning as remembering or reminiscence. Etienne Gilson in his discussion of the Augustinian doctrine of the inner master points to the significance of this transformation of the Platonic doctrine:

The Platonic recollection of the past gives way to that Augustinian memory of the present whose role becomes more and more important...In Augustinism, thought, (*cogitatio*) is merely the movement by which the soul gathers, assembles and collects all the hidden knowledge it possesses and has not yet discovered, in order to be able to fix its gaze upon it. Really therefore, thinking, learning, and remembering are all one to the soul. (Gilson, p.75.)

It is interesting to note that both Andrewes and Donne (and after them Eliot) take up and develop this sense of *cogitatio* as rediscovering what has been known and gathering what has been scattered.

What Augustine and his followers understand by memory, then, includes within it not only specific memories of the past, but also the whole of what we would call consciousness, together with what we would call the unconscious, and beyond that, as Augustine indicates in his mystical developments of the use of memory, a special and unsearchably deep

memory which corresponds to the presence of God himself in the soul, or, as Augustine often prefers to put it, the soul's presence in God, in whom we live and move and have our being. As Etienne Gilson has it:

Augustine is led to extend memory beyond the limits of psychology to metaphysics...we find God in Himself only if we pass through what is most profound in ourselves and we must allow a sort of metaphysical background to the soul, a retreat more secret than the others, which would be in some way the very abode of God... To remember God therefore means not to apprehend him as an image of the past, but to be attentive to His continuous presence: '*Domini autem Dei sui reminiscitur. Ille quippe semper est...*' ('and it remembers the Lord its God. For He always is...'.(Gilson, p.103.)

The exercise of memory for Augustine leads not just to a renewed awareness, in the present, of the past, but to a deeper consciousness of the present moment, of our own true nature, and ultimately, of God himself. For stored in the memory is the image of our own soul as it was created by God in his own image, which calls to us. By hearing that call and seeking in memory the true image of our soul, we find there in the profoundest part of ourselves the sign which beckons us beyond the temporal mode of consciousness altogether, into the eternal contemplation of the God who is beyond every memory, and the source of every memory, and whose contemplation is the soul's fulfilment and delight.

The *Confessions* was the widely read *locus classicus* for the sense of awe and wonder which memory arouses. Even operating at its lowest levels, Augustine treats it as one of the great mysteries of the soul, an approach which was to have a lasting influence, and it is perhaps worth recalling some of the famous passages from the *Confessions*

which help to form the background to the serious attention preachers like Donne and Andrewes paid to memory.

Great is this power of memory, exceeding great, O my God, a vast unlimited inner chamber. Who has plumbed its depths? Yet this is a power of my mind and it belongs to my nature; I myself do not grasp all that I am. Is then the mind too narrow to hold itself, so that the questions arise: where is this thing which belongs to it and it cannot grasp? Would it be outside it and not in it? How then does it not grasp it? A mighty wonder rises before me and on this point astonishment seizes me. (*Confessions*, p.216.)

Great is the power of memory; its deep and boundless multiplicity is something fearful, O my God! And this is the mind and I am this myself. What then am I O my God? what is my nature? A life of many aspects and many ways, strikingly immeasurable. (*Confessions*, pp.223-24.)

See how much I have travelled about in the spaciousness of my memory while looking for thee, O Lord, and I have not found thee outside it...therefore from the time that I learned about thee thou hast dwelt in my memory, and there do I find thee when I remember thee and delight in thee...Where dost thou dwell in my memory O Lord; where dost thou dwell there? What resting place hast thou fashioned for thyself; what sanctuary hast thou built for thyself?...When I recalled thee to mind I went above those parts of it which the beasts also possess, for I did not find thee there among the images of bodily things, so I came to the parts of it in which I keep the affections of my mind, but I did not find thee there. So I entered into the seat of my very mind, and there is one for it in my memory, since the mind also remembers itself, and

thou wert not there. Because, just as thou art not a bodily image, nor the feeling of a living being...so thou art not the mind itself. For thou art the Lord God of the mind...And why do I look for the place in my memory where thou dost dwell, as if there really were places in it? What is certain is that thou dwellest in it. (*Confessions*, pp.230-31.)

This last passage illustrates both the metaphor of immensity which so frequently crops up in Augustine's considerations of memory, and the sense in which there is a qualitative grading or hierarchy of its contents, an interior reproduction as it were of the chain of being which leads upwards towards the mystery of the Godhead. So it is possible to proceed by successive acts of memory, from a memory of things, through a memory of sensations, to a knowledge of oneself and an intuitive and joyful grasp of God. When we come to examine our preachers in detail we will see that they are concerned not only with the uses in our spiritual journey to which we can put the memory of mundane things, our own past experiences, for example and our shared history, but also with the memory of thoughts and affections, and finally with the memory of God himself, both in the sense of the recollection of past experience and knowledge of God, and in the sense of the rediscovery now of his continuing presence with us. What they add further to this picture of the use of memory, which Augustine does not mention in any isolated passage on memory, although it is a feature of his thought overall, is the idea that God is present as *pattern* and *purpose* in individual memories not apparently concerned with God at all; even and especially in the memory of sin. It is possible, therefore, in prayer and meditation for the soul to collaborate with God, and to redeem the time, by revisiting those memories in the light of his loving and consuming presence, and allowing them to turn us towards him. In this way, even the memory of passions and actions which have

obscured our self-knowledge and alienated us from God can become, by divine grace, a means to self knowledge and union with God.

The picture of memory inherited from the writings of Augustine was not of one faculty amongst many distinct faculties of the soul, but of something far more all-encompassing and mysterious. Augustine, as is well known, spoke of the soul as possessing three parts: *memoria*, *intelligentia*, *voluntas*: memory, understanding, and will. So even assuming that Augustine was thinking in terms of the later faculty-based psychology expounded by Aquinas under the influence of Aristotle, we would see that by making memory one of only three distinct faculties in the soul, Augustine was attributing a great deal of importance and power to it. But in fact Augustine's division of the soul is not so straightforward, and when we understand it properly we perceive that memory is even more important for him than we might at first have realised. His tripartite division is most clearly expounded in his book *De Trinitate* in which he builds up an elaborate comparison between the trinity of persons in the Godhead and the trinity of memory, understanding and will in the soul. Now, the whole point of the comparison is that just as in the divine Trinity the diversity of functions and distinction of the persons does not entail a division of substance or nature, for each person is entirely God and not a diminished or divided part of God, so with memory, understanding and will, the whole soul is memory, the whole soul is will, the whole soul is intelligence, or to put it another way, these are the three aspects or categories under which it is proper to consider the whole soul:

Since then these three, memory, understanding, will, are not three lives, but one life; nor three minds but one mind, it follows certainly that neither are they three substances, but one substance.⁽²³⁾

Augustine's thought had a profound influence on both Andrewes and Donne, but Donne, as we shall see, was especially fond of referring to this concept of our possessing within ourselves as it were a trinity from the Trinity.

ii) St Thomas Aquinas

Whereas Augustine was concerned to create a synthesis between Platonic philosophical notions and revealed truth in Scripture, Aquinas attempted to synthesise revealed truth with the philosophy of Aristotle. Aquinas wrote a commentary on the *De Memoria*⁽²⁴⁾, and he bases his primary notions about memory on Aristotle's teaching. First he considers memory as a capacity, to be part of the sensitive soul common to men and animals, and to depend ultimately on images derived from sense experience which are impressed as on wax. Like Aristotle, however, he feels that deliberate, as opposed to automatic, acts of memory (that is to say reminiscence) are unique to Man. When he considers memory as one of the powers of the sensitive soul (the common sense, the *imagination, instinct, and memory*) which Man shares with the animals, Aquinas goes further than Aristotle and emphasises the dignity and importance of memory, first by distinguishing it positively from imagination as being 'a treasure-store of intentions' which partake of the dignity of the will, whereas the imagination is merely the storehouse of neutral images;⁽²⁵⁾ secondly, by making it the highest of those two powers and so, in Man, able to participate in and be ennobled by the soul's activities on the level above that of the sensitive soul, that is to say the rational or intellectual soul. Memory is in the position here of mediator between sensitive powers and rational powers:

Cogitation and memory reach so high in man through their similarity to and connection with abstract reason, by a kind of overflow, not through anything belonging to the sense-soul as such. So they are not new powers but the same powers, more perfect than in other animals. (*Summa 11*, p.143.)

This connection of memory with cogitation is reminiscent of Augustine, and in dealing with the question of whether memory is also in the intellectual part of the soul as well as the sensitive part, Aquinas naturally cites the passage of *De Trinitate* which we have already discussed: 'Augustine says that memory, understanding and will are one mind'. (*Summa 11*, p.167.)

In spite of this citation Aquinas does not follow Augustine in treating memory, understanding, and will as all of one substance in the soul corresponding with the undivided substance of the Trinity, because this notion does not fit in with Aristotle's faculty-based analysis of the soul which he is following. He does however agree that memory and understanding are intricately linked, and that there is no understanding without memory, at least in this life. In doing this he assigns to memory some of the importance which Aristotle had reserved solely for the understanding:

It is essential to the memory to be a treasure-store or place of conservation for thoughts. Yet this Aristotle assigns to the understanding, as we have seen. So in the intellectual part memory is not a power distinct from the understanding. (*Summa 11*, p.171.)

His conclusion is particularly interesting from the standpoint of cultivated habits of memory which we will be considering when we look at the art of memory:

Understanding originates from memory in the way that an act proceeds from a habit. In this sense then they are equal, but not in the way that one power is equal to another. (*Summa* 11, p.173.)

There is, then, in Aquinas's discussion, a hierarchical series of connections rising from sense-experience, through imagination, to memory, motivation and understanding. Memory specifically contains both understood truths, and motivations or intentions about these truths, but it contains these ultimately by means of images derived from sense-experience.

Aquinas's interest in memory, however, extended beyond its role as a constituent power of the human soul. He was also deeply interested in the role it had to play in Man's moral life, specifically in the exercise of the virtue of prudence. As one of the cardinal virtues in Aquinas's ethical system, prudence plays a key role in almost every moral problem or act, and would not, even in a reformed church such as the English Church of Andrewes and Donne, which had rejected many other aspects of Thomas's teaching, have been so easily dismissed as a small, particular, or grudging virtue as it might be now. As Gilby stresses in his introduction to that part of the *Summa*:

He now turns to an *ex professo* study of the ruling virtue in this field, namely prudence. This is better called practical wisdom if prudence has a mean and grudging ring, or is well translated as 'holy discernment, wit, and decisiveness', in the context of *sacra doctrina*. It is at once a virtue of mind and a virtue of character. True to his intellectualism, Thomas places it first among the moral virtues, which in practice it binds together. (*Summa* 36, p.xiv.)

Aquinas divides prudence into eight components, of which the first is memory. In including memory as a part of prudence he believed himself to be following Cicero, who was supposed to be the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a rhetorical treatise on the art of memory, and an extremely influential work, with which we shall be dealing more fully in Chapter Two. The reasons he gives for making memory a part of prudence apart from 'Tullius's' example and authority are: first, that because prudence has so many particular and contingent cases to deal with it must call to its aid the more general experience which enables it to discern norms and patterns, and this experience is drawn from the past through the exercise of memory, whereby we match like with like. Thus he says:

Aristotle remarks that like should be concluded from like; accordingly principles should be proportionate to the conclusions we draw. Now to know what is true in the majority of cases we must be empirical; Aristotle says that intellectual virtue is produced and developed by time and experience. Experience is stocked with memories, as noted in the metaphysics, consequently recalling many facts is required for prudence. Accordingly memory is rightly counted an element in prudence. (*Summa* 36, pp.61 and 63.)

This element of using memory to draw like from like was central to Andrewes's approach to the subject, and as we shall see, his discussion of the same issue is strikingly similar to this passage.⁽²⁶⁾

Aquinas's second reason for including memory as part of prudence depends on the notion of perfecting it by means of method or art, and is again developed from notions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*:

The aptitude for prudence is from nature, yet its perfection is from practice, or from grace. And so Cicero observes that memory is not developed by nature alone but owes much to art and diligence. (*Summa* 36, p.63.)

The essential point here is that Aquinas shows that we can cultivate and practise the right use of our memories as part of the deliberate exercise of a moral virtue, as well as merely practising the art of memory as a rhetorical technique. He then goes on to give his summary and contribution to the classical art of memory as found in the *Ad Herennium*, in the course of which he introduces a new and influential development as a result of a happy misreading, or more likely, and perhaps ironically, misremembering of the original text. Pseudo-Cicero writes that the mnemonic images used in his art of memory should be regarded in isolation, away from the crowding of other figures which confuse or weaken the impress of the image on the memory, whereas solitude keeps their outlines sharp: '*solitudo conservat integras simulacrorum figuras*.'⁽²⁷⁾ Aquinas, however, quotes this as '*sollicitudo conservat ^{integras} simulacrorum figuras*' (*Summa* 36, p.62.), replacing the practical *solitude* with the devotional *sollicitude*. This leads him to advise that we should cleave with affection to the things we wish to remember. Coupled with his emphasis which we have already noted, that the memory is the treasure-house of *intentions*, we can see that he is opening the way to using memory as a means of organising and strengthening the inclination of the will to practice virtue or to desist from vice. The nature and ramifications of this change in the purpose of the art of memory are very fully discussed in Chapter Three of Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory*,⁽²⁸⁾ and will be further analysed in Chapter Two of this thesis. What concerns us here is that memory is given a place at the heart of Man's moral, as well as his religious life, and that the emphasis placed on it is one of deliberation and exercise.

Summary

There are, then, three broad streams of thought about memory which form the background for Andrewes's and Donne's own contribution; the biblical revelation, which shows memory to be an essential way into the presence of God, both through individual exercise and devotion and through the collective act of remembrance which forms the central sacrament of the Church; the philosophical tradition, which shows the operation of memory to be an essential part of Man's self-knowledge and his knowledge of the world, and which in Plato and Plotinus further emphasises the role of memory as a medium of religious truth; and finally, the theological tradition, which seeks a synthesis of revelation and philosophy, and which conserves and further emphasises the importance of memory in both the religious and the moral life of Man. In the next chapter we shall turn from speculation about the nature of memory itself to a study of the arts and traditions whereby the natural memory was organised and trained.

Notes

(1) G. Henton Davies, 'Memorial, Memory' in *The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by G.A. Buttrick, 4 volumes, Abingdon Press, New York, 1962, Volume III, p.345.

(2) Brevard Childs, 'Memory and Tradition in Israel', *Studies in Biblical Theology* 37, London, 1962, pp.11-15.

(3) Biblical quotations from the Revised Standard Version (Copyright 1952, 1957 and 1971, by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America) unless otherwise stated.

(4) For a full exposition of the mythopoeic account of primitive psychology see Owen Barfield, *Poetic Diction: a Study in Meaning*, London, 1928.

(5) Quoted in Childs, op. cit., p.17.

- (6) *The Sermons of John Donne*, edited by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 volumes, University of California Press, 1952-63, Volume VII p.51. Subsequent references to this edition of Donne's sermons, either in the text or in notes, will be to *Sermons*, followed by volume and page reference.
- (7) See below, Chapter Three, pp. 156 and 162-70.
- (8) O. Michel, 'μνήσκοντα' in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, edited by Gerhard Kittel, 10 volumes, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1967, Vol. IV, pp.675-683, especially p.677.
- (9) O. Michel, p.677.
- (10) G. Henton Davies, p.344.
- (11) See below, Chapter Four, p.205.
- (12) See below, Chapter Four, p.229.
- (13) St Augustine, *Christian Instruction*, translated by John J. Garigan in *The Fathers of the Church; a New Translation*, Volume 2, 2nd edition, Washington, 1950, pp.112-14.
- (14) *The Dialogues of Plato*, translated by B. Jowett, 4 volumes, 4th edition, London, 1953. Volume 1, pp.249-301. Further references to this edition, either in the text or in notes, will be to *Dialogues*, followed by volume and page reference.
- (15) See below, pp.39-40.
- (16) See Richard Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory*, London, 1972, p.35.
- (17) Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, translated with interpretative summaries by Richard Sorabji in *Aristotle on Memory*, London, 1972. Further references to this edition, either in the text or in notes, will be to *De Memoria*, followed by a page number.
- (18) *The Ethics of Aristotle - Nichomachean Ethics*, translated by J.A.K. Thomson, Penguin Classics revised edition, London, 1976, p.295.
- (19) Plotinus, *The Enneads*, translated by Stephen MacKenna, fourth edition, London, 1969, p.338. Further references to this edition, either in the text or in notes, will be to *Enneads*, followed by a page number.
- (20) See Etienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, translated by L.E.M. Lynch, London, 1961, p.106, for a full discussion of Plotinus's influence on Augustine. Further references to this edition of Gilson's great summary and synthesis of Augustine, in the text or in notes, will be to Gilson, followed by a page number.
- (21) St Augustine, *Confessions*, translated by R.S. Pine-Coffin, Penguin Classics, London, 1961. Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to *Confessions*, followed by a page number.
- (22) For a summary and discussion of this doctrine of the inner master in *De Magistro*, see Part One, Chapter Five, of Gilson.
- (23) *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, a New Translation*, edited by the Revd Marcus Dods, 15 volumes, Edinburgh, 1887, Vol. VII, p.259. The original text is to be found in *De Trinitate*, Book 10, Chapter XI,

Section 18, in *Patrologia Latina*, Paris, 1845, Vol. XLII, Column 983 (henceforward referred to, in the text or in notes, as 'PL'.)

(24) St Thomas Aquinas, *In Aristoteleis Libros de Sensu et Sensato, de Memoria et Reminiscentia Commentarium*, edited by R.M. Spiazzi, Turin-Rome, 1949.

(25) St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Latin Text and English Translation*, edited by Thomas Gilby O.P., 60 volumes, London and New York, 1964, Volume 11, p.139. Further references to this text, either in the text or in notes, will be to *Summa*, followed by volume and page number.

(26) See below, Chapter Three, pp.164-66.

(27) *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, translated by H. Caplan, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1954, p.210. See also discussion of this text in Chapter Two, pp. 57 ff.

(28) Frances A.Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Ark edition, London, 1984. Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to Yates, followed by a page number.

Chapter Two. Training the Memory

In addition to the rich and varied tradition of spiritual and philosophical reflection on the role of memory in the life of Man, Andrewes and Donne also inherited a strong and vigorous tradition in the training and development of an individual's powers and command of memory.

The pre-eminence of memory-training and development in education and intellectual life had its roots in classical culture, and in particular in the development of schools of rhetoric. The practical advantages of having a highly retentive and systematically trained memory in an age before the advent of printing and cheap paper need hardly be emphasised, but it should be added that well into the age of printing this fundamentally pre-literate emphasis on memory continued to dominate schooling; indeed, it underwent a resurgence in popularity and importance as the humanist curriculum, with its emphasis on the wisdom of antiquity and its almost slavish devotion to Cicero, worked its way into the grammar schools and universities. Thus, by one of the many ironies of educational history, it was just when the phenomenal powers of memory made possible by rigorous rhetorical training were being rendered obsolete by advances in technology that they experienced a great resurgence and re-emphasis in schools.

A) Classical Rhetoric and the Training of Memory

The art of rhetoric dominated the educational curricula of both Greek and Roman culture, not least because public speaking and the arts of

persuasion and argument represented the key to political power and influence as well as being essential for any career in law or public service. It is vital to remember that both in its original classical period, in its continued and modified forms throughout the Middle Ages, and in its great and perhaps obsessive revival during the Renaissance, the study and cultivation of rhetoric had lavished on it all the time, attention, ingenuity, invention and status which are now given over to science and technology. Developments and achievements were therefore made possible which seem almost as incredible to us in a post-rhetorical age as our own scientific achievements would have seemed incredible in a pre-scientific age.

Rhetoric was traditionally divided into five parts: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*. Each of these became a developed science with its own specialist techniques and methods. A great deal of work has been done to show the relevance of methods and traditions both of *inventio* and *dispositio*, because they have an obvious and clearly discernible influence on the style, structure, and content of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, and there is plenty of evidence for a highly developed consciousness of rhetoric and rhetorical device on the part of readers as well as writers.⁽¹⁾ *Memoria* has been ignored, partly because of an unwarrantable assumption that mere technique in memorising an oration would have little influence on literary-critical debate about its composition and content. My contention is that in both classical and Renaissance rhetoric, and especially as it was adapted to the task of preaching in the *artes concionande*, *memoria* exercises considerable influence on both content and style, and is closely linked with both *inventio* and *dispositio*. *Memoria* becomes especially dominant in the art of sermon-writing because sermons not only have to be delivered *memoriter* by the preacher, but, unlike the legal speeches for which classical rhetorical techniques were originally developed, sermons

were intended to be remembered substantially, if not verbatim, for long periods by a mixed group of listeners.

Of what then did the science of *memoria* consist? Naturally there is plenty of good advice about the straightforward memorisation of texts of the sort any student might be given now. Learning small amounts regularly, learning cumulatively, always using the same copy of the text, and so forth. But whereas modern advice on the art of memorising may suggest the occasional isolated mnemonic, based on previously remembered sequence with meaning extrinsic to the text, such as 'Every Good Boy Deserves Favour', for the notes on the musical clef, or mnemonics based on shape and association such as remembering that the Greek letter *delta* looks like the delta at the mouth of a river, these little examples of mnemotechnics are never brought together into any kind of unified or co-ordinated system. This is not the case with the classical arts and their derivatives. The classical rhetoric teachers set out a deliberate and systematic 'art of memory'. This 'art' is the subject of a major study by Frances Yates , *The Art of Memory*.⁽²⁾

Yates's study is excellent where it is concerned with expounding classical technique and some of its medieval development. Her main concern, however, is to suggest the influence of highly developed occult and mystical elaborations of the art of memory on renaissance neo-Platonism, and their combined influence on the visual arts and the theatre. I think this obsessive interest in the occult and mystical side of the art, whilst not detracting from the earlier part of the study, leads her, first to overemphasise the importance of occult philosophy, and secondly to ignore the most obvious element of Elizabethan life where memory and memory technique would have direct relevance, that is to say, the whole area of pulpit oratory, and sermon hearing and

reporting. One of the reasons for writing this thesis is to redress that balance, by exploring the possible influence of arts of memory in this area. Before we can proceed, however, it is important to make a brief summary of the art of memory in its classical form.

i) The Classical Art of Memory.

The three most important sources for the classical art of memory as it was developed in the Roman world are Cicero's *De Oratore*, the anonymous *Ad Herennium*, which was attributed to Cicero and so passed into the common cultural stream of medieval and renaissance life backed by his immense authority, and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*. In all three works the art of memory is set out as essentially a system of places and images (*loci* and *imagines*). The idea was that the orator should, as part of his early training, commit to his memory a number of well-known and familiar sequences of places, such as the sequence of features in a room, of rooms in a house, or of buildings in a street. When these have been thoroughly learnt, so that at any time the student can, in his imagination, take himself on an ordered tour through the sequence starting at either end, then he sets about building up a vocabulary of striking symbolic images which will stand for and remind him of the points, or in more elaborate systems, the very words he wishes to remember. Whilst composing or memorising a speech he places the images in the order he wishes to remember them along his memorised sequence of places. Then, when he wishes to recall the speech, he makes his familiar journey through his interior place sequence, and each image reminds him in turn of what he wishes to say next.

Even in Cicero's day the art of memory already had a long history of development and improvement behind it. Its invention was attributed in

legend to the Greek poet Simonides of Ceos. The story goes that he survived a disaster when he was called out of a banquet hall just before the roof caved in, killing and disfiguring all those who remained within. When relatives arrived they could not identify their dead because they had been so badly crushed, but Simonides was able to identify them because he remembered the places at which they had been sitting at table. Simonides realised that his memory had been aided by the ordered sequence of places, and saw that an ordered sequence was the key to the training and development of memory. Cicero retells the story in the memory section of *De Oratore*, and sums it up thus:

He [Simonides] inferred that persons desiring to train this faculty [of memory] must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places, so that the order of the places will preserve the order of the things, and the images of the things will denote the things themselves, and we shall employ the places and images respectively as a wax writing tablet and the things written on it. (Quoted in Yates, p.2.)

How was this art worked out in practice? It is of course very difficult to tell, because it was by its very nature an interior art and we have better records of the product than of the process. The *Ad Herennium* does however give some more specific instructions about the formation of places and images, which give us some insight about how the system was put into effect. These are well summarised in Chapter One of *The Art of Memory*. Briefly, the *Ad Herennium* gives a set of rules for places (*loci*), and then of rules for images (*imagines*), and divides the kind of memory required into memory for things (*res*), and memory for words (*verba*). The rules for places emphasise the importance of clarity

and order, since the same *loci* are used over and over again for remembering different sets of images:

The formation of the *loci* is of the greatest importance for the same set of *loci* can be used again and again for remembering different material. The images we have placed on them for remembering one set of things fade and are effaced when we make no further use of them. But the *loci* remain in the memory and can be used again by placing another set of images for another set of material. The *loci* are like the wax tablets which remain when what is written on them has been effaced and are ready to be written on again. (Yates, p.7.)

The *loci* ought to be distinguished one from another so that we can remember where we are in a sequence:

We may for example mark the fifth *locus* with a golden hand, and place in the tenth the image of some acquaintance whose name is Decimus. We can then go on to station other marks on each succeeding fifth *locus*. (Yates, p.7)

Further rules for the formation of *loci* in the *Ad Herennium* are that they should be chosen from quiet or unfrequented buildings, that they should be different from one another, should be of moderate size, and that they should be neither too brightly nor too dimly lit. If the student wishes he can construct imaginary *loci* as well as remembering those he has encountered in the world, 'for thought can embrace any region whatsoever and in it construct the setting of some locus'. (Quoted in Yates, p.8.) As Yates herself comments, what is striking here, and indeed all the way through this text, is the extraordinary visual clarity and precision which is implied in these instructions. Such

clarity of inner image-making is still to be met with today,⁽³⁾ but seems to have been much more common in earlier societies, presumably because it was an ability which was valued and trained. Even up into the seventeenth century, as we shall see, not only arts of memory but also devotional manuals such as the *Spiritual Exercises*, all seem to assume a much more precise and developed inner imaging than is common today.⁽⁴⁾

With what sort of images might these places be stocked? Obviously the choice of image might be a matter of private mnemonic association for the individual orator, but the *Ad Herennium* lays down some general principles for their formation which were to have lasting influence:

Now nature herself teaches us what we should do. We see in everyday life things that are petty, ordinary, and banal, we generally fail to remember them, because the mind is not being stirred by anything novel or marvellous. But if we see or hear something exceptionally base, dishonourable, unusual, great, unbelievable or ridiculous, that we are likely to remember for a long time...We ought then to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in memory. And we shall do so, if we establish similitudes as striking as possible; if we set up images that are not many or vague but active (*imagines agentes*); if we assign to them exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we ornament some of them as with crowns or purple cloaks, so that the similitude may be more distinct to us; or if we somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood, or soiled with mud, or smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that too will ensure our remembering them more readily. (Quoted in Yates pp.9-10.)

Once again, a clear and accurate construction of the inner image is assumed here, and it is worth noting that human figures may be used and given symbolic or emotionally heightening accessories. Just how complex these images might become, and how many things each might be connected with in a memory system, is illustrated by an example given in the *Ad Herennium*, of a memory image for use in remembering the details for a legal case. Here it is, with Yates's commentary:

'The prosecutor has said that the defendant killed a man by poison, has charged that the motive of the crime was to gain an inheritance, and declared that there are many witnesses and accessories to the act.' We are forming a memory system about the whole case and we shall wish to put into our first memory *locus* an image to remind us of the accusation of our client. This is the image:

'We shall imagine the man in question as lying ill in bed, if we know him personally. If we do not know him, we shall yet take someone to be our invalid...and we shall place the defendant at the bed-side, holding in his right hand a cup, in his left tablets, and on the fourth finger a ram's testicles. In this way we can have in memory the man who was poisoned, the witnesses and the inheritance.' (Yates p.11)

There are a number of features worth noting here. One is the economy in the use of image and place. One image in one place is here being used as a mnemonic to hold several different but related points, in this example the leading features of the case in hand. Secondly the accessories given to the human figures serve the double purpose of being strikingly memorable, and of each representing symbolically a particular detail relating to the main point. Thus the cup stands for

the poisoning, the tablets, as representatives of legal documents, stand for the will and thus the inheritance, the rams testicles on the fourth finger stand by means of a word play on *testes* for the witnesses, as well as creating the element of the bizarre which renders the image especially memorable. This leads to the third thing worth noticing, which is that pun and word play are part of the technique for enhancing and fixing the memory image. There are, of course, still many things about this memory image which are strange and baffling, and it certainly baffled many later commentators, not least Yates herself. Why for example does the author specify a *ram's* testicles? It may be a purely private association, but one possibility is that the key controlling sequence for the author's run of memory places is the sequence of signs of the zodiac and the idea of the ram, the first of those signs, is introduced to remind us that this image belongs in the first memory place. Certainly, the sequence of signs of the zodiac was one of a number of well known sequences which was used to mark the order of memory places. Both Cicero and Quintilian mention a Greek practitioner of the art of memory, Metrodorus of Scepsis, who used the zodiac as the basis of his inner memory system.

The *Ad Herennium* makes a distinction between memory for things (*res*) (i.e. basic subject-matter) and memory for words (*verba*), that is, for the particular manner in which the matter is expressed, a distinction which is basic to rhetoric itself, and comes out in Cicero's definition of the five parts of rhetoric:

Invention is the excogitation of true things (*res*), or things similar to truth to render one's cause plausible; disposition is the arrangement in order of the things thus discovered; elocution is the accommodation of suitable words to the invented [things]; memory is the firm perception in the soul of the things and words;

pronunciation is the moderating of the voice and body to suit the dignity of the things and words. (Quoted in Yates, pp.8-9.)

The *Ad Herennium* suggests that one may use an art of memory to achieve *memoria rerum*, a memory of the main points discovered by *inventio* and their order as set out in *dispositio*, and the above example was a memory-image designed for this purpose; or one may be more ambitious and seek to construct a system for *memoria verborum*, but this will be far more difficult and will require many more places and images. The *Ad Herennium* gives examples of such images for words which are set out and explained in Yates. (pp.13-14.) The practical difficulties even for a well-trained memory used to operating such a system, of having a place and image for every word, seem almost insurmountable, a fact which both Cicero and the author of the *Ad Herennium* acknowledge. Both seem to suggest that memory for words should be used partly as a training which will enhance the power of memory for things, and also for use in conjunction with memory for things, perhaps to remind one of particular set-piece passages. Quintilian, dealing with the same issue, seems to envisage the idea of images which correspond to words not being used for every word, but in conjunction with ordinary memorisation to remind one of key words, say at the beginning of sentences, to start a chain of association by which the rest of the words in the sentence will be recovered, 'for what is slipping from memory is recovered by the admonition of a single word'. It is worth quoting his brief account of a place-image system, as it is in some ways the clearest and most apparently practicable to modern eyes, and will serve to complete this survey of the classical art as it is found in the rhetoric manuals:

Places are chosen and marked with the utmost possible variety, as a spacious house divided into a number of rooms. Everything of

note therein is diligently imprinted on the mind, in order that thought may be able to run through all the parts without let or hindrance. The first task is to ensure that there shall be no difficulty in running through these, for that memory must be most firmly fixed which helps another memory. Then what has been written down or thought of is noted by a sign to remind of it. This sign may be drawn from a whole 'thing', as navigation or warfare, or from some 'word'; for what is slipping from memory is recovered by the admonition of a single word. However let us suppose that the sign is drawn from navigation, as, for instance, an anchor; or from warfare, as, for example, a weapon. These signs are then arranged as follows. The first notion is placed as it were in the forecourt; the second let us say in the atrium; the remainder are placed in order all round the impluvium, and committed not only to bedrooms and parlours, but even to statues and the like. This done, when it is required to revive the memory, one begins from the first place to run through all, demanding what has been entrusted to them, of which one will be reminded by the image. Thus, however numerous are the particulars which it is required to remember, all are linked one to another as in a chorus nor can what follows wander from what has gone before to which it is joined, only the preliminary labour of learning being required.

What I have spoken of as being done in a house can also be done in public buildings, or on a long journey, or in going through a city, or with pictures. Or we can imagine such places for ourselves.

We require therefore places, either real or imaginary, and images or simulacrum which must be invented. Images are as words by which we note the things we have to learn, so that as Cicero says

'we use places as wax and images as letters'. (Quoted in Yates, pp.22-23.)

Quintilian goes on to doubt whether a memory system like this would be totally effective by itself, but used in conjunction with an ordinary process of memorisation he feels it might form a useful series of prompts. But to remember every word solely by means of the art would, he reckons, place too great a burden on the memory in the initial acquisition of places and images. Here modern readers are inclined to agree with him, but we must remember that he was venturing to disagree with the clear verdict of Cicero, who was for both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a far greater authority. Cicero specifically denies what would seem to a modern the natural objection, that the art of memory he sets out is a very difficult and cumbersome way of achieving results, and requires more rather than less memorisation:

Nor is it true as unskilled people assert that memory is crushed beneath a weight of images and even what might have been retained by nature unassisted is obscured: for I have myself met eminent people with almost divine powers of memory, Charmadas at Athens and Metrodorus of Scepsis in Asia, who is said to be still living, each of whom used to say that he wrote down what he wanted to remember in certain places in his possession by means of images just as if he were inscribing letters on wax. It follows that this practice cannot be used to draw out the memory if no memory has been given by nature, but it can undoubtedly summon it to come forth if it is hiding. (Quoted in Yates, p.19.)

The frequent metaphor of writing on wax tablets is one which can, I think, help us to understand how it was possible for people to use

such elaborate and artificial systems of inner mnemonics with fluency, when we would balk even at contemplating the task. We expect everybody in this country to be able to read and write, and we expect them to have mastered these arts when they are quite young. Yet if we pause to examine what is actually involved in terms of separate mental tasks, it is really a very complex and artificial process. Suppose we were to go to some absolutely pre-literate tribe, one with a strong tradition of oral poetry which is remembered by bards trained for the purpose, and suggest to them that we had invented a new and ready method by which this poetry could be remembered and preserved. First they are to invent and learn twenty-six random shapes which have no inherent connection with anything they see in the world around them. Then they are to learn a combination of these shapes for every separate word in their vocabulary. They can learn sounds associated with each shape and this will help in learning the shape combination for each word, but only if they are prepared to learn thousands and thousands of exceptions, as for example in words like rough and ruff, which have the same sound but different combinations of shapes, or through and though, which end with the same combination of shapes but have different sounds. Having first committed all this to memory, it only remains that they should transcribe what they wish to remember into the shape-patterns, and then when they wish to remember it look at the shape-patterns and go through the entire intellectual process in reverse. They might well object that this was a ludicrously complex way of remembering things, and that it was probably not possible to lay such a burden on the mind. It would be simpler, surely, to remember things straightforwardly as they had always done. And yet the process outlined above is in fact the process every child goes through who learns to read and write. It is first made possible, and then made fluent, because the human mind is capable of setting up what would be called, in computer terminology, 'sub-routines'. That is

to say, tasks which are at first acquired haltingly and with great labour can become fully automatic, and can be performed rapidly and many times over without requiring attention or concentration from the conscious mind at all. Training is precisely the process whereby those first stumbling labours of the conscious mind are gradually transformed into unconscious routine. This process which we see in learning to read and write, and again in learning a new language or a musical instrument, is equally applicable to the inner writing envisaged in the arts of memory. What begins as cumbersome, halting, and self-conscious, can become with practice, wide-ranging, rapid and fluent. Certainly the old education in rhetoric took the training, and so the enhancement, of memory with the same rigorous system and seriousness with which we take training in literacy or numeracy. This training to give people fluency in an art of memory, and particularly in the preservation of order through the ordered places, and the ability to start at any place and proceed in either direction, which is stressed in the *Ad Herennium*, accounts for some of the astonishing feats of memory which are recorded in classical times, and indeed right up into the seventeenth century. Yates gives two examples:

The elder Seneca, a teacher of rhetoric, could repeat two thousand names in the order in which they had been given; and when a class of two hundred students or more spoke each in turn a line of poetry, he could recite all the lines, in reverse order, beginning from the last one said and going right back to the first. Or we remember that Augustine, also trained as a teacher of rhetoric, tells of a friend called Simplicius who could recite Virgil backwards. (Yates, p.16.)

The classical art of memory, then, is an inseparable part of the art and study of rhetoric. It works by means of a remembered sequence of

places containing mnemonic images, and it presupposes, and indeed encourages, a habit of clear and precise interior visualisation so that there is within the mind the sense and possibility both of great space, with public buildings and houses, and of detailed figures, whether objects like anchors or swords, or human figures bearing specific objects about them. The three sources we have mentioned include buildings, both public and private, familiar journeys, the pages of a book, familiar paintings, and purely imaginary places amongst their suggestions for *loci*, and emblematic or symbolic objects like an anchor, and human figures alone and in groups, with the emphasis on the bizarre, the punning, the grotesque, and the beautiful amongst their suggestions for *imagines*. We have gone into some detail with these classical sources, for it is in them that the fundamental principles of the art of memory are laid down, and it is on those principles that all subsequent developments are based. In the next section we will briefly survey how some of these principles were taken up and modified in the developments of the art of memory into the age of Andrewes and Donne.

ii) The Development of the Art of Memory into the Sixteenth Century

The early Christian Fathers grew up in the age of classical rhetoric, and many were teachers of rhetoric and therefore familiar with the art of memory as part of that discipline. They were not concerned, of course, with teaching the art *per se*, but it informs and influences some of their basic assumptions and images. Augustine is a case in point. The great passages on memory in the *Confessions*, which we examined in Chapter One when we were dealing with the theology of memory, certainly suggest that Augustine possessed the rhetor's trained memory, and that the art once acquired was so pervasive as to determine and dominate one's image of one's own memory itself, and to

define its content in terms of the classic *loci* and *imagines*. When Augustine describes his memory in the *Confessions*, his metaphors of fields and palaces, his troops of images which can be interrogated to yield their meaning, all take on a new significance in the light of the art of memory:

The next stage is memory which is like a great field or a spacious palace, a storehouse for countless images of all kinds which are conveyed to it by the senses. In it are stored away all the thoughts by which we enlarge upon or diminish or modify in any way the perceptions at which we arrive through the senses and it also contains anything else that has been entrusted to it for safekeeping. (*Confessions*, p.214.)

Augustine is of course not formally describing an art of memory system, but the terms and images of the art influence his description of memory in general, especially with the continual and powerful metaphor of inner space, interior fields and buildings, which crops up again and again. As we shall see, when in a later development the art of memory became as much a devotional and meditative art as a practical, rhetorical one, this metaphor of inner space was to become very significant, and it is to this development of the art in the direction of the devotional and the moral life that we now turn.

The manner in which the art was transmitted into the Middle Ages was vitally to affect its development. The *Ad Herennium* was, of the three classical sources for the art, the one which gained widest circulation, partly on account of its having been misattributed to Cicero, the great 'Tullius' whose authority could never be gainsaid. The *Institutio* of Quintilian, and Cicero's own *De Oratore* did not have the same circulation and accessibility, yet they are the sources which set out

the classical art in its most straightforwardly practical and comprehensive terms. The *Ad Herennium*, taken by itself out of context, is a difficult text, and much development and modification of the art - particularly its development away from practical mnemonics towards devotion and mysticism - derives from well-meaning misreadings and misunderstandings of this basic text. The situation was further complicated by the fact that an earlier work of Cicero's, not on all five parts of rhetoric, but just on *inventio*, the *De Inventione*, did survive, and was bound-up and copied in conjunction with the *Ad Herennium*, so that they are always found in manuscripts together and discussed in conjunction with each other by later writers, always being referred to simply as Tully's first and second rhetoric. Now, in the *De Inventione* Cicero does deal with memory, not as part of the technical habit of rhetoric, but as part of the moral habit, or virtue, of prudence which is one of the subjects with which invention deals. He defines virtue as 'a habit of mind in harmony with reason and the order of nature' and goes on to define the virtue of prudence as follows:

Prudence is the knowledge of what is good, what is bad, and what is neither good nor bad. Its parts are memory, intelligence, foresight (*memoria, intelligentia, providentia*). Memory is the faculty by which the mind recalls what has happened. Intelligence is the faculty by which it ascertains what is. Foresight is the faculty by which it is seen that something is going to occur before it occurs. (Quoted in Yates, p.20.)

Because the *Ad Herennium* was seen as a continuation of this discussion of the role of memory in prudence, later commentators made the mistake of assuming that the art of memory set out in the *Ad Herennium* was intended not merely as an aide memoire for the rhetor, but rather as an aid to acquiring the virtue of prudence as a habit of

mind, so that the art of memory was transformed from the technique of rhetoric to become part of the technique of ethics and devotion. There was already a pressure in this direction, since, as we have seen in Chapter One, there was already a long tradition of seeing and using the memory as a central constituent of Man's moral and religious life. This shift of the art of memory from rhetoric to ethics was formalised, and given its greatest influence and impetus, in the scholastic reorganisation of knowledge, as we shall see,⁽⁵⁾ but as Yates has pointed out there are pre-scholastic treatises on memory which are already moving in this direction. (Yates, pp.57-61.) For example the *Rhetorica Novissima* of Boncompagno da Signa, a member of the Bolognese school of *dictamen*, who is ostensibly a teacher of the *ars dictaminis*, the art of letter writing, suggests using the art of memory in order to set one's mind effectively on the last things, on Paradise and Hell, and also in order to pursue virtues and eschew vices. There are accordingly sections 'On the Memory of Paradise' and 'On the Memory of the Infernal Regions', as well as a list of virtues and vices, to be committed to memory, which Boncompagno calls 'memorial notes which we may call directions or signacula, through which we may frequently direct ourselves in the paths of remembrance'. (Quoted in Yates, p.59.) Most interestingly, Boncompagno's treatise, which was probably uninfluenced by the 'first and second rhetoric', brings the art of memory concepts of place and image to bear on the reading and understanding of Scripture, and suggests that the Scriptures themselves are full of memory-signs, giving as an example the cock-crow which reminds Peter of his act of betrayal, and therefore brings him to his senses and allows him to repent. Although almost certainly not directly influenced by Boncompagno, Andrewes and Donne both stand in this tradition of finding and expounding memory-images in Scripture, and, as I hope to show, an understanding of the art of

memory tradition helps to illuminate their use of this technique in the sermons.⁽⁶⁾

The full significance of the shift of memory technique into the sphere of the devotional and ethical is apparent in the place and treatment given to the art of memory in the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas. Aquinas was already familiar with the principles of the classical art of memory as he makes clear in his commentary on Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, where he neatly shows how Aristotelian insight into the laws of association justify the rules of the Ciceronian art:

It is necessary for reminiscence to take some starting-point, whence one begins to proceed to reminisce. For this reason, some men may be seen to reminisce from the places in which something was said or done, or thought, using the place as it were as the starting-point for reminiscence; because access to the place is like a starting-point for all those things which were raised in it. Whence Tullius teaches in his Rhetoric that for easy remembering one should imagine a certain order of places upon which images (*phantasmata*) of all those things which we wish to remember are distributed in a certain order. (Quoted in Yates, p.72.)

The part of the great *Summa* into which Aquinas's understanding of the art of memory is assimilated is under the direct influence of the 'first rhetoric', the section in the *Secunda Secundae* dealing with the cardinal virtue of prudence, and the fact that there is an art of memory as well as memory in its natural state, is indeed one of his proofs that memory can be part of a deliberate virtue such as prudence. In considering whether memory is a part of prudence he raises the objection that

'prudence is acquired and perfected by practice. Memory however is in us by nature, and consequently is not a component of prudence.' (*Summa* 36, p.61.)

On the other hand, he replies, 'Cicero counts memory among the parts of prudence', and he goes on to answer the objection specifically:

The aptitude for prudence is from nature, yet its perfection is from practice or from grace. And so Cicero observes that memory is not developed by nature alone, but owes much to art and diligence. We may mention four aids to cultivating a good memory (*Summa* 36, p.63.)

And so Aquinas proceeds as part of his defence of the use of memory in prudence to set out his assimilation of the art of memory rules. These are worth quoting in full, both to show the way in which they had developed and changed since classical times, and also because this particular formulation was both widely available and immensely influential. Both Andrewes and Donne, for example, possessed copies of the *Summa*, and quoted Aquinas in their sermons, as often as not with approval.

First, one who wishes to remember should pick certain images that, while fitting his ideas, are somewhat out of the ordinary, for what is unusual rouses wonder, and so the mind dwells on it more intently: this is why we better remember the things we saw in childhood. Lighting on such likenesses and images is necessary, because simple and spiritual ideas [*intentiones simplices et spirituales*]⁷⁾ slip somewhat easily out of mind unless they are tied, as it were, to bodily images; human knowledge has more mastery

over objects of sense. Accordingly memory is located in the sensitive part of the soul.

Second, a person who wishes to hold things in his memory should arrange them in order for his consideration so that he may readily pass from one to another. Aristotle observes that mnemonic *loci* help us to recollect by causing us to come swiftly from one to another.

Third, a person should put his care and concern into the things he wants to memorize, because the more deeply stamped they are on the mind the less likely they are to disappear. And so Cicero remarks that taking trouble keeps the shapes of images intact.

Fourth, we should frequently ponder over the things we want to remember. Aristotle says that such meditations keep memories alive, because, as he also says, custom is like second nature. Hence the things we often think about are quickly recalled by a sort of instinctive process. (*Summa* 36, p.63.)

Like the classical arts, Aquinas's rules preserve the method of using places and images, and presuppose the same kind of precise inner imaging, as is evident from his advice about adequately lighting the images. However, there are a number of significant changes. There is the counsel that images, whilst being out of the ordinary, should nevertheless fit the ideas, which suggests the symbolic representation involved in personification and allegorical figures, rather than any merely private mnemonic association such as those in the examples of images actually cited in the *Ad Herennium*. Then there is the assumption that what is being remembered by this technique is not the *res* or *verba* of the classical art, the points or wording of a

speech, but *intentiones simplices et spirituales*, spiritual intentions, mnemonic aids not to the intellect but to the will. This is a spiritualisation of the observation made by Aristotle in the *De Memoria* that even animals remember not only an object but an intention vis-a-vis that object; attached inseparably to the lamb's memory of the wolf is the intention of avoiding it. The spiritualisation of remembered intention leads to acts of memory of the sort recommended by Boncompagno, where one is remembering to avoid the vices and seek the virtues. Aquinas's point is that this cannot be done unless we find some corporeal image to represent these spiritual intentions because 'human knowledge has more mastery over objects of sense'. The third rule is interesting, because, as we mentioned briefly in Chapter One, it contains a significant misreading, or perhaps misremembering of the *Ad Herennium*. The *Ad Herennium* had advised that places should be chosen in quiet spots, because the presence of crowds whilst one was trying to memorise one's places would weaken and confuse one's memory, whereas solitude would help to keep their outlines clear: '*solitudo conservat integras simulacrorum figuras*'. Aquinas cites this as a recommendation not of solitude, but of *solicitude*, of making an emotional investment in one's images: '*Tullius dicit quod sollicitudo conservat integras simulacrorum figuras*'. Here again Gilby's translation quoted above does not bring out the full sense of the passage; he renders *sollicitudo* as 'taking trouble', and his phrase 'put his care and concern into the things he wants to memorize' does not reflect the emotional charge of '*affectum adhibeat*', cleave with affection. Aquinas's misunderstanding of the *Ad Herennium* is entirely in keeping with his other modifications of the tradition, all of which are suggesting an art in which vivid images on memory places are being used to train the mind for virtue, and help it to organise not only its ideas but also its affections and intentions. The art of memory is becoming also an art of

devotion and virtue, well on its way to becoming in Donne's great synthesis, 'the art of salvation'.

Yates has shown the extraordinary spread and influence of this memory section in the *Summa*. (See Yates, Chapters 4 and 5.) She is primarily interested in its influence on iconography and the formation of images in the visual arts, though she deals in passing with its influence both on manuals of devotion and on the way in which it was assimilated as a method by medieval preachers. She says, 'the earliest known quotation of Thomas's memory rules is found in a summa of similitudes for the use of preachers'. (Yates, p.85.) This seems to have been a work providing images to be used in memorable *exempla* in the body of the sermon, and not necessarily for use as private mnemonic images for the preacher, though I think she is wrong to make a hard and fast distinction between these two purposes since they are not, as she seems to assume, mutually exclusive. There is certainly evidence of art of memory images being used as mnemonics for the preacher, as for example in Beryl Smalley's study, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century*,⁽⁸⁾. This studies the mnemonic images used by John Ridevall, a Franciscan, and Robert Holcot, a Dominican. Here a single striking figure is given a list of features, each of which corresponds with a point the preacher wishes to make. Ridevall, for example, describes an image which seems to combine features from allegoric personification and straightforward mnemonics, as a means of remembering a series of points about the sin of idolatry. He describes the image of 'a prostitute, blind, with mutilated ears, proclaimed by a trumpet [as a criminal] with a deformed face and full of disease'. (*English Friars*, pp.114-115.) This he calls 'the picture of Idolatry according to the poets'. Each feature of the image corresponds with a point about idolatry. As Yates, who also deals with this image, says, the image is a harlot,

because idolators leave the true God to fornicate with with idols;
who is shown as blind and deaf because she sprang from flattery
which blinds and deafens its objects...

[Or else - a point missed by both Smalley and Yates - with reference
to the specific scriptural comment on idols and idolators in Psalm 115
verses 5-8: 'They have mouths but they speak not: eyes have they but
see not, they have ears but they hear not....They that make them are
like unto them; so is everyone that trusteth in them.']

...who is proclaimed as a criminal because evil doers hope to obtain
forgiveness by worshipping idols; who has a sad and disfigured
face because one of the causes of idolatry is inordinate grief; who
is diseased because idolatry is a kind of unregulated love. A
mnemonic verse sums up the features of the image:

*Mulier notata, oculis orbata,
aure mutilata, cornu ventilata,
vultu deformata et morbo vexata.* (Yates, p.97.)

The coming of the Renaissance with the recovery of better and clearer
classical texts and the great revival of all branches of classical
learning, especially rhetoric, in what were believed to be more
authentic forms than had been preserved in the schools, had a number
of influences in developing and modifying the art of memory as it had
survived into the Middle Ages. One might have thought that the
discovery of the art of printing would have immediately done away with
the whole culture of the art of memory as a means of preserving in an
inner writing books of which copies would not otherwise be available.
Instead, as Yates has conclusively demonstrated, the sixteenth century

heralds a great flood of *ars memorativa* treatises, and works on the art of memory were, ironically, amongst the first books to be printed.⁽⁹⁾ The story of the development of the art of memory during the renaissance period is extremely complex, complicated by the fact that there are many kinds of continuities with the earlier scholastic traditions, as well as the input arising from the new and ostensibly purer classicism. Roughly speaking, there seem to have been three streams of influence: first, a continuation and elaboration of what might be called the Thomist or Dominican art of memory, which encouraged the use of the art as a prolonged exercise of meditation or devotion featuring Hell, Heaven, and the spheres of the cosmos as places, and minutely elaborated personifications of the variously subdivided sins and virtues as images. Secondly, there was a new development arising from the recovery of occult neo-Platonic texts, and from the widespread revival of interest in magic which was an inseparable part of the quest for power and domination in the beginnings of modern science; this transformed the art of memory into a kind of magical *gnosis*, through which control of events and elements was promised. Thirdly, there was a more exact recovery of the original art as a necessary part of rhetoric, with quite straightforward and practical applications. By the sixteenth century the art of memory had developed in different directions as a practical, a devotional, and an occult art. An example of the practical art which had been, as it were laicised, and made available in printed versions for the general public is the *Phoenix, sive Artificiosa Memoria*. This was published in an English translation by Robert Copland as *The Art of Memory that is otherwise called the Phoenix* in London in 1548, though it had originally been published in Venice as early as 1491. Yates claims that this work 'became the most universally known of all the memory text books'. (Yates, p.112.) She gives a lengthy and interesting analyses of this book, though the fact of most relevance to this study is that even though this was a

secularised version of the art, something of the devotional and ecclesiastical history of the art remains in the advice about the formation of *loci*:

When discussing the rule that memory *loci* are to be formed in quiet places he says that the best type of building to be used is an unfrequented church. He describes how he goes round the church he has chosen three or four times, committing the places in it to memory. He chooses his first place near the door; the next, five or six feet further in; and so on. (Yates p.113.)

Significantly, amongst the things the author claims to have remembered by this method are 'histories, or fables, or Lenten sermons'. (Yates p.113.) Thus we can see that even where an art of memory sets out to be practical, the devotional element is almost always there as well. Two other 'arts', both also published in English, and both taking up a position somewhere between the practical and the devotional, are William Fulwood's *The Castel of Memory*, published in London in 1562, a translation and elaboration of a work by Gratarolus - which is interesting both because it cites Aquinas as an authority for the use of places in memory, and also because, as we shall see, it recommends itself specifically to preachers - and, looking ahead into the early seventeenth century, John Willis's lucid little book *The Art of Memory*, published in London in 1621, a translation of part of an earlier Latin work of his: *Mnemonica; sive Ars Reminiscendi: e Puris Artis Naturaeque Fontibus Hausta...* (London, 1618). Willis's book was so deliberately practical that he even cites, as an example, a means of remembering a long shopping list. That his method worked for some, and was popular, is shown by the fact that the whole work was published again in an English translation in 1661, and indeed large parts of it were incorporated verbatim into a practical art of memory published as late

as 1813 in London, *The New Art of Memory*, by G. von Feinaigle. Willis's work would certainly have been of use both to preachers and to their auditors, and also forms quite an important link between emblem books and the art of memory.

There is an extensive discussion in Yates of those sixteenth century arts of memory which use Hell and Heaven as place systems, which were really continuations of the Dominican prudence tradition. The two main ones she cites as influential, the *Congestorium Artificiose Memoriae* of Johannes Romberch (Venice, 1533,) and the *Thesaurus Artificiose Memoriae*, of Cosmas Rosselius (Venice, 1579,) were in fact both written by Dominican friars, and, as might be expected, continued, in a debased form, with various extra complications, the tradition of St Thomas.

Examples of the more specifically occult and magical type of memory system would be the *De Umbris Idearum* of Giordano Bruno, published in 1582, and the *Utriusque Cosmi...* of Robert Fludd, published in parts starting in 1617. However, these extremely obscure works of occult philosophy are not nearly so relevant to the sermons we are going to consider as are the practical and devotional arts mentioned earlier.

Before turning in the second part of this chapter to a consideration of the way in which these arts of memory impinged on the training and formation of a sixteenth-century preacher, it is worth trying to make a general assessment of Yates's book, *The Art of Memory*, which has helped to provide so much of the background for the first half of this chapter.

The first thing that needs to be said is that whatever subsequent criticisms one would like to make, it is in many respects a great book. It is the first survey of its kind in English, and has done scholarship

a great service in providing a comprehensive, well-annotated and readable survey of the arts of memory from classical times to the Renaissance. It has drawn the attention of scholars and literary critics to a vital but largely neglected factor in the making of many aspects of European civilisation, and will remain a standard work for anyone dealing with the subject of artificial memory. However, there are a number of ways in which it has frustrating limitations, blind-spots and imbalances of emphasis, two of which I will mention now, as they have partly determined the scope and direction of this thesis.

Yates is preoccupied throughout her book with problems relating to the understanding of occult Renaissance neo-Platonism, particularly in the works of Giordano Bruno, on whom she wrote the definitive book. As she herself admitted, the *Art of Memory* arose entirely out of her efforts to explain Bruno. (Yates, p.xi.) Her other dominant interests outside the arcane world of Hermetic philosophy were in Shakespearian theatre and in theories of iconography in the visual arts. These preoccupations do not dominate her too much in the earlier, and as it were preparatory, part of her book, dealing with the classical art and the Middle Ages, but when she comes to the Renaissance they take over completely, with the result that in her assessment of the role of the art of memory in the sixteenth century she says *nothing at all* one way or the other about preaching, in spite of the fact that she had demonstrated that the medieval art was directly useful to preachers, and that pulpit oratory and indeed sermon hearing and reporting - all of which assumed central importance in the period she was studying - would all have had an interest in any available and effective art of memory. Indeed many of the arts of memory which she cites in other ways and for other purposes specifically mention preachers and preaching in their method and preamble.⁽¹⁰⁾ One of the purposes of this thesis is to rectify this omission, and see whether or not the arts

which Yates uses so ably to illuminate her chosen Renaissance interests can be used to shed any light on the preaching of the period.

A second limitation, which runs right through Yates's study, and also stems from the fact that she is not really interested in oratory as such, arises from the fact that although she acknowledges that, both in its original classical form and in some of its revived Renaissance forms, the art of memory is one of the five parts of rhetoric, she never really examines its precepts in the light of the precepts and rules laid down for the other four parts, to see how rules for *memoria* might interact with rules for *inventio* or *dispositio*, for example. She therefore never considers how bearing in mind the system whereby he is going to memorise a treatise might actually affect the way an orator composed it. She simply assumes that what is to be remembered is a datum which cannot be altered, and therefore misses the way in which rules for places and images might interact with rules in *dispositio* for the ordering of material, and in *inventio* for the ornamenting of it, so that the memory order and images might be incorporated directly into the division and illustration of the text. Her failure to see this possibility is illustrated by the way in which, in the one passage that deals at length with preaching (medieval preaching), she simply assumes that there must be a hard and fast division between private mnemonics and textual *exempla*. Discussing the *Summa de Exemplis ac Similitudinibus Rerum* by Giovanni di San Gimignano, written in the early fourteenth century as an aid to preachers using the Thomistic memory principles, she says:

We have to make clear to ourselves a distinction. In a sense the whole of San Gimignano's book with its painstaking provision of similitudes for every 'thing' which the preacher might have to treat is based on the memory principle. To make people remember

things, preach to them in 'unusual' similitudes for these will stick better in the memory than the spiritual intentions will do, unless clothed in such similitudes. Yet the similitude spoken in the sermon is not strictly speaking the similitude used in artificial memory. For the memory image is invisible, and remains hidden within the memory of its user, where, however, it can become the hidden generator of externalised imagery. (Yates, p.86.)

In fact there is no reason why the image used by the preacher as an *exemplum* should not also be, not only his own inner mnemonic for remembering the sermon he delivers, but also a mnemonic for his auditors who may be called on to report the sermon later, or may simply wish to remember it as a matter of piety. *Memoria* tells the orator that the images by which he remembers his oration should be unusual, distinct and well ordered on places, but *inventio* tells the same orator that the things in his discourse must be striking; *elocutio* tells him that they must be clothed in clear and memorable images, *dispositio* tells him that they must be set out in a clear order which has been planned and announced in advance. There is no reason why, if it is the same man planning the discourse who is to engage in the *memoria*, that the division of parts and selection of images which form the content of his oration should not be chosen in such a way that they coincide with an order of places and images selected for its memorisation. Indeed, such, I will argue, was the case with some seventeenth-century sermons. Order and *exempla* can be seen to serve simultaneous mnemonic and moral ends. It is with these ideas in mind that I turn in the second half of this chapter to look at the arts of memory and the making of a preacher, an aspect of the subject ignored by Yates in her otherwise excellent survey.

B) Memory and the Making of a Preacher

i) Memory and Rhetoric in the Elizabethan Grammar School

If we are to understand the traditions, habits of mind and ideas that men like Donne and Andrewes brought to the art of sermon-writing and which they shared with their auditors, we must look first at the fundamental tools of learning with which they were equipped at school, and for Andrewes and Donne this meant above all their study of rhetoric. Professor Foster Watson, in his definitive survey of the Elizabethan grammar school, has written that, 'if there is one school subject which seems to have pre-eminently influenced the writers, statesmen and gentlemen of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, in their intellectual outfit in after life, probably the claim for this leading position may justly be made for Rhetoric and the Oration.'⁽¹¹⁾

There were a number of reasons why rhetoric suddenly became so central to the curriculum of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century grammar schools. Professor Mitchell has commented,

Rhetoric held its place partly as a survival from the Middle Ages, partly owing to revival of interest in classical studies which came with the Renaissance, partly...because university education continued to be dominated by the disputation, partly - and although this also represents a survival, yet the Renaissance also increased the demand for elaborate imitation of classical models - because the diplomatic address of the ambassador, and the polite welcome accorded to distinguished visitors on most official occasions remained the Latin oration. Ability to write a theme in Latin which might afterwards be pronounced *memoriter* was the

recognised prerogative for public employment and academic success.(12)

The grammar school curriculum was therefore geared towards training the student to compose and to recite memoriter a classically modelled oration. An understanding of the parts of rhetoric as they were taught under this system, and a look at what this teaching involved in practice, will give us an insight into some important elements in the art of Andrewes and Donne, and also help us to determine how far and in what way the art of memory material dealt with in Yates is relevant to English preaching in this period.

At the heart of the Renaissance rhetorical curriculum was the composition, writing, memorisation and delivery of 'theames'; short, formal addresses on moral subjects, which were intended simultaneously as a training in grammar, rhetoric, public speaking, and ethics. As Brinsley has one of his characters say in the *Ludus Literarius*, a grammar school text book, printed first in 1612:

The principle end of making Theams I take to be this, to furnish schollers with all store of the choicest matter, that they may thereby learn to understand, speak or write of any ordinary Theame, Morale or Politicall, such as usually fall into discourse amongst men and in practice of life; and especially concerning virtues and vices. (Quoted in *Pulpit Oratory*, p.72.)

The theme was formally divided into the five parts set out in Cicero's advice on *dispositio*, that is to say: *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, *conclusio*. Just how methodical this procedure was is clear for example in the *Ludus Literarius*, stating what Foster Watson calls 'the common grammar school method of theme-writing':

I have given them a Theme to make, following the example in their book, to prosecute the same parts of the theme; as *Exordium, narratio, confirmatio, confutatio, conclusio*, and also to follow the several places to amplify each thing by. I have withall showed them how to do it: as to try what they could gather of themselves; and withall to seek Tullie's sentences what they could find out of it, or out of other books to their purpose. (Quoted in *English Grammar Schools*, p.422.)

So not only was the partition and order of the composition already set out and determined, but subject-matter, illustrations, and the various rhetorical tropes and devices whereby the subject matter might be amplified and adorned, were also laid out in the relevant text books. The boys kept common-place books, in which matter for themes - taken from the Scriptures or the works of the ancients, or from anthologies and source-books of pithy sayings and moral *exempla* printed specifically with this sort of procedure in mind, such as Erasmus's *Adagia* - could be entered under the appropriate heads, a procedure recommended by Erasmus in the second book of the *Copia*. A case can be made that the whole concept of keeping and ordering *loci communes* goes right back to the careful ordering and stocking of *loci* in the *ars memorativa*. A typical list of common-place headings for use in the composition of Latin themes might include such heads as '*fortuna, opes, honores, vita, mors, virtus, prudentia, justitia, liberalitas, temperantia*, and their opposites'. (*English Grammar Schools*, p.433.)

When the theme was written to be shown to the master, each part of the *dispositio* was to be indicated by a note in the left-hand margin, as *exordium, narratio* and so forth, together with the heads of the several arguments used, whilst in the right-hand margin the names of the various tropes and figures employed were to be shown. The effect of

this discipline on the composition and hearing of sermons is obvious, and its physical trace can be seen in the early editions of both Donne and Andrewes, where the parts of the sermon, as it is divided, are all duly noted in the left-hand margin. As Mitchell rightly comments of the whole subject of theme composition in schools:

These directions are of great importance to our subject, for they admit us to to the very workshop where seventeenth century pulpit oratory was framed and explain at once the outstanding rhetorical ability of the preachers and the precision, accuracy and method of their auditors and note-takers. (*Pulpit Oratory*, p.73.)

From the outset, students, including those who, like Donne, were intending a court career and had no plans to enter the ministry, would have been aware of the way in which the classical forms and conventions of the theme and the oration had been adapted to suit the purposes of the divine oration or sermon. Indeed, a regular exercise consisted of hearing a sermon on Sunday, remembering the whole of it, and translating it over the course of the week into Latin, committing the Latin version to memory, and then delivering this without notes to the class at the end of the week. Notes could be taken of the sermon as it was delivered on a Sunday, but these notes would have to be abandoned when the sermon was redelivered. The purpose of the notes seems to have been to establish order and places, to which the matter could be reduced so that the following of the well-known sequence of places would help in remembering the matter set down in that order. Indeed, Brinsley's advice on sermon note-taking and memorisation are a direct development on his advice on the marginal annotation of themes, and its use of clear orderly spacing and visual pattern as an aid to memory is reflected in the typography of printed sermons, as well as echoing, as we shall see, the advice for remembering 'scriptile images'

in the arts of memory.⁽¹³⁾ Although Mitchell, writing long before Yates had drawn attention to the subject, does not make the connection between Brinsley's memory advice and the published 'arts', he does see its effect on the typography of the printed sermons:

In order to better imprint the sermon in their memories the scholars were to leave spaces between the parts, and to divide the parts by means of clear horizontal lines. This practice is to be found taken over by the printers of early Jacobean sermons, which indicates that either such printed sermons were derived from the notes of an auditor, or the preachers themselves employed the method referred to. (*Pulpit Oratory*, p.74.)

This is especially true of the printing of Andrewes's sermons which, as we shall see, were exact and methodical in their division and ordering, fulfilling the precepts of both *memoria* and *dispositio*. J.W. Blench has noted in his analysis of Andrewes's handling of *dispositio* that his scheme 'is beautifully indicated in early editions by typographical devices - numerals, marginal notes, italics, capitals, and in particular, a band of ornament which divides the Exordium and division from the main body of the sermon'.⁽¹⁴⁾ This typographical distinction is in keeping with the rest of Brinsley's advice on noting and memorising sermons: 'to distinguish the severall parts by letters or figures, and setting the summe of everything in the Margent over-against each matter a word or two, as Text, Division, Summe...'. (Quoted in *Pulpit Oratory*, p.74.) These headings helped the student remembering the sermon afterwards to 'set down the summe of every chief head, fair and distinctly', and so 'by this helpe they will be able to understand and make a repetition of the Sermon, with a very little meditation; yea to doe it with admiration for children'. (Quoted in *Pulpit Oratory*, p.74.) Spodeous, Brinsley's imaginary interlocutor in the *Ludus*, objects that

this exercise of 'making a repetition of the whole sermon without book' is too difficult to be managed by boys, but Brinsley replies, in the person of Philoponus, 'the schollers will do it very readily where the Preachers keep any good order'. (Quoted in *Pulpit Oratory*, p.75.)

This exercise was bound not only to improve the memory, but also to make one acutely aware of the order and structure of a sermon, as well as giving one practical experience in determining which tropes and images were most memorable. The act of translation has a profound influence here in helping one to distinguish between the *res* and their clothing in *verba*, and in allowing the mind its full play in approaching the same matter in different manners, which can itself be a memory technique, in that the more ways one has found of making the same point, the more likely one is to find a starting point from which the memory can work. The effects and fruits of this early training are especially evident in the handling of Scripture. The modern reader is often struck by the frequency with which the Scriptures are quoted in Latin or Greek, or in the case of Andrewes, Hebrew as well, in spite of the great Reformation commitment to the vernacular Bible. Why is it that the *Vulgate* survives, and is used with such evident vigour, familiarity, and affection in the sermons of this period, when such excellent English versions were widely available, for which revered martyrs had shed their blood, and into whose improvement and production the preachers themselves had put such effort, and which were used in the reading of the text of which the sermon was the exposition?

I think there are three reasons for this survival (though to call it a survival in no way reflects the vigour and intellectual energy with which the classical languages are used), and the third reason is the most significant for the terms of this study. The first is that Latin was

the language of everybody's first training in rhetoric, the language into which even the English sermons on which they worked at school had had to be translated, and thus there was that familiarity which arises from early habit and training. Secondly, the works of the Fathers, which constituted the primary source of exegesis and theological insight for preachers such as Andrewes and Donne, were written either in Latin or Greek, and naturally also quoted the Scripture in those languages. Because pun and word play, together with the various prosodic arts of assonance and alliteration were essential parts of the Fathers' rhetorical armoury, there was a great deal in their works which was strictly speaking untranslatable, and one had either to quote it as it stood in the original language, or attempt to imitate a similar pun or piece of prosodic music-making in the vernacular. Andrewes and Donne in the superabundance of their wit and linguistic ability often did both; and here we come to the third reason for their frequent use of Latin and Greek texts and tags from the Fathers, to understand which we must realise that they almost never leave a text or tag, no matter how simple or evident its meaning, untranslated. *Everything important is given in both the classical and the vernacular version*, and what they are doing here is stimulating both memory and contemplation by variety and variation on a theme, by an interlinguistic variation of the psalmic technique of parallelism. By quoting both a Latin and an English text they are providing as many different handles for the memory to take hold of the matter as possible, and in so doing they are exploiting to the full the inherent differences between the languages. As it is in an inflected language, the Latin text is often shorter than the English, but its key words are still often the roots of what seem like more lengthy vernacular elaborations. It thus often comes about that the words of the Latin text become, as it were, memory-words or brief mnemonic shorthand *notae*, whereby the English text and the English exegetical elaborations on the

text are remembered . Andrewes, as we shall see, has this method down to a fine art, and makes skilful repetitions of the English and Latin one after the other, always reminding one of the second version when he quotes the first, and skilfully exploiting the doubled range of possibilities this technique of reinforcement opens to him, by making puns in both languages, or establishing the link between the two versions of the text memorably, by using the old mnemonic technique of punning across the languages, so that the outrageousness of the pun which starts in one camp and slides illegitimately across to the other, fixes both versions and their significance sharply in the memory. We will be analysing this method in more detail in the next chapter, but one example will serve to illustrate the point here.

In an Ash Wednesday sermon of 1598, Andrewes preached on the text 'When he slew them, then they sought him; and they returned and enquired early after God'. (Psalm 78.34.) The Latin version of this text begins '*Cum occideret eos, quaerebant eum...*'. Throughout the sermon, when referring to the text as a whole, Andrewes always uses the first two words, '*cum occideret*', as a kind of shorthand to refer to the whole text. And when his congregation are familiar with '*cum occideret*' as a formula, which can be inserted freely into English syntax regardless of its grammatical form, as in the repeated rhetorical question 'what is this but *cum occideret*?', then Andrewes avails himself frequently of the available pun, everything then turns on the sound *cum* to enforce the idea that the time must come when we shall come to the Lord :

Cum occideret, mark this *cum* when it cometh, and you shall see them that stood out all their life long then come in...Age, sickness, death, are far off; youth, strength, and health possess them; there is no coming to them then. The month, *cum occideret*, is not yet

come; but come that once, as once it will to all, you shall find *quaerebant* shall have its place.⁽¹⁵⁾

The puns here serve to provide the attraction of wit, to emphasise the point and to assist the memory.

One of the most important effects of this training is to make it clear to the student how the different parts of rhetoric do not operate independently, but rather in concert, strengthening and supporting one another. For the order which is essential to *memoria* is also the foundation of *dispositio*. The memorable image is vital both to *elocutio* and to *memoria*. When we come to look at the adaptation of *dispositio* into the *divisio* of the sermon, and of the advice on image-making in *elocutio* to the needs of the *conchetto predicabile*, which in turn fulfils the requirements of the memory-image, we will see how the clear order and striking images which grace the best sermons of the period are the product of a series of confluent pressures and traditions, all combining to assist and encourage the intellect and imagination of the preacher. *Memoria* cannot be studied in isolation or given the credit by itself for a result to which the other parts of rhetoric also contribute, and it is in this respect that Yates's book tends to be a little one-sided.

The relevance of this grammar school training in rhetoric to the whole business of composing, remembering, and delivering sermons might be summarised as follows:

First, it laid down in the depths of the developing mind and memory a fundamental concept of ordered stages in any oration, and saw that order as an inflexible rule which was the key both to composition and to memory. Secondly, it provided endless practice in the memorisation

of orations which fitted a clear structure. Thirdly, it reduced both the content, and the style and ornamentation of the oration, to a series of well-rehearsed and easily recognised precedents, which thus made the material more easily governable and comprehensible, and was once more an enormous assistance both to composition and memory. Fourthly, by emphasis on the task of translation, it both encouraged hard thinking about particular expression and the varieties of possibility in phrasing and ornament inherent in different languages, and also emphasised and focused attention on the elements which remained unchanged in translation - that is, the formal order of the discourse, and the elaboration and subdivision of essential points. Fifthly, by using the Sunday sermon as raw material for this rhetorical training, it first ingrained a habit of analytical sermon hearing and memorising which was bound to be carried over into the adult social, political, and religious life, in which the sermon played such a crucial role, and also familiarised people with the way in which the Ciceronian precepts for the construction of an oration could be modified and reworked for divine use.

It is important to emphasise that what we have been dealing with so far is the common training which would have been given to any educated gentlemen, not a specialised discipline pursued later by those intending careers in the Church or the diplomatic service. This grounding in rhetoric was part of the common stock of knowledge, a habit and emphasis which could be assumed between the preacher and at least those of his hearers who had received a grammar school education. For congregations at court, where nearly all of Andrewes's extant sermons, and many of Donne's, were delivered, and also at the inns of court, where Donne preached a long series, this kind of training would have formed the background for nearly all their listeners. It is in this context that we can begin to understand the way

in which the common-place book, the emblem book, the arts of memory and the *artes concianidi*, with which we will be dealing in the next section, were all in a complex network of interdependence and connection, and combined to make up the cultural and intellectual background from which the art of the sermon sprang.

ii) Rhetoric, Memory, and the Art of Preaching

In the previous section we were considering memory and its relation to rhetoric as part of the common stock of general education in the grammar schools. In this section we shall look at the arts of rhetoric, and more specifically of memory, which were intended specifically to assist the art of preaching.

The *artes concianidi* formed, of course, a well-established sub-branch of the art of rhetoric long before the period with which we are dealing. From the time of the first Fathers a great deal of intellectual and imaginative effort had gone into adapting the techniques of pagan rhetoric to the needs of proclaiming the Christian gospel. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, which continued to be read as a guide to sermon-writing well into the age of Andrewes and Donne, was the beginning of a long series of *Artes Praedicandi* which continued unbroken down to the seventeenth century and beyond. Of most interest to us here are the ways in which the traditional five parts of the oration were adapted to suit the order and division of the sermon, in other words the modifications of *dispositio*, and also the ways in which the traditional advice given in *memoria* was adapted for preaching. The transformation of *dispositio* for the purposes of preaching in the sixteenth century is well analysed by Blench in his *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. He distinguishes three main approaches to the problem of *dispositio* in the

Elizabethan age: 'the ancient form, the new reformed arrangement of Doctrines and Uses and the "modern style" so modified as to approximate to the true classical form with its variations'. (*Preaching in England*, p.100.) Blench assigns Andrewes, and indeed the great majority of Elizabethan preachers, to his third category, which he describes as 'approximating to the classical form (i.e. that given above for use in themes) although they use it with some freedom'. (*Preaching in England*, p.102.) This is the approach favoured by Reuchlin and Erasmus, and which is commended in the widespread and influential treatise of Hyperius of Marburg (Andreas Gerhard, 1511-64) translated into English as *The Practis of Preaching* in 1577 by John Ludham. This Treatise makes its debt to Ciceronian rhetoric, specifically including Cicero's teaching on memory, absolutely explicit:

To be short, whatsoever is necessarie to the preacher in disposition, elocution, and memorie, the rhetoricians have exactly taught all that in their woork-houses; wherefore (in my opinion) the preachers may most conveniently learne those partes out of them.⁽¹⁶⁾

The parts of the sermon he details are: (A)'Reding of the sacred scripture'; (B)'Invocation' (C) 'Exordium'; (D)'Proposition or Division'; (E)'Confirmation'; (F)'Confutation'; (G)'Conclusion'. (*Practis*, fol.22r.) The last five of these are the traditional parts of the classical oration and of the school theme. The school training we have already discussed is further reinforced and directed to the art of the sermon in Hyperius's insistence, following Erasmus, on the value of common-places:

It is necassarye that [the preacher] have at hande places of invencion congruent and correspondant to this kynde, by the direction whereof he shall excogitate and utter those thinges, that

may holsomelye be put foorth to the multytude...Certes this invention of common-places is...the grounde worke and foundation, whereupon the whole frame of all Divine sermons doth consist.⁽¹⁷⁾

Although this is primarily a reference to the keeping in writing of a common-place book, its phrasing is significantly reminiscent of the topical, or place-based, memory systems, especially in the idea that it is by the 'direction' of the 'places' that the preacher is to excogitate his 'things'. This looks strongly like the advice in the *Ad Herrenium* on the use of places to order the memory of things, and indeed, as we shall see, the arts of memory contemporary with this art of preaching are specifically concerned to help the preacher remember his 'places'.⁽¹⁸⁾ Blench has shown the relevance of this treatise to Andrewes, and J.S. Chamberlin in his thorough study of Donne's debt to the rhetorical tradition (*Increase and Multiply*) has shown that Donne's regular and formal disposition also owes something to the 'modern style', which was in effect the adoption of rediscovered Ciceronian classicism to the art of the sermon. Though it should be added that neither are slavish followers of other men's systems, a typical Andrewes sermon, such as that formally analysed by Blench, consisted of exordium, division, confirmation, and conclusion, a simplified but nevertheless orderly adaptation of the parts given by Hyperius. (See *Preaching in England*, pp.108-11.) The specific number of the parts is of less moment than the fact that the sermon is formally divided on the basis of a well-known and repeated sequence of intelligently related parts, for it is this aspect of the rhetorical art of *dispositio* which also accommodates the sermon to the ordering of places in the art of memory.

The division which Blench has outlined between the more catholic and the more reformed Elizabethan preachers in their approach to

dispositio, with the former following the Ciceronian classicism set out in manuals such as that of Hyperius, and the latter following a dialectical arrangement of doctrines and uses influenced by Ramism, and typified by Perkins's famous manual, *The Art of Prophesying*, is as evident in the case of *memoria* as it is with *dispositio*, and particularly with attitudes to the art of memory. Generally speaking, the reformed or puritan pastors are suspicious of the local or topical art, as the classical system of places was then called, and preferred the rigorous learning of proof-texts and syllogistic arguments by rote, and by clear ordering on paper, without the aid of places and images, whereas the catholic wing of the church did not share these misgivings. Nevertheless, even Perkins himself shows that the art of memory for preachers was very much alive and well in his day, and indeed he testifies to its effectiveness, and reveals that the heart of the puritans' rejection of the art is not to the method per se, but to the possible corruptions and temptations involved in its encouragement of inner image-making. As Perkins says in the section on memory which forms the ninth chapter of his *Art of Prophesying*:

Because it is the received custome for preachers to speake *by heart* before the people, some thinge must bee here annexed concerning memorie.

Artificial memorie, which standeth upon places and images, will very easily without labour teach how to commit sermons to the memorie: but it is not to be approved. The animation of the image, which is the key of memorie, is impious; because it requireth absurd, insolent and prodigious cogitations, and those especially, which set on edge and kindle the most corrupt affections of the flesh.⁽¹⁹⁾

It is true that, perhaps fearing that he has said too much in its favour, Perkins immediately goes on to contradict himself and make the objection which, as we saw, Cicero had already anticipated and dismissed, that the art 'dulleth the wit and memorie, because it requireth a three-fold memorie for one', nevertheless Perkins here provides testimony from a hostile witness that the art using places and images could teach how to commit sermons to the memory, as well as reminding us of the fact, difficult for those used to the modern paper-bound preachers, that sermons in that time were, on the whole delivered memoriter. It is worth then looking again at a couple of the English works on the art of memory of this period, which were available to those who shared Perkins's faith in its powers as a method, without sharing his moral reservations about it.

I have selected two such works, one from the beginning of our period, one from the end. The first is *The Castel of Memorie*, already referred to, ⁽²⁰⁾ which was based on the work of Gratarolus and translated into English by William Fulwood in 1562. *The Castel* opens with an interesting verse dedication to Robert Dudley. There are two sections of this dedication which are especially relevant here. In the first Fulwood places the art of memory in the context of the whole cult of order and degree which was at the heart of both the cosmology and the theology of his day, and deliberately roots his memory teaching in biblical and philosophical teaching about the nature of the world. Here he seems to be distilling some of the religious and devotional developments of the art we have already referred to. He compares oblivion with the primaeval chaos before the right ordering and division of the word of God in Genesis, and memory therefore corresponds with that primal act of creation, which is fundamentally a right ordering and division of the elements. As we shall see, this is

very much the view of creation and order taken by Andrewes.⁽²¹⁾ (The 'it' referred to in the first line is Oblivion):

Like as it is a *Chaos* great
 confusedly compact:
Wherein all things both good and bad
 have true proporcion lackt.

So Memorie doth still preserve,
 eche thing in his degree:
And rendreth unto every one,
 his doughty dignitie.

So doth it pource ech mans estate,
 and skoureth it full bright:
Whereby appeares as in a glasse
 his lively shining light.⁽²²⁾

Here, the operation of memory in the soul of Man is intended to parallel that of God in the Creation, so that Man, by the right use of memory, can bring order out of chaos and recreate anew in himself the light-bearing image of God. The ideas thrown off rather casually here are, as we shall see, richly developed in the sermons and devotions of both Andrewes and Donne. Later in this verse dedication Fulwood lists those for whom his art is intended and these include the preacher:

How shall the Preacher wel recite
 his matters orderlie:
If that he be forgetfull of,
 his places what they be. (*Castel*, A *iiii.*)

Here we have, as we have come to expect, the emphasis on order as essential to memory, and of course the ubiquitous 'places', which touch both on the place system in memory, and on the training in maintaining and building up common-places as a source of material for the sermon. The book itself is very much a mixed bag. The author has simply heaped together everything he can find about memory in any author, and so we have on the one hand a long series of extraordinary herbal recipes for improving the memory, and on the other a fairly comprehensive survey of development and thought on the art, going back to Simonides, and taking in Plato, Aristotle, Metrodorus of Scepsis, Cicero, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Erasmus, and others. In the seventh chapter Fulwood 'treateth in few wordes of locall or artificiall memory', although his few wordes are actually a fairly substantial section of seventeen pages. It begins with a fairly clear definition:

Artificiall Memorie is a disposing or placing of sensible thinges in the mynde by imagination, whereunto the naturall Memorie having respect, is by them admonished that it maybe able to call to mind more easely and distinctly such thynges are to be remembered.
(*Castel*, Chapter 7. There are no page numbers in the text.)

The choice of the word 'admonished' is interesting here, and seems to me to betray the influence of those devotional and moral versions of the art, in which Fulwood is clearly also interested, where the images of the virtues and vices are intended precisely to admonish. As we shall see, the idea of the admonitory memory image is one developed by Andrewes and Donne. There follows a straightforward summary of the *Ad Herennium*, which is mentioned by name and still attributed to Cicero, together with further advice about places and images culled from various other sources. Fulwood envisages the invention of a very large number of places, and gives examples:

Cicero judged that there shoulde be an hundreth in number. Thomas Aquinas thought it good to have mo. For these places many have searched by divers and sundrye artes, Metrodorus founde oute thre hundred and five places of the xii signes in the which the Sunne goeth hys course....Cicero invented a certeine familiar house, severed or parted into many places, & he thought it good we shoulde devise after everye fyfte place either a golden hande or some other distinction....But me thinketh it a very easye thing to devise & imagine not only an hundreth but also infinite places, seinge no man is ignoraunt of the Citie where he was borne, or in the whiche he hath long dwelled.

Therefore when the mynde entreth in at the gate, whiles it considereth the diversitie of wayes, directinge and leadinge to divers countreyes, and whyles it remembreth frendes houses, publike dwellynge places, Palaces or common places of Judgement, it shall fynde out a marveilous number of places. (*Castel*, Chapter 7.)

A quite remarkable system is envisaged here, in which one has not only houses, each with its set of places, but a whole city where every building may again be subdivided. That such a system might be both possible and practicable seems difficult for us to believe, but certainly it seemed possible and practicable then, and indeed an interesting study by Jonathan Spence of the memory system used and taught by Matteo Ricci, the great Jesuit missionary to China, gives us the most detailed glimpse we have of such a system encompassing detailed places in many buildings, in operation.⁽²³⁾ Fulwood goes on to give worked examples in an imaginary house, and advice on striking images, his personal examples being rather horribly violent, but his strongest emphasis is on the necessity for order in the places. In his first

definition of the art he says, 'the places themselves must be set in order, for if there be a confusion in them, it followeth of necessitie that all the rest must be disordered'. And in his epilogue, summing up the whole book, he emphasises the same point, citing Erasmus's *Ecclesiastes*, as if to underline the usefulness of the art to preachers:

Last of all, in stede of an epilogue and as it were a conclusion I will adde that which Erasmus Roterodamus writeth in his 3. booke of Eccles. To the power (saith he) of the natyve memory being good of nature, must be ioned intelligence, care, exercise, and order. (*Castel*, The Epilogue.)

The second example of an English art of memory from later on in this period is *The Art of Memory* by John Willis, which - as already mentioned - was published in 1621, but was in fact only a third of a much larger Latin work on the art of memory by the same author, the *Mnemonicæ*, which had appeared in 1618. The entire treatise is dedicated to practical instruction in the construction and maintenance of a memory system based on places and images. For places, or repositories as he calls them, Willis recommends an imaginary series of stages, for whose exact dimensions he gives very detailed instructions, and whose order is to be remembered by an elaborate system of colour-coding, all of which implies a greater vividness and accuracy of inner imaging than we are used to, but which seems to call for no extraordinary comment from Willis. Indeed, he maintains that the art he is teaching in this little English book is far easier than the more demanding ones in the full Latin *Mnemonicæ*, the third book of which he publishes in this translation. It is, he says 'plaine and easie for any man's understanding; whereas the two first bookes are for schollars onley, that are skilfull in Logicke and poetrie'.⁽²⁴⁾ Of greatest relevance to our study of the sermons, though, is Willis's discussion of the construction



of images, which he calls *ideas*. He deals with images exhaustively, treating them according to their quantity, position, colour, and kind, and giving detailed instructions as to how they are to be arranged and placed in the repositories. For instance, in his chapter on the *quantitie* of an image he points out that given the imaginary size of each repository (twelve yards by six yards by seven yards), it will not always be possible for every image to be represented in its natural scale. He therefore proposes that in the case of large images such as 'a Church, a Citie, a mountaine, a comet, or other prodigious signe in the heaven, a field fought, a fight at sea, a triumphant passage in pomp and state, a hunting or hawking through spacious forrests or any other the like', the image should be represented as a painting 'painted in lively colours upon that half of the opposite wall which belongeth to the place'. (Willis, p.17.) Thus we see the memory system becoming, as it were, an inner picture gallery, an idea which is further reinforced by his comments on the *position* of ideas or images, in which he seems to suggest that actual paintings we already know can be used as images:

For those things which we commonly hang upon a wall or fasten thereunto are here to be used. As if the Idea be some picture of a man, because it is the use of a picture to be hung upon a wall we must suppose it to hang upon the opposite wall. (Willis, pp.18-19.)

The same display, he suggests, can be given in the galleries of memory, to printed material: 'if it be a proclamation or title page of a booke, that it is pasted upon the wall'. (Willis, p.19.) It is interesting to see that Willis suggests that the highly emblematic and visually striking title pages which abound in books of the period might have an extra use as memory-images. Certainly some of them conform to the principles of the art in their symbolic imagery, as of course do emblem

books themselves. Anybody who studies Elizabethan and Jacobean emblem books with some knowledge of the memory tradition cannot help being struck by the way in which the emblems, striking symbolic representations of moral truths, in which every aspect of the image corresponds with a an aspect of the subject, seem to exemplify all the features of a memory-image, and wondering what relation they bear to the memory tradition. Willis's treatise gives clear evidence of their integration into an art of memory. In his advice on the formation of what he calls 'relative ideas', that is to say ideas which represent the thing to be remembered symbolically rather than directly, Willis suggests a list of images, all of which have exact counterparts in the emblem books:

A woman holding a broken pillar, for Fortitude. A virgin having her eyes covered with a vaile, holding a sword in one hand and a pair of balance in the other for Justice. An old man winged, having long haire in the forepart of his head, and being bald behind, for Time. And the like. (Willis, pp.29-30.)

That this is no mere coincidence is confirmed by the fact that later in his book, Willis specifically recommends the reading of emblem books as a source of images for his art. He does this in describing what he calls compound ideas which are a combination of *scriptile* images, that is to say careful patternings of written words and phrases, for which he gives instructions in a separate chapter, and *relative* ideas, that is to say, symbolic images:

The second kind of compound Idea's [sic], is of them which consist partly of a Relative Idea and partly of a Scriptile. Of this sort are innumerable examples in Emblemes, written by *Beza, Alciat, Peacham*, and others. For in all emblemes, the picture occupying the upper

part of the table, is a Relative Idea,; and that which is written underneath, a Scriptile. (Willis, pp.47-48.)

Emblems have an absolutely central role to play here because, on the one hand, they are a part of the preacher's repertoire of imagery and *exempla* (indeed a whole book of emblems gathered exclusively from sermons was published in 1626,⁽²⁵⁾ and on the other hand, they were part of the repertoire of art of memory images. Thus, well placed and chosen emblematic images set into a sermon can serve a double function, as illustration and as mnemonic *notae* for both the preacher and his congregation.

Willis, like Fulwood, follows the tradition, from *Ad Herennium* onwards, of seeking for striking or startling images, as more likely to be fixed in the memory than others. Indeed, he apologises in advance in the preface for his bias to the 'phantasticall':

This one thing I desire to be favourably censured, that if in the examples which I give for the illustration of the practice of this Art...there appear aught to be phantasticall, it may be excused by this reason, that in this Art I go about to instruct the phantasie, which is the servant of memorie. In which respect it fitteth well, that I deliver some conceits which are phantasticall. (Willis, Preface, p.A5.)

I think this is an extremely important part of the memory tradition, which has been ignored by those seeking to account for developments in style and imagery of sermons. I would argue that theory and practice from the memory tradition makes a direct contribution to the deployment of imagery in sermons, and particularly to the formation of conceits and metaphors. This expression by Willis of an idea which is

widespread in the memory tradition has a direct bearing on metaphysical wit and the *conchetto predicabile* which are associated with Andrewes and the 'witty' school of preachers. Mitchell, for example, quotes Spingern, in defining this manner of preaching:

The far-fetched simile, the conceit, the pun, the absurd antithesis formed the basis of the new preaching. A new manner, peculiarly adapted to the pulpit, was also evolved, as marked and definite as Euphuism itself. This was the *conchetto predicabile*, or *conception théologique*...Its function was to inculcate a moral truth by means of a scriptural or physical symbol; the symbol selected seemed so far from the purpose that the mind received a shock of surprise when the preacher appeared to justify its selection by argument and sacred authority. Ingenuity overleapt itself in seeking strange symbols and similies, and strange titles for the sermons in which they appeared. (Quoted in *Pulpit Oratory*, pp.6-7.)

The *conchetto predicabile* as described here precisely fulfils Willis's criteria for the memory-image, but Mitchell who is fundamentally out of sympathy with the metaphysical style (a fact which, as we shall see, flaws his assessment of Andrewes) does not bring any knowledge of the art of memory tradition to bear on this aspect of style, although he does of course acknowledge the general importance of school training to the memorisation of sermons, seeing its relations to order and *dispositio*, but not, as here, to *elocutio*, or style. In the following two chapters I shall be showing particular episodes and images which, I will argue, owe something of their formation to the memory tradition.

Just as there was a difference in attitudes to form and *divisio* between the puritans, whose approach, tending to logic and dialectic influenced by Ramus, is typified by Perkins's *Art of Prophesying*, so too there is

a difference in the matter of *elocutio* or style. The 'high church' preachers, of whom the greatest are Andrewes and Donne, tended to a greater pictorialism, as Mitchell has noted in a rather florid passage:

In aligning themselves with the Catholic Church and insisting on the continuity of the Church of England as part of that Church, the Anglo-catholic divines of the close of the sixteenth century were turning from the barren logic of Calvin's 'Institutes' to the beauty of Classical oratory applied to religious subjects, to the tenderness and humanity of mediaeval poetry, and to the *pictorialism* which alike in description and painting, whether the emotion it suggested was charity or terror, was characteristic of the Middle Ages. (*Pulpit Oratory*, p.140, emphasis mine.)

The hidden link, unnoticed by Mitchell here, but which confirms the distinction he makes, is the memory tradition. The memory tradition which is rejected by Perkins precisely because of its fecundity in producing images.

The proponents of that outer iconoclasm which destroyed the images which, in stained glass and statuary had been symbolic writing in the places round the church, were also proposing, in their rejection of the art of memory, an *inner* iconoclasm to destroy the images in the interior memory palace or church. However, as Mitchell notes, preachers in the catholic tradition like Donne and Andrewes were rejecting this rhetorical iconoclasm, and returning to an older pictorialism. I hope to show how the pictorialism he notes owes as much to the memory tradition in particular as to the 'classical oratory' and 'mediaeval poetry' in general which Mitchell cites as its source.

One of the richest and most interesting phenomena in this period is the coming together in the sermons of Andrewes and Donne of the two traditions concerning memory which we have been analysing in these last two chapters. They are inheritors, on the one hand, of the great tradition of reflection on memory as a philosophic and religious mystery taken up by providence into the scheme of salvation, and on the other hand, of the rhetorical art of memory with its wealth of imagery and symbol, and its training of the imagination. What we find in their sermons, especially in those sermons which deal with memory itself, is a rich cross-fertilisation between these two traditions, so that the techniques of rhetoric are taken up into the pursuit of salvation, and memory as a medium becomes part of a message about memory itself - the art of memory becomes transformed into the art of salvation.

Notes

(1) See D.L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetic in the Renaissance: A Study of Rhetorical Terms in English Literary Criticism*, New York, 1922, and W.G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance: the Formal Basis of Elizabethan Prose-Style*, New York, 1937.

(2) See Chapter One, note 28, for details of this book, to which much reference will be made in this chapter.

(3) See A.R. Luria, *The Mind of a Mnemonist*, London, 1969.

(4) See below, Chapter Five, pp.252-53.

(5) See below, pp.71-72.

(6) See Chapters Three and Four, below.

(7) The Gilby edition's choice of 'ideas' to translate *intentiones* loses the sense of deliberate *intention* which is important for the development of the prudential art of memory, because it is about the right ordering of the *will* as well as the intellect.

(8) Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1960. Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, are to *English Friars*, followed by a page number.

(9) The first memory treatise was printed in 1482. For a survey of printed *Artes Memorativae*, see Yates, Chapter 5.

- (10) Fulwood and Willis, for example. See below, pp.98 and 104.
- (11) Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660, their Curriculum and Practice*, London, 1908, (new impression, 1968), p.440. Further references to this work, in the text or in notes, will be to *English Grammar Schools*, followed by a page number.
- (12) W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: A Study of Literary Aspects*, London, 1932, p.68. Further references to this work, in the text or in notes, will be to *Pulpit Oratory*, followed by a page number.
- (13) See below, p.103.
- (14) J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Oxford, 1964, p.111, note. Further references to this work, in the text or in notes, will be to *Preaching in England*, followed by a page number.
- (15) *The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, Sometime Bishop of Winchester*, edited by J.P. Wilson and James Bliss, in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. 11 volumes, Oxford, 1841-54. Volume I, pp.310-11. Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to *Works*, followed by volume and page number.
- (16) John Ludham, *The Practis of Preaching*, London, 1577, fol. 9v. Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to *Practis*, followed by a page reference.
- (17) *Practis*, fol.53v., fol. 57v. This passage is quoted and discussed in John S. Chamberlin, *Increase and Multiply: Arts of Discourse Procedure in the Preaching of Donne*, North Carolina, 1976, pp. 75ff. Further references to this work, in the text or in notes, will be to *Increase and Multiply*, followed by a page number.
- (18) See below, p.98.
- (19) William Perkins, *The Workes of that Famous and Worthie Minister of Christ, William Perkins*, 3 volumes, London, 1608-31, Volume II, printed by John Legatt, 1631, p.670.
- (20) See above, p.97
- (21) See below, Chapter Three, pp.116-17, and Chapter Five, pp.256-57.
- (22) Gulielmus Gratarolus/William Fulwood, *The Castel of Memorie*, London, 1562, (Da Capo Press facsimile, Amsterdam, 1971), p. Aiii. Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to *Castel*, followed by page or chapter reference.
- (23) Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, London, 1984.
- (24) John Willis, *The Art of Memory as it Dependeth upon Places and Ideas*, London, 1621. (Da Capo Press reprint, Amsterdam, 1973), p.A3. Further references to this edition will be to Willis, followed by a page number.
- (25) Thomas Jenner, *The Soules Solace; or, Thirtie and One Spirituall Emblems*, London, 1626. (Reprint edited by S. Gottlieb, New York, 1983.)

Chapter Three. The Theme of Memory in the Sermons of Andrewes

A) Background

i) Andrewes as a preacher

Andrewes had a reputation in his own day as a great preacher, a great scholar, and a great controversialist. It is with his reputation as a preacher that we are concerned here, and there is plenty of evidence for the high esteem in which his sermons were held. Isaacson, his amanuensis and first biographer, says of him:

Of the fruit of this his seed-time, the world, especially this land, hath reaped a plentiful harvest in his sermons and his writings: *never went any beyond him in the first of these, [my italics] his preaching, wherein he had such a dexterity, that some would say of him, that he was quick again as soon as delivered; and in this faculty he hath left a pattern unimitable. So that he was truly styled, Stella praedicantium, and 'an angel in the pulpit'.*⁽¹⁾

Welsby, in the standard biography, goes so far as to say that Andrewes's sermons were 'the most popular and admired of the time'.⁽²⁾ Certainly, the fact that Andrewes preached at Court on almost all the major festivals from 1605 to the end of James's reign testifies not only to the esteem in which the King held him, but also to his prestige and influence as one of the great preachers of his day. We have direct evidence of his general popularity and reputation in the letters of John Chamberlain, who mentions Andrewes and affirms his reputation and popularity several times in his accounts of life at Court. He speaks of

him, for example, as having preached his Christmas sermon of 1609 at court 'with great applause, being not only *sui similis*, but more than himself by the report of the King and all his auditors'.⁽³⁾

ii) The Texts of Andrewes's Sermons

Andrewes's sermons were first collected in 1629, three years after his death, by Laud and Buckeridge at the command of Charles I, followed by further editions in 1632, 1635, 1641, and 1661. This was a collection of which all but four were preached at Court. A handful of these sermons had been printed individually in quarto during Andrewes's lifetime (in 1589, 1604, 1606, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1614, 1617, and 1620).⁽⁴⁾ Even the posthumous collection of the *Ninety-Six Sermons* was of course by no means complete, as Isaacson remarked in his *Life*: 'his late Majesty took especial care in causing that volume of his sermons to be divulged, though but a handful of those he preached'. (*Works X*, p.xxvi.) Laud and Buckeridge make their own principle of selection clear in their dedicatory epistle, which was to print only what they 'found perfect':

There came to our hands a world of sermon notes, but these came perfect. Had they not come perfect, we should not have ventured to add any limb unto them, lest mixing a pen far inferior we should have disfigured such complete bodies...for as the sermons were preached so are they published. (Epistle Dedicatory, in *Works I*, pp. xiii-xiv.)

We know from Buckeridge's funeral sermon that 'most of his solemn sermons he was most careful of, and exact; I dare say few of them but they passed his hand, and were thrice revised before they appeared.' (Funeral Sermon in *Works V*, p.295.) It seems fairly clear then that,

minor textual and printing errors apart, the text of those sermons chosen for inclusion in the *Ninety-Six Sermons* is substantially as they were preached by Andrewes. This is certainly the opinion of both Story⁽⁵⁾ and Owen (p.74). With the exception of eleven miscellaneous sermons, the *Ninety-Six Sermons* are divided according to the feast days and memorial days on which they were preached. There are seventeen Nativity sermons, six delivered in Lent, eight on Ash Wednesday, three on the Passion, eighteen on the Resurrection, fifteen on Pentecost, eight on the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy, and ten on the anniversary of the deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot. But what of the sermons not included in the *Ninety-Six Sermons*? Three groups of English sermons attributed to Andrewes, but not included in the *Ninety-Six Sermons* found their way into print. These were *Seven Sermons Upon the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness* published in London in 1592, with no name on the title page; republished in 1627 with Andrewes's name on the title page, and republished again in 1642 with *The Moral Law Expounded. Nineteen Sermons Concerning Prayer* appeared in London in 1611, again with no name on the title page, and were republished in 1641 and again in 1642, with the *Moral Law Expounded*, both times with Andrewes's name on the title page. When Bliss and Wilson came to edit the *Works* in the nineteenth century they were persuaded that these were genuine products of Andrewes, and included them in their edition.⁽⁶⁾ The third collection, *Αποσπασματα Sacra; or, a Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures: Delivered at St. Pauls and St.Giles his Church, by Lancelot Andrewes, Never before Extant*, was not published till 1657. The editor of this volume makes no claim to have them from Andrewes's own notes, but he claims that they are based on notes taken by some of Andrewes's auditors. For this reason Bliss did not include them in the *Works*, though Bliss himself concedes that 'it is as certain from their matter and manner that they had no other author than Bishop Andrewes, as it is from other

circumstances that they are not strictly speaking from his pen'. (*Works* V p.v.) Russell, however, and more recently Elizabeth McCutcheon, have made a very strong case for their content certainly, and possibly large portions of their present form, to be authentically of Andrewes. (7)

Elizabeth McCutcheon's thesis makes considerable use of the lectures on Genesis in the *Αποσπασματα/Orphan Lectures*, and links the discussion of time there with the theme of time in Andrewes's later work, showing convincing connections and developments. I am persuaded by her evidence, as by my own reading of these lectures, that they represent patterns of thought and expression which are discernibly Andrewes's own, notwithstanding the differences of style between these sermons and the 'solemn sermons' preserved by Laud and Buckeridge. These differences of style are more than adequately accounted for by the two important facts that these sermons were delivered when Andrewes was a much younger man, and that they were delivered on different occasions and in different contexts from the solemn court sermons. Indeed the bulk of the *Orphan Lectures* is taken up with a series of *lectures* on Genesis in the form of protracted commentary rather than with sermons proper. Further, the evidence on memory and sermon rehearsal reviewed in the last chapter, together with Mitchell's demonstration of the efficiency of sermon note-taking, were not at all considered by Wilson and Bliss when they made their decision not to include the *Orphan Lectures* in the *Works*. Notwithstanding any reservations one might have about the exact verbal transmission of the present form of these sermons, I feel they represent valuable evidence as to the early shaping and expression of Andrewes's thought and reading.

My method in using these texts in this thesis is as follows: I will draw on all four published groups (the *Ninety-Six Sermons* and the three

listed above) as evidence for assessing the shape and content of Andrewes's thoughts, but the substance of any conclusions or speculations arising from his style, or the rhetorical structure of the sermons will always be based on passages from the *Ninety-Six Sermons*, the exactness of whose text is less open to dispute. For convenience, my references will be to the Bliss edition of the *Works* where this is possible, since this is the most recently published text of the complete sermons. I will begin my survey of memory as a theme in Andrewes's work with a survey of themes relating to memory in the *Orphan Lectures*, and then show how these themes are taken up and treated in the various categories of sermon in the *Ninety-Six Sermons*, thus I hope further vindicating the claim to be made for the *Orphan Lectures* as properly a part of Andrewes's work. This broad survey will be followed by an analysis of elements within the sermons owing their origin to the *ars memorativa*, and then by a detailed analysis of one of the sermons from the Lent series dealing with memory at length. I shall conclude with some comments on recent work on Andrewes.

B) The *Orphan Lectures*: the Genesis of Andrewes's Thought on Memory.

The first part of the *Orphan Lectures* takes the form of an extended commentary on the first few chapters of Genesis, preached in a series at St Giles's, Cripplegate, in the 1590s, and standing firmly in that tradition of interiorised or spiritualised reading of Genesis with which Augustine concluded the *Confessions*. Andrewes was deeply interested in the Book of Genesis and owned no less than eight commentaries on it.⁽⁸⁾ The special place that the week of the Creation held in the art of memory and its devotional derivatives will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter Five.

I shall begin my analysis of Andrewes's treatment of memory in the *Orphan Lectures* by considering the evidence it shows of his understanding of memory in its relation to Man's soul or innermost being. The lectures provide ample evidence that Andrewes stood well within the Augustinian understanding of memory as one of the three consubstantial parts of the soul, corresponding with the divine Trinity, so that for him, as for Augustine, it is involved in the very essence of our God-imaging humanity, and therefore intimately bound up with the process of our salvation. Andrewes makes this trinitarian understanding clear in one of the earliest of the lectures, preached on the fourth of February 1590, on the text of Genesis 1.26: 'Then God said, "Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness"'. He follows the patristic commonplace in seeing the use of a plural verb for a singular subject as showing both the unity and the trinity of God, and signifying that the whole divine Trinity is bound up in the creation of Man and the image that he bears. (Andrewes is, as usual, commenting primarily on the Latin text):

In *Dixit Deus* is the unity of substance, in *faciamus* is the trinity of persons...In creating man is great deliberation, it is a joynt work of the Trinity.⁽⁹⁾

He goes on then to expound the Augustinian 'triple power' of the soul in Man as one of the evidences of his being made in God's image:

There is a triple power of the soul, Understanding, Memory and Free will. Understanding is everywhere, in Heaven, in Earth, in the deep, on this side and beyond the seas; there is an ubiquitie of the soul, as of Gods presence, everywhere. Memory, the infiniteness thereof is that of God, who is without limitation; *quae est hac immensa hominum capacitas?* saith a father. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.95.)

One can see here the high doctrine of Man's original dignity, which Andrewes holds in such creative tension with his profound understanding of sin. More specifically, we can see how completely he embraced the fully Augustinian understanding of memory as an immense and profound mystery of the soul; indeed, in ascribing to it more than immensity, but the infiniteness of God, he is going even further than Augustine himself. It is against this background of Augustinian memory mysticism that we will need to see his treatment of memory in the later sermons.

As well as this exposition of the nature of memory and its place in Man's soul, the *Orphan Lectures* contain a number of other themes and exhortations relating to memory which were to be developed in the later sermons. We saw in Chapter Two that the principle of the right division and ordering of matter was a key in the rhetorical tradition both of *dispositio* and of *memoria*, and right and proper division and ordering is a central concern of Andrewes in all his preaching. Just as we saw a parallel in the dedication of Fulwood's *Castel of Memorie*, between the disordered chaos out^{of} which God brought the ordered cosmos in the Genesis narrative, and the operation of memory preserving 'eche thing in his degree',⁽¹⁰⁾ Andrewes's commentary on Genesis leads him to praise distinction and order as a divine gift, and also to show the ordering and division of days and seasons as a key to the right use and ordering of the memory. These ideas are a constant theme in Andrewes, and many passages illustrate them:

Let us saith a Father 'open the morning with the key of prayer and lock up the evening with the bolt of prayer'...as there is a use of order in things natural; so is there in things spiritual. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.663.)

God is the author of all order, place, time, and all things else which do observe a comley course and order of Time and seasons. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.29.)

...therefore order is, as some say, the very goodness of goodness itself. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.25.)

Andrewes links the orderly division of days precisely with Man's divinely ordained duty to exercise his memory rightly; so, in his sermon on the ordaining of the first Sabbath, he says, 'the day is ordained in *remembrance* of this work and benefit of creation', and goes on to repeat words cognate with remember five times in the space of one paragraph. Explaining why the Sabbath should now be the first day he goes on to say,

and also the first day is most fit to retain in mind the restoration of the world: So it is not unmeet to remember the creation, which was begun the first day, and besides all this it may serve as the fittest time to cause us to remember the benefit of glorification, for seeing our inheritance is in light, and God made light the first day to come out of darkness therefore it is most fit to put us in mind of that also. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.134.)

This is interesting not only for its connection of the ordering of time with memory, but also for its use of the image of light as a mnemonic for recalling spiritual truths. Later (as I shall show in Chapter Five)

Andrewes was to develop a series of art of memory type mnemonics based on the sequence of the Genesis narrative for use in his own private devotions, and Donne was also to use the sequence of the first week as a place and image sequence to make points in a sermon more memorable.⁽¹¹⁾

Andrewes himself goes on to show that memory, not only of the great truths of salvation, but also of the sermons in which they have been expounded, is a divinely ordained duty, and that these discourses are to be called to mind again for the purpose of meditation:

But there are other duties to be performed in respect of the hearers to *imprint and fortifye* [the printed text gives 'mortifye'; 'fortifye' is my emendation] Godlyness more deeply in them. The one is ruminating and calling to mind again, by serious meditation, that which we have heard, for we must not only goe to hear what God will say to us concerning our good, but also meditate what the Lord hath said unto us. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.141.)

This idea of the sermon as assisting and prompting the memory, and the memory as being rightly exercised on the sermon, is one which, as we shall see, forms a central feature of Andrewes's later conceptions of the nature of preaching.

Memory for Andrewes is often linked with the concept of turning back or returning, returning both to one's own inner being and to God, something which, as we shall see, was to form part of his more mature synthesis of memory teaching as it is set out in the great series of Lent sermons preached on Ash Wednesday, and which Eliot was to pick up on in his poem *Ash Wednesday*.⁽¹²⁾ We can see the beginnings of

this image of memory as a returning and repentance, an event taking place in the inner heart, in this passage from the *Orphan Lectures*:

Therefore the prophets oftentimes beat upon this exhortation *Vadite in cor vestrum*, 'consider your own doing in your hearts', Esay 46.8....If God return to behold his light how much more should we return to see and consider of our works of darkness and to acknowledge with repentance how evil they are. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.21.)

Notice how he once again uses an image from the sequence of the first week as a mnemonic to remind the soul to exercise its memory aright. The *Orphan Lectures* also make clear the link Andrewes saw between the exercise of memory and the present state of one's relations with God. He addresses the whole question of repentance and confession and forgiveness in terms of the reciprocal acts of memory on the part of men and God; God does not forget sins, in the sense of forgiving them, until they are remembered before him, and by contrast when we forget our sins instead of bringing them before God to be dealt with, then he remembers our sins and they plague us, because they remain a reality which we have ignored. Andrewes handles this theme by creating a catena of scriptural passages turning on the words 'remember' and 'forget', and then links his conclusions into the imagery of the Genesis schema by showing the paradox that the memory of a sin which was evil can be the occasion of good, because it is the means of forgiveness, by means of the image of God bringing light out of darkness. This whole passage is set out in *Orphan Lectures* with the marginal summary, 'Our forgetfulness of Sin is God's Remembrance'. After a long list of Old Testament examples in which Man's forgetfulness of sin leads God to plague him until he remembers, Andrewes roots all these notions of remembering sin into the Gospel

notion of remembering, not sin itself, but the forgiveness of sin, remembering that we have been forgiven, as being the root motivation of the new life in Christ.

When the Wicked servant forgat his old debt, which his Lord forgave him, and began to deal cruelly with his fellow, this forgetfulness made God to reserve his purgation, Matthew the eighteenth chapter; so we must remember that God forgave our old sins; for this remembrance is profitable to us, as out of darkness God brings light, so out of remembrance of former sins, he makes us to avoid sinnes to come. The sinful woman, when she remembered that Christ had forgiven her many sinnes, was provoked thereby to love him much, Luke, the seventh chapter; and when Paul remembered, that he had been a persecutor of the church of God, and a blood-shedder, and that his sinne was purged, it made him careful to walk in holiness of life, so as he laboured more than all the Apostles, in the first to Corinthians and the fifteenth chapter, wherefore seeing the remembrance of sinnes past is so good, it must needs be hurtful to our own souls, and prejudicial to God's glory to forget that our former sin's were purged by the blood of Christ. (Orphan Lectures, p.549.)

It is interesting to note how Andrewes shifts the emphasis away from the memory of sin per se, to the memory of forgiven sin, by means of the examples of Mary Magdalene and Paul, and that the image with which he concludes the passage is the image, not of the remembered sin, but of the saving blood. It is within this context of an assured forgiveness that he is able to exhort himself and his hearers to remember what they would rather forget with such clarity and courage, for the memory here, as it is to one under the care of a skilled psychiatrist, is purgative and life-enhancing, not destructive.

Finally we see in the *Orphan Lectures* the beginnings of Andrewes's concern with the importance of feasts and anniversaries as a means of organising the Church's collective acts of remembrance, and so of sacralising time and making it a means of passing, through the exercise of memory, into the presence of God. Feasts and holidays are appointed by God as an opportunity for renewal:

Moses bids the Israelites to *remember the signs and acts God did in Egypt*, (Deut.11.3). They are for times, *to every purpose there is a time*, (Preach. 8.6) for opportunity is the very bud of time: they were for seasons, *in rebus sacris*, in God's feasts and holidays *God hath appointed the moon for certain seasons*. (*Orphan Lectures*, p.76.)

It is not surprising then that the bulk of the sermons that survived perfect in Andrewes's hand were his solemn seasonal sermons, preached precisely with the purpose of commemorating holidays and festivals, and making of them the opportunity, the very bud of time, that they were in God's purpose. It is to a survey of his development of these themes in those major festival sermons that we now turn.

C) The Festival Sermons: Memory and Memorials

In this brief overall survey of the theme of memory and memorial I will be concerned specifically with Andrewes's discussion of memory itself, that is to say, with the way in which he takes up and develops some of the notions discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. Section D of this chapter will deal more specifically with the evidence in Andrewes's

sermons of elements more specifically rooted in the *ars memorativa* tradition.

i) Nativity Sermons

The first group of sermons in the *Ninety-Six* is a group of seventeen sermons on the Nativity, arranged chronologically, and all of them preached before King James on Christmas day over a period of nineteen years from 1605-24. These sermons thus present a marvellous picture of the strength and development of Andrewes's mind, since, as Eliot remarked, in his glowing appreciation of these sermons 'the Incarnation was to him an essential dogma, and we are able to compare seventeen developments of the same idea'.⁽¹³⁾

The range, power, and concentration of Andrewes's thought in these sermons is indeed remarkable, as he takes occasion through his texts to deal with major theological ideas. As Bliss summarises them, though not exhaustively, in his brief introduction:

The Eternal Generation of the Son of God - His Glory with the Father before the world was - His Co-eternity, Co-equality, and Consubstantiality with Him - His Miraculous Conception - His supernatural Birth in the fulness of time - The union of the two Natures in One Person - The great objects of His mission, and man's consequent obligations. (See *Works* I, p.ix.)

Andrewes's notion of the importance of memory is so central and pervasive in his thought, however, that although it is naturally given more scope in the sermons preached in the penitential seasons, it nevertheless runs as a thread in various touches and references through these Christmas sermons, too. Take for example a passage from

the fifth sermon, preached in 1610, which is in fact quoted by Eliot as an example of the excellence of Andrewes's rhythmic prose-style:⁽¹⁴⁾

I know not how but when we hear of saving or mention of a Saviour, presently our mind is carried to the saving of our skin, of our temporal state of our bodily life and further saving we think not of. But there is another life *not to be forgotten*, and greater the dangers, and the destruction there more to be feared then of this here, and it would be well sometime we were remembered of it. (*Works I*, p.74, emphasis mine.)

This theme of the importance of right remembrance for repentance and conversion he develops more largely in the Lent sermons; however, in this Christmas sermon, having touched on the theme here, he returns to the notion of memory and memorial in a new way in his peroration, where he develops both the idea of the memorial time or season, and also touches on that most central mystery of memory, the memorial sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Andrewes has a high sacramental theology, and often concludes his sermons with exhortations to value and receive the sacraments, but it is significant that he most often does so by emphasising their quality as memorials, something which for Andrewes as for Donne enhances rather than diminishes their role as mediators of God's presence and mystery. First, he sets forth the nature and purpose of the sacraments as the means of receiving Christ, using the old patristic conceit of the conduit pipes:

How is that? how shall we receive Him? who shall give Him us? That shall one that will say unto us within a while *Accipite*, 'Take, this is My Body, 'by the offering whereof ye are sanctified.' 'Take, this is My Blood, 'by the shedding whereof ye are saved.' Both in the holy mysteries ordained by God as pledges to assure us, and as

conduit pipes to convey into us this and all other the benefits that come by this our Saviour. (*Works I*, p.83.)

Having set out the purpose of the sacraments, he frames his exhortation to receive them in terms of rhetorical repetition and play on memory and remembrance:

Verily upon His memorable days, of which this is the first, we are bound to do something in memory or remembrance of Him. What is that? Will ye know what it is? *Hoc Facite*, 'Do this in Remembrance of Me.' (*Works I*, p.83.)

In his sermon on 'The Fulness of Time' he returns to the notion of memory in his peroration in a similar way, when he asks that time should be redeemed from the fulness (in the bodily sense) of the twelve days' feasting, so that they should not be empty but 'full' spiritually as well, and so be an adequate memorial reflection of the 'Fulness of Time' in which Jesus was born:

And what? shall this be all? No when this is done, there is allowance of twelve days more for this 'fulness of Time'; that we shrink not up our duty then into this day alone, but in the rest also remember to redeem some part of the day, to adopt some hour at the least, to bethink ourselves of the duty the time calleth to us for; that so we have not Job's *Dies vacuos* 'no day quite empty' in this fulness of time. (*Works I*, p.63.)

ii) Sermons Preached on Ash Wednesday and in Lent

The next two sections in the *Ninety-Six Sermons* consist of a series of eight sermons preached on Ash Wednesday, and a further six which

were preached at other times during Lent. Not surprisingly, both the text and the liturgy of the penitential season bring out a good deal more of Andrewes's ideas about the relations of memory, meditation, self-knowledge, and penitential reflection. Indeed, two of the Lent sermons deal substantially with the question of the right use of memory, and it is alluded to in many others. One of these Lent sermons I have reserved for more substantial treatment in Section E of this chapter, where I will try to show by the analysis of a complete sermon the way these various strands of tradition about memory, together with art of memory motifs, were integrated in the course of a single sermon. In this section I will just give a brief survey of some of the other allusions to memory in this series, so as to suggest its relation to the rest of Andrewes's work.

Many of the themes we have already observed in the *Orphan Lectures* and the Nativity sermons are also evident in this series, but there is an especial emphasis on the notion of particularly memorable scriptural *exempla*, and some working out of the theology and philosophy behind the notion of using memorable stories or episodes in Scripture as a series of patterns or *exempla* for interpreting one's own present experience. This is clear from the very first of the Ash Wednesday sermons, preached before the Queen on the 4th of March 1598, on the text from Psalm 78.34, 'When he slew them, then they sought him; and they returned, and enquired early after God'.

Andrewes emphasises the direct relevance of these remembered events to the present situation, by citing Paul's reapplication of Old Testament episodes to the Corinthian church, so that he is remembering for his auditors an example of applied scriptural memory:

Whether good or whether evil it pertaineth to us. For to us of the Gentiles hath St Paul entailed whatsoever well or ill befell the dissolved Church of the Jews. These 'All these came unto them for examples, and are enrolled to warn us that grow nearer and nearer to the ends of the world.' (I Corinthians 10.11.) (*Works I*, p.305.)

He goes on to develop this idea of example and repetition by using the metaphor of the *Theatrum Vitae*:

And is it not thus with us that are now *in theatro* 'upon the stage'? Yes indeed; and more if more may be. This is but *vetus fabula per novos histriones*, 'the same play again by other actors'. (*Works I*, p.308.)

There follows a careful development of the parallels between the situation in the psalm and that of his auditors, though Andrewes always uses the first person plural in these comparisons, and preaches as much to and for himself as for his congregation. Andrewes returns to the metaphor of the stage later on in the Ash Wednesday series in a sermon preached before the King in 1622, this time using the stage metaphor to illustrate hypocrisy rather than the repetition of plots and patterns, making the transition between *hypocritae* and *histriones* by tracing their connection through the history of the words in three languages. This long passage is fascinating for a number of reasons, and an unmined quarry for those interested in contemporary reflections on Elizabethan theatre. It starts with a direct parallel, perhaps an allusion to *As You Like It*, Act Two, Scene Seven (noted by Bliss):

The heathen man long since observed, that *Mundus scena*, that in his conceit 'the world for all the world was like a stage or

theatre,' scarce a true face in it, all in a manner personate...
(*Works*, I,p.406.)

But the passage of interest to us is one in which he invites the congregation to set up a stage in their imaginations so that he can bring various memorable characters on to it, for this is precisely the art of memory procedure recommended in Willis's manual, where the memory places are set up as stages:(15)

If you will set up a stage, I will find you actors for it enow.

Will you see alms played? Out comes Judas sagely, with a sentence in his mouth, *ut quid perditio haec?* 'Alas it would have been better bestowed upon many of poor people, why should there be such waste upon Christ's head?' (*Works* I, p.407.)

Andrewes goes on extending his theatrical metaphor to make an interesting allusion to the great popularity of sermons and preaching in his day, upbraiding his congregation for the elements of fashion and theatricality which may distract them from their true purpose in hearing sermons, and again typically drawing scriptural parallels and applying them directly to the present situation:

But sermons go away with it now, the Church is then full, and God knows a few true hearers; the rest are but a sort of sermon-hypocrites. The scene is the twenty-third of Ezekiel; 'O let us go hear the word', and the Prophet adds, 'so was the Fashion then', and for fashion it was. And thither they come, and when they are come here sit they, but their heart is elsewhere wandering where it will. (*Works* I, p.407.)

The notion of individual figures in Scripture as 'remembrancers' of virtue and vice, as Judas was of hypocritical almsgiving on the imaginary stage in the example above, is made explicit in an early Lent sermon preached before the Queen in 1593 on the same episode of the ointment which was alluded to in the later stage-Judas sermon. Here the figures of Judas and Ananias are linked together as examples of 'Church-robbery' and 'Christ-robbery', notions which Andrewes has explored and defined at length in the sermon but which he ties up as follows at the end of his discourse:

Ananias, a Church-Robber, and Judas a Christ-Robber, both in one case, 'Satan' is said to have 'filled both their hearts' in that act; and like evil end came to both; and both are good remembrances for them that seek and say as they did. (*Works II*, p.52.)

In an Ash Wednesday sermon before the King in 1619, on the text: 'Therefore now saith the Lord, Turn you unto me with all your heart' (Joel 2.12), Andrewes has a prolonged meditation on the notion of turning and returning, and the various meanings they might bear, which is almost certainly one of the roots of Eliot's *Ash Wednesday*.⁽¹⁶⁾ He roots his theme in the memory and imagination of his auditors with a great series of vivid images of different kinds of turning and returning in his exordium:

So 'it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost' and to her [the Church] to order there shall be a solemn set return once in the year at least. And reason; for once a year all things turn. And that once is now at this time, for now at this time is the turning of the year. In Heaven, the sun in his equinoctial line, the zodiac and all the constellations in it, do now turn about to the first point. The earth and all her plants after a dead winter, return to the first and best

season of the year. The creatures, the fowls of the air, the swallow and the turtle, and the crane and the stork, 'know their seasons,' and make their just return at this time every year. Everything now turning, that we also would make it our time to turn to God in. (*Works I*, p.357.)⁽¹⁷⁾

Having moved us with the turning and returnings of the great images from the book of nature, he goes on to define repentance itself in terms of the notion of returning to a beginning with the assistance of memory:

Repentance itself is nothing else but *redire ad principia*, 'a kind of circling,' to return to Him by repentance from Whom by sin we have turned away. And much after a circle is this text; begins with the word turn and returns about to the same word again. Which circle consists...of two turnings...First, a 'turn,' wherein we look forward to God, and with our 'whole heart' resolve to 'turn' to him. Then a turn again, wherein we look backward to our sins wherein we have turned from God...These two between them make up a complete repentance, or, to keep the word of the text, a perfect revolution. (*Works I*, pp.358-59.)

There follows a long series of plays on the words 'turn' and 'turning', as Andrewes develops the notion of turning to God with a whole heart, and from sin with a broken heart. In a later section of this sermon where he deals with the notion of turning with tears, he exhorts his congregation to set apart a time for the meditative exercise of their memories, precisely in order to be able to turn completely back to God making 'a perfect revolution' and not just a half-turn. It is interesting in the context of the detailed visualisations of the *ars memorativa* how strongly he plays on the idea of 'looking' and 'glancing' here:

Stay a little, turn and look back upon our sins past; it may be, if we could get ourselves to do it in kind, if set them before us and look sadly, and not glance over them apace; think of them not once but as Ezekiah did, *recogitare*, 'think them over and over;' (Isaiah 38.15)...it would set our sorrow in passion... (*Works I*, p.369.)

This notion of the set time for the devout exercise of memory is very much in keeping with the devotional developments of the *ars memorativa* we saw in Chapter Two.

Although it naturally deals extensively with the question of how and in what ways we cope with or gain strength from the memory of sin, the Lenten series also indicates Andrewes's ideas of the notion of remembering God himself as a source of present strength, as for example in a comment on a text from Psalm 77, which we dealt with in Chapter One as a memory psalm par excellence. In February 1590, preaching before the Queen on the final line of that psalm, Andrewes gave its context in the opening words of his sermon by appealing to the notion of remembrance of God in terms of the emblematic figure of an anchor:

Some, either present or imminent danger, and that no small one, had more than usually distressed the Prophet at the writing of this Psalm; wherewith his spirit for a while being tossed to and fro in great anguish, as may appear by these three great billows in the seventh eighth and ninth verses, yet at last he cometh to an Anchor in the tenth verse, 'upon the remembrance of the right hand of the Most High.' (*Works II*, p.16.)

Included in the 'sermons preached in Lent' are two sermons preached on texts which directly mention memory. One of these is on the

admonition to Dives to remember the good things he once enjoyed - which leads Andrewes not only to reiterate his general teaching on the importance of right remembrance for salvation already set out in other sermons, but also to use the figure of the text made into a cross as a mnemonic, a method taken straight from the arts of memory.⁽¹⁸⁾ The second of these sermons, on the text 'Remember Lot's wife', is, in my view, one of his greatest sermons, and deals more profoundly than any other with his doctrine of memory. It is analysed separately in Section E of this chapter.

iii) Sermons preached on the Passion.

Unfortunately only three of Andrewes's formal court sermons on Good Friday are preserved for us. None of these sermons deals specifically with the notion of memory in the way that the Lent sermons do, though in his attempts to lead his congregation into a deeper and more vivid meditation on the Passion, Andrewes emphasises the notion of a memorial day, and again of the sacrament as the memorial of the Passion. Speaking of the notion of 'looking unto Jesus' he says that it

...surely is continually all our life long to be done by us , and at all times some time to be spared unto it; but if at other times, most requisite at this time, this very day which we hold to the memory of His Passion and the piercing of His precious side. (*Works II*, p.120.)

Andrewes's text is from Zechariah, 'and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced' (Zechariah 12.10), and, as in many sermons, he achieves force and relevance for his discourse by linking the world of the text and the world of his hearers through the notion of the

fulfilment of Scripture; the remembered prophecy was not just fulfilled in the Passion, but is actually fulfilled in the very moment that the congregation turn to 'look unto him' in their hearts. Thus their act in the present is given for them by Andrewes's rhetoric the richness of a fulfilment, of being a realisation of Eliot's 'present moment of the past'. ('And he is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past, unless he is conscious not of what is dead but of what is already living.') (19) So Andrewes continues :

This day, I say, which is dedicated to none other end, but even to lift up the Son of Man, as Moses did the serpent in the wilderness, that we may look upon Him and live; when every Scripture that is read soundeth nothing but this unto us, when by the office of preaching Jesus 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 mystery of this His piercing so many ways, so effectually presented before us. This prophecy therefore, if at any time, at this time to take place, *Respicient in Me &c.* (*Works II*, pp.120-21.)

This sentence is a good example of the way Andrewes put his notions of time and memory into practice for his auditors. He evokes here the co-inherence in the single present moment of the sermon, the 'this day' with which his passage begins and ends, the remembered presence of at least five other times: the moment of the prophecy itself in the time of Zechariah, then the moment of the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness (the type of the Passion), then the moment at which the sacrament of the Passion is celebrated, and in that moment the anticipated time when 'he comes' again; and of course, informing all

these and holding them together, the moment of the Crucifixion itself. All these he weaves together as a means of pointing to and enriching the present moment, in which they will be realised and fulfilled through the ritual remembering of the Passion to which they all point.

All three Passion sermons are concerned to assist this ritualised remembrance, and all three rely heavily on, and assume, the highly specific visual inner imaging which we touched on in Chapter Two, when dealing with the *ars memorativa*. As in the above passage where Andrewes says that in 'the office of preaching...Christ is lively described to our sight', so throughout these sermons Andrewes describes the Crucifixion in vivid visual detail, seeking to imprint an unforgettable image on the inner mind.

The third Passion sermon, preached in 1605, on the text of Hebrews 12. 2, 'looking unto Jesus', a text alluded to in the other two sermons, is particularly successful in painting the visual portrait in almost Ignatian detail. In the great peroration of the Zechariah sermon there is a passage in which Andrewes, having spent the whole sermon exhorting his congregation to look and look again at Christ on the cross, suddenly turns the tables and suggests that as they look on him so he will look on them:

In a word, if thus causing ourselves to fix our eyes on Him we ask, How long shall we continue so doing, and when we may give over? let this be the answer; *Donec totus fixus in corde, Qui totus fixus in cruce*. Or if that be too much or too hard, yet *saltem*, 'at the least,' *respice in Illum donec Ille te respexerit*, 'Look upon Him till He look upon you again.' For so He will. (*Works II*, pp.136-37.)

This passage is strikingly similar to the great moment in the poem Donne was to write sixteen years later:

Though these things, as I ride, be from mine eye,
They're present yet unto my memory,
For that looks towards them; and thou look'st towards mee,
O Saviour, as thou hang'st upon the tree. (20)

As we shall see in Chapter Four, Donne developed this notion of the inner picture even more explicitly than Andrewes in terms of the devotional exercise of memory, but nevertheless we can see in these lines some of the praxis, if not so much of the theory, of Andrewes's handling of memory.

iv) Sermons on the Resurrection

We have eighteen of Andrewes's Easter sermons running through from 1606 to 1624. The last of the series, for 1624, was prepared but never preached, though it is useful having the prepared text of sermons that were not preached because they are so exactly similar in style and presentation to those which were, that they form part of the evidence for saying that those sermons preserved in the *Ninety-Six Sermons* were preserved largely in the form in which they were preached. This extensive series is a rich exploration of patristic and reformed theology, and especially of Andrewes's highly developed and subtle understanding of Christology, enriched by his extensive reading in particular of the Eastern Fathers.

The very first sermon in the series, preached in April 1606 before the King, on a text from Romans 6.9-11, affords an interesting example of Andrewes's appeal to, and integration of the recent memory of his

auditors into the archetypal memorial pattern of death and resurrection. The events of the Gunpowder Plot of the previous year were, of course, still fresh in the memory of his auditors, who, as members of Court and Parliament, had themselves been amongst the intended victims. Andrewes appeals to the memory of this near escape in a series of linked associations and analogies. He points first to the 'similitude' between the Death and Resurrection of Christ, and our own attempts at daily dying to sin and rising to new life in God, saying that by so doing we will be 'grafted into the similitude of the Resurrection'. He then goes on to link this first with the story of Abraham and Isaac, and then through that to the near escape of the previous year:

Now this similitude of the Resurrection calleth to my mind another similitude of the Resurrection in this life too, which I find in Scripture mentioned; it fitteth us well, it will not be amiss to remember you of it by the way, it will make us the better willing to enter into this account.

At the time that Isaac should have been offered by his father, Isaac was not slain: very near it he was, there was fire and there was a knife, and he was appointed ready to be a sacrifice. Of which case of his, the Apostle in the mention of his father Abraham's faith, - 'Abraham,' saith he, 'by faith *ο σαμε ος*, 'made full account,' if Isaac had been slain, 'God was able to raise him from the dead.' And even from the dead God raised him, and his father received him, *εν παραβολη̃*, 'in a certain similitude,' or after a sort. Mark that well: Raising Isaac from imminent danger of present death, is with the Apostle a kind of resurrection. And if it be so, and if the Holy Ghost warrant us to call that a kind of resurrection, how can we but on this day, the day of the

Resurrection, call to mind, and withall render unto God our unfeigned thanks and praise, for our late resurrection *ἔν παραβολῇ*, for our kind of resurrection, He not long since vouchsafed us. Our case was Isaac's case without doubt: there was fire, and instead of a knife, there was powder enough, and we were designed all of us, and even ready, to be sacrificed, even Abraham, Isaac and all. Certainly if Isaac's were, ours was a kind of resurrection, and we so to acknowledge it. We were as near as he; we were not only within the dominion, but within the verge, nay within the very gates of death. From thence hath God raised us, and given us this year this similitude of the Resurrection, that we might this day of the resurrection of His Son, present Him with this, in the text, of 'rising to a new course of life.' (*Works II*, pp.201-2.)

There are several touches characteristic of Andrewes here: the matching of biblical and contemporary story, seeking a 'like case', the appeal simultaneously to personal, public, and scriptural memory with the purpose of changing our understanding of the present, the organisation of memory and story by means of a linked chain of similitudes in the *ars memorativa* manner, and the return exactly to the original text and image with which the chain of similitudes began, so that it can be reassimilated, but this time enriched with a new series of associations. This technique as specifically worked out for the memory of the conspiracy was, of course, worked out in even greater detail in the series of Anniversary sermons on November 5th, which we will touch on below (in Subsection vi), but he never loses the opportunity of forging the link through common images, as in the 'fire' here, between the narrative of Scripture and the individual 'story' of each of his hearers. It is clear from Andrewes's work that what is now known as 'narrative theology' is no new invention.

The development of Andrewes's notions about memory within this series is perhaps most deeply focussed in his passages on the sacrament of Holy Communion. Every one of these sermons, without exception, concludes with an exhortation to the auditors to receive the sacrament, and some of the sermons are given-over entirely to an exposition of Andrewes's sacramental theology, which is set forth very often in terms of memory, understood, not as a demythologising of the 'real presence', so much as a re-entry into the real mystery of that presence. Two examples from many will serve in this survey, the first in particular as it gives us an insight into the roots of Andrewes's sacramental theology.

The seventh sermon in the series, preached in April 1612 before the King, on the text of I Corinthians 7 and 8, focusses especially on the sacrament. The main body of the sermon is an extended meditation on the word 'Passover' in which Andrewes, picking up and extending the traditional patristic typology of the Jewish Passover and the Christian drama of salvation, draws together the various strands of memory and memorial which are bound up with both, and leads them into a reflection on the relation between the central event at once within and without time, to which the Passover and the Communion-table point, and the repetition of events, in the repetition of the memorial, which makes the single event something renewed and accessible. He begins his discourse on the feast by reminding us that feasts are always kept for remembrance, by means of an allusion to Exodus 12.26, the Old Testament *locus classicus* for the Exodus memory tradition:

...*Pascha*, 'a Passover.' *Quaenam est haec religio*, (saith God) shall be our question? 'What is the meaning of this observance,' and what good is there in it? For every feast is in remembrance of some benefit. (*Works* II, p.292.)

Then, in a later section he develops some ideas as to what this 'remembrance' involves, making the point that the *true* memorial engages the whole man in action, not just the intellect in reflection. He does so by going straight to the technical term *αναμνησις*, which was discussed in Chapter One:

Two things Christ there gave us in charge: 1. *ἀνάμνησις*, 'remembering,' and 2. *ἵς* 'receiving'...The first, in remembrance of Him, Christ. What of Him? *Mortem Domini*, His death, saith St Paul, 'to shew forth the Lord's death.' Remember Him? That we will and stay us at Home, think of Him there. Nay, shew Him forth ye must. That we will by a sermon of Him. Nay, it must be *hoc facite*. It is not mental thinking, or verbal speaking, there must be actually somewhat done to celebrate this memory. That done to the holy symbols that was done to Him. (*Works II*, p.300.)

After this piece of lively 'dialogue', Andrewes goes on to show that the actions of the Eucharist correspond to the ceremonies of the Passover as 'the memorial to the figure', so that the one prefigures, and the other commemorates, each the same event. Neither is strictly speaking a sacrifice, and yet each is more than merely a symbol. He goes on to use an interesting metaphor to get across the paradox of the 'repetition', in remembrance, of an event which can never be repeated. He suggests the *event* as the centre, in the fulness of time, in which every line drawn from all other times, prefigurative or commemorative, converge and meet. The precision of his thought in this knotty question of contemporary controversy, and the way in which his notion of memory is central both to escaping the charge of 'romanist' repetition of sacrifice and preserving the catholic sense of presence, deserve a fuller quotation:

In rigour of speech, neither of them [is a sacrifice] for to speak after the exact manner of Divinity, there is but one only sacrifice, *veri nominis*, 'properly so called,' that is Christ's death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death, but ever before represented in figure, from the beginning; and ever since repeated in memory, to the world's end. That only absolute, all else relative to it, representative of it, operative by it. The Lamb, but once actually slain in the fulness of time, but virtually was from the beginning, is and shall be to the end of the world. That the centre, in which their lines and ours, their types and our antitypes do meet. (*Works II*, p.300.)

This is great prose, and a good example of Eliot's 'structure, precision and relevant intensity'.⁽²¹⁾ There is the beauty and the precision in the rhythmic cadence of 'relative...representative...operative', each complemented by its carefully varied preposition. The careful revival of scholastic distinction in the use of the (then still potent) sense of the word *virtue*, in the contrast of what was once *actual* and remains *virtual*, and in that same sentence the exact gathering of all the tenses in 'was...is...and shall be'. Finally the metaphor of of the convergent centre by which Andrewes resolves his paradox (and in which Eliot follows him in his own poetry ⁽²²⁾) which allows him to bring his congregation in, to make his truth relevant at the point at which it is most intense, by saying it is *our* lines and *our* antitypes which meet with theirs in that still centre.

In another peroration exhorting his hearers to take the sacrament, Andrewes interestingly allegorises Christ's command to the disciples to 'return to Galilee' after the Resurrection, as a command to return to the origins of our faith, as Galilee was the original scene of theirs, and

he uses his favourite phrase, '*ad principia*', as he had done in his Lenten analysis of repentance.⁽²³⁾

But then are we to remember the condition, that here we get us into Galilee, or else it will not be. And Galilee is a revolution or turning, *ad principia* 'to the first point,' as doth the Zodiac at this time of the year. (*Works II*, p.237.)

He goes on to develop the application in a series of his typical puns and word-plays intended as an assistance to the memory:

The time of His Resurrection is *Pascha*, 'a passing over,' the place Galilee, 'a turning about.' It remaineth then that we pass over as the time, and turn as the place, putteth us in mind. Re-uniting ourselves to his Body and Blood in this time of His rising, of the dissolving and renting whereof our sins were the cause. (*Works II*, p.237.)

This returning *ad principia* is transformed by means of the sacrament into a renewal, so that sin once thus revisited in penitence is left behind, as Andrewes emphasises:

Leaving whatsoever formerly hath been amiss in Christ's grave as the weeds of our dead estate, and rising to newness of life, so that we may have our part 'in the first resurrection'. (*Works II*, p.237.)

v) Pentecost Sermons

There are fifteen surviving Pentecost sermons, all of them preached on Whitsunday before the King between 1606 and 1621, with the exception of the last, for 1622, which Andrewes prepared but never actually

delivered. The whole series begins by emphasising the notion of the yearly festival as the renewal and celebration of memory: 'We are this day, beside our weekly due of the Sabbath, to renew and celebrate the yearly memory of the sending down the Holy Ghost.' (*Works* III, p.107.) These first words of the first sermon set a tone for the series, in which Andrewes works through a very thorough survey of the theology of the Holy Spirit, and attempts to redress an imbalance, towards a more comprehensively trinitarian understanding of God.

He sees it as one of the special offices of the Holy Spirit both to mark the memory deeply and to renew the impression made in the memory. So for example, in this first sermon he uses the notion of fire as his controlling image, and makes his points in a series of metaphors based on the image of burning and flames. (Each sermon tends to be organised under a dominant image; for example, he uses *tongues* in another sermon acknowledging that he has already worked through the image of fire in the previous one.) Andrewes portrays the Holy Spirit as a constant altar-fire in contrast to 'the foolish meteor', and then goes on:

So in vigour as His vigour is not brunts only or starts, *impetus*, but *habitus*, that it holdeth out habit-wise. Not only like the sparks before which will make a man stir for the present, but leaving an impression, such an one as iron red-hot leaveth in vessels of wood; a fire-mark never to be got out more. Such doth the Holy Ghost leave in the memories: *in aeternum non obliviscar*, 'I shall never forget it.' (*Works* III, p.126.)

This passage is striking not only for the vivid image of the red-hot iron on wood making its indelible impression - itself an image likely to be impressed on his hearers' memory - but also for the sleight of

language, typical of Andrewes, whereby he introduces the Latin words *impetus* and *habitus* as alternatives for his colloquial English, not only to lend gravity to his matter, but also to sharpen and make more memorable the contrasts between the two, by pairing them with words that have the same ending. Again and again throughout the sermons Andrewes avails himself of memorable word-plays, which would only be possible in Latin, by introducing the appropriate Latin words and phrases into his English text, but only in contexts in which their meaning is made immediately clear.

He returns once more to the idea of the Spirit leaving his mark in the memory in the second sermon, in which he takes occasion to make some revealing remarks about the whole notion of preaching and the role of the sermon. In a passage in which he contrasts mere finery of 'phrases and figures' (in which he was acknowledged the great master of his day) with 'soundness of sense', he says that the true fire of preaching, inspired by the Spirit, will not only blaze but abide:

And where it is required that not only the tongue have this fire, but that it sit and bide by us, sure it is that volubility of utterance, earnestness of action, straining the voice in a passionate delivery, phrases and figures, these all have their heat, but they be but blazes. It is the evidence of the Spirit in the soundness of the sense, that leaves the true impression; that is the tongue that will sit by us, that the fire that will keep still alive. The rest come in passion; move for the present, make us a little sermon-warm for the while; but after they flit and vanish, and go their way - true mark leave they none. It is only *verba sapientium clavi*, saith the Wise Man, 'the wisdom of speech' that is 'the nail', the nail red-hot, that leaveth a mark behind that will never be got out. (*Works* III, p.138.)

It is interesting to see him here not only coining the memorable and pithy phrase 'sermon-warm', but also reverting to the image he used exactly two years before⁽²⁴⁾ of the hot iron on wood, and as it were, driving the mark deeper, in the expectation that this image, which might well serve as a memory-image in an art of memory system, has been remembered through the intervening two years. In both sermons Andrewes directly follows the image with an allusion to a memory-verse in some other part of Scripture, forging links in his auditors' minds between this feast and various familiar places in the Old Testament. In the first sermon it was with the words, *in aeternum non obliviscar*, 'I shall never forget it', an allusion to Psalm 119. 93: 'I will never forget thy precepts for by them thou hast given me life'. In the second sermon it is with the words: *verba sapientium clavi*, an allusion to the famous passage in Ecclesiastes 12.11:

The sayings of the wise are like goads,
and like nails firmly fixed are the collected sayings which are
given by one shepherd.

He may perhaps intend a humorous allusion, in the light of his own extensive library, to the verse which immediately follows this saying, making light of his and all our scholarship:

My son beware of anything beyond these.
Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a
weariness of the flesh.

If, for Andrewes, the efficacy of the word in preaching is that it should remain, should 'sit by us', rather than making us briefly 'sermon-warm', then it would follow that he should have an interest in encouraging periods of reflection and recollection following the sermon

- times, in which the sermon could be gone over not only in the manner of the grammar school training, dealt with in Chapter Two, but also as a means of fixing devotional intentions, in the sort of devotional or meditative use of the art of memory developed through Aquinas's comments on the exercise of memory in prudence. And this devotional returning and rekindling of the memory, as an exercise after the sermon, is precisely what he does recommend in a number of his exhortations in this Pentecost series. For example, in the fifth sermon of the series, preached in 1612, a sermon in which he had already reminded his auditors that by the Holy Ghost we are 'put in mind of what we forget, stirred up in what we are dull' (*Works* III, p.191), Andrewes dwells on how the Holy Spirit fell on Cornelius and his household 'even in sermon-time', while Peter was preaching to them, and he asks why sermons do not have so great an effect now. He puts it down to a failure in the devotional exercise of memory:

That we see not this effect, that with the word the Spirit is not received as It would be, the reason is It is no sooner gotten than It is lost. *We should find this effect, if after we had heard the word, we could get us a little out of the noise about us, and withdraw ourselves some whither, where we might be by ourselves, that when we have heard Him speak to us we might hear what He would speak in us. When we have heard the voice before us we might hear another behind us, Haec est via. When the voice that soundeth, the other of Job, Vocem audivi in silentio; - there hear Him reprove, teach comfort us, within. Upon which texts are grounded the soliloquies, the communing with our own spirits, which are much praised by the ancients, to this purpose; for in meditatione exardescit ignis, 'by a little musing or meditation, the fire would kindle' and be kept alive, which otherwise will die. And certain it is that many sparks kindled, for want of this go out*

again straight, for as fast as it is written in our hearts, it is wiped out again; so fast as the seed is sown, it is picked up by the fowls again, and so our receiving is in vain, the word and the Spirit are severed, which else would keep together. (*Works* III, pp.198-99.)

Here again he weaves his exhortation to this meditative recollection with reminiscences from Old Testament *loci classici* in Isaiah 30.21, and Job 4.16.

Andrewes returns to this notion of 'returning within' again in the tenth sermon of the series, which deals with it in the almost classically Augustinian sense of striving no longer to be absent from ourselves, but turning and returning to the heart as the necessary prelude to turning from sin to God. Andrewes's point in this sermon is that worldly loss is redeemed if it serves the function of making us see and repent of sin, but is useless and wasted if we do not use it as an opportunity for such revision and repentance. We have, as it were, to make the right use of the memory of our own failures and disasters. Commenting on the text that we should turn to God with a broken and contrite heart, he contrasts the heart which is broken by the sight of sin itself, with the heart that is broken merely by the sight of calamity, each symbolised by a memorable scriptural figure and also under the emblematic figure of a hammer: Manasses's hammer is the worldly disaster of his imprisonment, David's is the inner agony of his guilt for sin with Bathsheba:

You will say we have no hammer, no worldly cross to break our hearts. It may be. That is Manasses' Hammer, the common hammer indeed, but that is not King David's hammer, which I rather commend to you: the right hammer to do the feat, to work contrition in kind. The right is the sight of our own sins. And I will say this for it; that I never in my life saw any man brought so low with any worldly calamity, as I have with this sight...And this is sure; if a man be not humbled with the sight of his sins, it is not all the crosses or losses in the world will humble him aright.

This is the right. And without any worldly cross this we might have, if we loved not so to absent ourselves from ourselves, to be even *fugitivi cordis*, to run away from our own hearts, be ever abroad, never within; if we would but sometimes *redire ad cor*, return home thither and descend into ourselves...this might be had...if not, the common hammer must come; and God send us Manasses hammer to break it; some bodily sickness, some worldly affliction, to send us home into ourselves. (*Works III*, pp.294-95.)

We can see just such a use of 'Manasses's Hammer' in Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, in which, by dramatising and making public his own response to affliction, Donne sets a pattern for the use of affliction as the goad to drive us to a reassessment of ourselves and our past. Certainly in the principle of *redire ad cor* Andrewes goes back to his image of turning and returning, which he had enunciated in *redire ad principia*, and he availed himself in one of the Lent sermons of a pun on *cor*, to emphasise the link between the right exercise of memory and the turning or returning into the heart when, on the text of Luke 16.25, '*Fili recordare quia recipisti...*', he says:

...look to our *recordare*, carry it in mind, and (in *recordare* there is *cor* too) take it to heart, and by both in time take order. *Ne et ipsi veniamus.* (*Works* II, p.80.)(25)

The Pentecost series provides a further example of Andrewes's desire to take events within the public memory and turn them into theological or devotional remembrances, as we saw him do with the Gunpowder Plot in the 1606 Resurrection sermon. Preaching on the text from Psalm 68.18, 'Thou art gone up on high, thou hast led captivity captive', he uses the capture of a Turkish ship in which Englishmen themselves are held captive, as an illustration, and then goes on to allude to the defeat of the Armada twenty-six years before, in order to make the point that every smaller captivity can be a remembrance of the great captivity of mankind under Satan, and every deliverance a pledge of the great deliverance wrought by Christ when he took Satan, and so all his captives, captive, and thus released the prisoners:

Other inferior captivities there be in this life, and those not lightly to be regarded neither. But this of mankind is the main; the rest all derived from this and but pledges of it.

We have lived to see, that *Ascensor Caeli* was *Auxiliator noster*, and *Ductor captivitatis nostrae* even this way.

In the year eighty-eight, the Invincible navy had swallowed us up quick, and made full account to have led us all into captivity. We saw them led like a sort of poor captives round about this isle, sunk and cast away the most part of them, and the rest sent home again with shame.

Andrewes follows this up immediately with a further allusion to the memory of the Gunpowder Plot:

Eight years, since they that had vowed the ruin of us all, and if that had been, the thralldom of this whole land; they were led captives in the literal sense (we saw them) and brought to a wretched end before our eyes. So He that there did, still can, and still doth 'lead captivity captive' for the good of His. Take these as remembrances here below, but look up beyond these to our great *captivam duxisti* here; and make this use of both, that we both these ways 'being delivered out of the hands of our enemies,' and from the slavery of Satan, 'might serve Him' Whose service is perfect freedom 'in righteousness and holiness before him all the days of our life.' (*Works III*, pp.230-31.)

Here Andrewes combines an evocation of public memory with quotation from the liturgy of Mattins known to everyone by heart, in order to make his point memorable by linking it decisively with what cannot be forgotten. We have twice seen allusion, in Andrewes's Church-festival sermons, to the Gunpowder Plot and it is not surprising therefore to find that he went some way, in preaching a long series of sermons on the anniversaries of the Gunpowder and Gowrie Conspiracies, to sacralise these 'political festivals'. It is with a brief consideration of these sermons that we will conclude this survey of the *Ninety-Six Sermons*.

vi) The Conspiracy Sermons

The next section of the *Ninety-Six Sermons* consists of two series, eight on the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy, and ten on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason. They have a great deal in

common, but on the whole the Gunpowder Treason sermons are more coherently and forcefully expressed, and as the event that gave rise to them clearly concerned Andrewes more closely and moved him more deeply, it is from these that we will take one or two examples for this survey. That Andrewes felt deep personal involvement in the discovery of the treason and in the genuine, but at the same time politically manipulated, public reaction to it, there can be no doubt. The existence of the plot was revealed to the King on the very day Andrewes was consecrated Bishop, the third of November 1605. Had the plot succeeded, the explosion would have happened 'on the very day that Andrewes was qualified to sit in the house of Lords for the first time'.⁽²⁶⁾ As we have seen, it was an event to which he referred in sermons on other festival occasions, so it is not surprising that when Parliament decreed that the fifth of November should be observed as an annual remembrance and thanksgiving, and that 'all and sundry ministers in every cathedral and parish church, or other usual place of common prayer, within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, shall always upon the fifth day of November... give unto almighty God thanks for this most happy deliverance',⁽²⁷⁾ Andrewes was chosen to preach the commemorative sermons at Whitehall.

In the very first of these sermons Andrewes took as his text Psalm 118.23-24, 'This is the day which the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in it'. He uses this text and sermon as an occasion to enlarge on the importance of acts of remembrance and the setting aside of memorable days, going back to quote Palm 111.4:

This 'merciful and gracious Lord,' saith David... 'hath so done His marvellous works that they ought to be had,' and kept, 'in remembrance.' Of keeping in remembrance many ways there be: among the rest this is one, of making days, set solemn days, to

preserve memorable acts, that they be not eaten out by them, but ever revived with the turn of the year and kept still fresh in continual memory. God Himself taught us this way. In remembrance of the great delivery from the destroying Angel, He Himself ordained the day of the Passover yearly to be kept. The Church by Him taught, took the same way. (*Works IV*, p.204.)

Here time itself, which eats things away, must be made a means of preserving them. This is a conceit to which Andrewes is still returning with equal vigour in the last of the Gunpowder sermons, where he sets the key-word *memento* before the feast, rather in the same way that he makes his list of occurrences of *memento* in the Lent sermon on Lot's wife:(28)

Memento is set before the great, and so before all holy-days. All He would draw from us is, but that the lot of this day or the day of this lot may never be forgotten. A benefit would not be forgotten, not man's; God's much less. Such a benefit especially....But our thankfulness is not to fly away like a flash of powder. To fix it then, *fiat volatile fixum*; that would be done. And fix it in anything else but time, time will eat it out. Best then fix it in time itself and that hath ever been thought a wise way; so shall it roll about with time and renew as it doth. And so time which defaceth all things and bringeth them to forgetfulness, shall be made to preserve the memory of it whether it will or no. Fix it in time; what part of time? A day: *Memento diem* saith God in His Law... (*Works IV*, pp.398-99.)

In this defence of set memorial days against the puritan objection to them as popish relics, Andrewes was of course standing firmly in the Augustinian line, and indeed he quotes Augustine on this very subject

later on in this sermon in showing that from the beginning the Church appointed commemorative holidays:

It is St Augustine (*de Civitate* x.4): *Memoriam beneficiorum Dei &c.*
'The memory of God's benefits we Christians keep sacred and holy, by holding solemn feasts for them, lest else by revolution of time forgetfulness might creep upon us and we prove unthankful.'
(*Works* IV, p.400.)(29)

In this survey I have attempted to highlight the various references to and comments upon the place of memory in the life of the Church and the individual as they occur throughout the main body of Andrewes's sermons, so as to show the emphasis he placed on memory. Before turning to look at a sermon which deals at length with memory itself, it is worth reviewing the main body of the sermons in the light of the *ars memorativa* traditions discussed in Chapter Two, to see how far these sermons reveal the influence of the practical and devotional memory systems mentioned there.

D) Andrewes and the Art of Memory, Elements and Influences

Given the importance of memory training in the Elizabethan grammar school, and the cross-links between memory training and the devotional use of and theological reflection on memory, the question arises as to what influence the *ars memorativa* had on Andrewes's sermon style and structure, and whether he himself employed an art of memory in the composition and delivery of his sermons. It is clear that Andrewes himself was gifted with a very strong memory, which would have been

strengthened further by his early training. When he went up to Pembroke he won a Watts Greek scholarship, which stipulated that scholars should be 'of good hope and towardness for witt and memory'.⁽³⁰⁾ To compete for the scholarship, candidates 'had to declaim from memory upon some moral or political question chosen by the master or his deputy'. (Welsby, p.12.) This talent, improved by training, was remarkable in Andrewes even in an age when trained, and to our way of thinking, prodigious memories were common. Chamberlain twice commented on Andrewes' exceptional powers of memory in his letters:

Surely he hath a wonderful memory for he not only calls to mind any matter that passed at any time, but the very time place, persons and all other circumstances which seemed strange to me in a discourse of almost two hours.

and again:

I marvel every day more and more at the happiness of his memory, for it seems that nothing escapes him of what he hath heard or read. (Quoted in Welsby, p.161.)

Because an individual art of memory, or private system of mnemonics, was by its nature a hidden or interior art, it would not be possible to demonstrate conclusively that Andrewes used one, or to unearth which of various available systems he might have used or adapted. It can be shown, however, that there are characteristic features of his sermons, in their structure and division, in their imagery and use of the *conchetto predicabile*, which are perfectly adapted to *ars memorativa* methods, and would make the sermons much easier to master and memorise. Given his strong emphasis on the need to meditate on, and remember his sermons after they have been heard the first time, and

the ease and exactness with which he refers to his own previous sermons, apparently expecting his congregation to pick up the references as easily as he does, it seems clear that he took sufficient cognisance of the art to blend elements of it into his sermons, so as to assist those of his auditors employing an art in remembering them. Indeed, I would argue that the influence from the *ars memorativa* on his style and structure is considerable. In the preceding survey I have occasionally commented on the way in which images and conceits in passages about memory would also adapt themselves to an art of memory, and these features occur frequently throughout his sermons, though they only tend to come to one's notice if one is already aware of the *ars memorativa* tradition. The areas of Andrewes's work which owe something to that tradition are his organisation of *divisio*, his careful use of emblems as mnemonics and summaries, and his deployment of the *conchetto predicabile*. I will look briefly at some examples of each of these in turn.

i) *Divisio* and structure

The right division and ordering of a discourse was, as we have seen, an essential point both for *dispositio*, the part of rhetoric concerned with the composition of the discourse, and for *memoria*. Andrewes takes special care in the division and ordering of his sermons, and always lays out the plan of his division fully and clearly to his auditors before he proceeds to the sermon proper. This practice is clearly intended to assist both those who are making notes from the sermon and those who are retaining it by means of a memory system. Indeed, two features of his *divisio*, often combined by Andrewes, would be of special use to the practitioner of an art of memory. These are, first, his use of a clear visual image to stand for the parts of his division, such as the inner and outer courts of a building, or a rising flight of

steps, or the quarters of a cross; and secondly, his use of the individual words of the text itself to stand for the heads of his division, and often by means of pun to summarise the points under each head, so that anyone used to using scriptile images such as the ones recommended in Willis's *Art of Memory* would be able to use the words of the text as a series of memory-headings in learning an Andrewes sermon, because as far as possible he always divides his text and treats it in the order in which it is given. These are features which occur in almost all his sermons, but one or two examples should suffice to show how the method works.

For his Christmas sermon of 1609 Andrewes took as his text Galatians 4.4 and 5: 'When the fulness of time was come, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the Law. That He might redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.' After a brief exordium, in which he shows a fulness of time in Christmas since the fulness of the year is symbolically recapitulated in the twelve days feasting, each for a month, and in which he puns on the Latin of the text, '*missit Deus Filium*', to show that in this missa and *missio* there is *remissa* and *remissio* for us, Andrewes proceeds to his division:

To entreat of it then. The heads are two: I. Of 'the fulness of time.' II. And of that wherewith it is filled. I. Time's fulness in these, 'When the fulness of time came.' II. Time's filling in the rest, 'God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the Law,' &c.
(*Works* I, p.46.)

He goes on to subdivide the heads, using the words of the briefer Latin text as the markers for the subdivision of the first head, and the English words, set out under the image of rising steps as the subdividing markers, or in *ars memorative* terms, *loci*, in the second:

I. In the former, *Quando venit plenitudo temporis*, there be four points: 1. *Plenitudo temporis*, 'that time hath a fulness;' or, 'that there is a fulness of time.' 2. *Venit plenitudo*, 'That that fulness cometh by steps and degrees;' not all at once. 3. *Quando venit*; that it hath a *quando*, that is 'there is a time when time thus cometh to this fulness.' 4. And when that *when* is? and that is 'when God sent His Son.' And so we pass over to the other part of the same verse, *Misit Deus*; 'God sent His Son.'

II. For the other part, touching the *filling* of time. There be texts, the right way to consider them is to take them in pieces, and this is of that kind. And if we take it in sunder, we shall see as it is of fulness so a kind of fulness there is in it, every word more full than other; every word a step in it whereby it riseth still higher, till by seven several degrees it cometh to the top and so the measure is full. 1. 'God sent,' the first. 2. 'Sent His Son,' the second. 3. 'His Son Made,' the third. 4. And that twice made; 'made of a woman,' the fourth. 5. 'Made under the Law,' the fifth; every one fuller than other, still.

And all this for some persons and some purpose; the persons *ut nos*, 'that we.' The Purpose, *reciperemus*, 'that we might receive.' Nay, if you mark it, there be two *uts*, 1. *ut ille*; 2. *ut nos*, 'that He might,' and that 'we might.' He might redeem, and we might receive; that is, He pay for it, and we reap the benefit. 6. A double benefit, of 1. Redemption, first from the state of persons cast and condemned under the Law, which is the sixth. 7. And then of 2. Translation unto the state of adopted children of God, which is the seventh and the very *filling* up of the measure.

Before leaving his 'division' Andrewes further subdivides these seven degrees of fulness into two categories, God's fulness and ours:

All which we may reduce to a double fulness: God's as much as He can send; ours as much as we can desire. God's in the five first. 1. 'God sent.' 2. 'Sent His Son.' 3. 'His Son Made.' 4. 'Made of a Woman.' 5. 'Made under the Law.' And ours in the two latter; 6. 'We are redeemed,' the sixth. 7. 'We receive adoption,' the seventh. (*Works I, pp.46-47.*)

In this elaborate and systematic division Andrewes exhibits the structure of the sermon before he delivers it, linking his first four parts to four Latin words each handled in pairs, so that in each pair there is a repeated connecting word to trigger the memory in making the link between each of the four sections. In the second part of the division he actually repeats the seven subdivisions under the image of steps and according to their textual headings *twice*, so as to get the map or layout of the *loci* of the sermon absolutely clear to all his auditors before he goes on to the substance of what he has to say. As he preaches the sermon he announces each of the subdivisions clearly so that everybody knows where they have got to in the overall plan. Further, the division is set out with a continual play and repetition on *full* and *fulness* so that the theme of the sermon is linked with the plan of its structure. To a modern reader all this might seem over-elaborate, over-structured, and repetitious, but once one is aware of the memory tradition, one can see how closely this method of division is tailored to the needs of practitioners of the art, how it would assist the preacher in delivering the sermon memoriter, and the auditor in carrying the sermon away with him inscribed in the *loci* of his memory system.

A key in memory systems is a visual image or map of the ordering of places in the division, and this can take many forms. In the *divisio* of his Lenten sermon on the text, 'Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy pleasure and likewise Lazarus pains; now therefore is he comforted and thou art tormented,' (Luke 16.25) (*Works II*, pp.78-97) Andrewes makes a visual pun on the phrase with which the text ends in the Vulgate, '*tu vero cruciaris*', by asking his auditors to draw an imaginary cross and set out the division of the text in its quarters. The division is preceded by an exordium in which Andrewes emphasises the vital importance of memory:

This scripture hath the name given it in the very first words; *Recordare fili*, 'Son, remember:' - it is a remembrance. There be many sermons of remembrance here on earth; this is one from heaven...such a remembrance that it toucheth our estate in everlasting life, that is, the well or evil hearing of this *recordare* is as much as our eternal life is worth...And therefore look to our *recordare*, carry it in mind, and (in *recordare* there is *cor* too,) take it to heart. (*Works II*, pp.78-80.)

Then comes the division, with its invitation to set the text out visually as a cross:

The verse itself, if we mark it well, is in figure and proportion an exact cross. For as a cross it consisteth of two bars or beams so situate as the one doth quarter the other, 'thou receivedst good things and Lazarus received evil.' These two lie clean contrary, but meet both at the middle word, 'Now therefore;' and there, by a new antithesis, cross each other: $\acute{o} \delta\epsilon$, he that 'received evil is comforted;' and $\sigma\upsilon \delta\epsilon$, 'thou that didst receive good, art tormented.' And to make it a perfect cross, it hath a title or

inscription too set over it; and this it is *Recordare fili*. And sure next to the cross of Christ, and the memory thereof, this cross of Abraham's invention and exaltation is of all others most effectual. And I verily persuade myself, if we often would fix it before our eyes, and well mark the inscription, it would be a special preparation to our passover, meaning by our passover our end, whereby pass we must ere long into another state, either of misery or bliss; but whether of misery or bliss, it will lie much in the use of this word *recordare*.

First then we will treat 1. of the cross; after, 2. of the title.
(*Works II*, pp.80-81.)

And so Andrewes proceeds further, subdividing what he has to say about 'the cross' under headings placed in its various 'quarters'. Using figures like these to rearrange or 'quarter' a text is precisely the procedure recommended by Willis in his *Art of Memory*.⁽³¹⁾ Therefore, it seems to me very likely that Andrewes's method here, and his method of division generally, has been directly influenced by the *ars memorativa* tradition.

ii) Emblems as Mnemonics

In Chapter Two of this thesis I showed the relation between the art of memory and the currency of emblem books, quoting the recommendation in Willis that the practitioner of the art should adapt images from the emblem books.⁽³²⁾ Likewise it is clear that sermon writers often availed themselves of popular emblems in order to make their points clear, and

one book of emblems, *The Soule's Solace* by Thomas Jenner, was gathered entirely from contemporary sermons.⁽³³⁾ Andrewes quite frequently uses common emblems, or elaborates imagery in such a way that it becomes emblematic, and it seems highly probable that his emblems, especially when they occur, as they frequently do, at the crucial stage of the setting out of *divisio*, are intended by Andrewes to function as mnemonics to assist the memorisation of his sermon. For, as I suggested in Chapter Two, a well placed and chosen emblematic image set into a sermon can serve a double function as illustration and as mnemonic *notae* for both the preacher and his congregation.

Andrewes's third sermon in his Lent series (*Works* I, pp.338-55) provides a good example of this way of using emblematic imagery. His text, Jeremiah 8.4-7, concludes with the verse: 'Yea the stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people knoweth not the judgement of the Lord'. Andrewes takes occasion of this verse to develop the images of the four birds emblematically, claiming that by these 'four fowls' we can be taught the time 'and manner also how to perform our repentance':

1. That *vox turturis*, which is *gemebam*, a mournful note; 2. that the very name and nature of the stork **הטיריה** of **חסד** full of mercy and compassion; 3. that the swallow's nest, so near the altar of God; 4. that the painful watching and abstinence of the crane, specially when they take their flight, so credibly recorded in the natural histories; that these, *emblem-wise* [my emphasis], teach us the 1. mournful bewailing of our life past; 2. 'the breaking off of our former sins by works of mercy;' 3. the keeping near this place, the house and altar of God; 4. the abstinence and watching to be performed during this time of our return. (*Works* I, pp.351-52.)

Here the images in the text, which is the first thing to be committed to memory when remembering a sermon, serve as symbolic *imagines* to stand for the four qualities which must accompany the repentance which is the subject of the sermon. Here Andrewes uses four emblems to symbolise four points, but sometimes he will use the more familiar characteristics of a well known emblem to symbolise more than one point. as for example his use of the image of an eagle in the sixth Nativity sermon. His text is from the Gospel of St John, and since the eagle is John's symbol, it functions perfectly in this context because of the link by association, which is the heart of all memory systems. Indeed, Andrewes opens his exordium with the image, and singles out two properties of the eagle, typically fixed in the mind by quotation of two familiar verses, and then he bases his division on these two:

There is in the Old Testament in the tenth of Ezekiel, and in the New, in the fourth of the Revelation, a vision of four sundry shapes, a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle. It hath been usually received to apply these four to the four evangelists, and of them the eagle to St. John. The nature of the eagle is by God Himself described by two properties, 1. *elevare ad ardua*, no fowl under Heaven towereth so high; 2. and *ubicunque fuerit cadaver statem adest* ; none so soon or so suddenly down upon the body as he. Both these do lively express themselves in St. John, and nowhere more lively than in this Gospel. Wherein as an eagle in the clouds he mounteth wonderfully high beyond Moses and his *in principio*, with an higher *in principio* than it; beyond Genesis and the world's creation: 'that the Word was then with God and was God.' This may well be termed the eagle's flight, so exceeding high as the clearest eye hath much ado to follow him. Yet so far as they can follow him, the very philosophers have been driven to admire the penning of this Gospel. But after this, as an eagle again, (*ubi corpus, ibi*

aquila.) down he cometh directly from the height of Heaven, and lights upon the body of His flesh, the mystery of His incarnation. (*Works I*, pp.85-86.)

This detailed way of showing the propriety of the eagle image for John is not of course original to Andrewes, and in fact he is freely translating here from Augustine's thirty-sixth tractate on John's Gospel. But by placing the image at the very opening of the sermon and using the two directions of its flight to symbolise the two parts of his text, the Word and the flesh, Andrewes is placing the emblem in such away that it can be adapted as an aid in recalling the sermon.

Where an emblematic image is not ready to hand Andrewes is careful to construct one of his own, as he does in the Lent sermon on Lot's wife, given in more detail in Section E of this chapter. But certainly he seems alive to the importance for illustration and memory of carefully placed emblematic imagery. The emblematic quality of Andrewes's imagery has been noted by Elizabeth McCutcheon. Andrewes improves on the emblem books by avoiding some of their artificiality.⁽³⁴⁾ My own research confirms her assertions about Andrewes's use of emblems, but she does not make the connection between his frequently emblematic imagery and the influence of the *ars memorativa* which I am suggesting here.

c) *Concetto Predicabile*

A third feature of the *ars memorativa* which is also found to an exceptional degree in Andrewes's sermons is the startling, shocking, or 'phantastical' image, what Mitchell, following Spingern, calls the

conchetto predicabile, and which he sees as a feature of Andrewes's prose. ⁽³⁵⁾He says of this type of image:

Its function was to inculcate a moral truth by means of a scriptural or physical symbol; the symbol selected seemed so far from its purpose that the mind received a shock of surprise when the preacher appeared to justify its selection by argument and sacred authority. (*Pulpit Oratory*, p.7.)

Andrewes's prose abounds in such *conchetti*. A striking example comes in the seventh sermon of the Nativity series, used to illustrate and fix in memory his seventh point about the efficacy of Christ's blood for our salvation:

With that Blood He was to make the medicine. Die He must, and His side be opened, that there might issue both the Water and the Blood that was to be the ingredients of it. By Himself, His Ownself, and by Himself slain; by His death and by His bloodshedding, and by no other means; *quis audivit talia?* The Physician slain, and of His Flesh and Blood a receipt made, that the patient might recover! (*Works I*, p.113.)

This paradox of the dying physician is certainly a striking and memorable conceit; indeed, it was remembered centuries later and taken up by Eliot into his poetry when he wrote the verse 'the wounded surgeon plies the steel...'⁽³⁶⁾ Certainly, this image fits not only the definition of the *conchetto*, but also Willis's apologia for his choice of imagery in memory systems:

This one thing I desire to be favourably censured, that if in the examples I give for the illustration of the practice of this Art...there appear aught to be phantasticall, it may be excused by this reason, that in this art I go about to instruct the phantasie, which is the servant of memorie. In which respect it fitteth well that I deliver some conceits that are phantasticall. (Willis, p.A5.)

So far in this survey we have seen some isolated passages from different sermons where Andrewes develops his thought about memory, some passages in which he emphasises the places, images, emblems, and conceits which can be ordered in an art of memory, and some passages in which he forges links between memorable public events and the application and ordering of points in his sermon. In the next section we will look at how all these different aspects of Andrewes's theology of memory and of his rhetorical technique are brought together in the course of a single sermon.

E) 'Remember Lot's Wife': a Memorable Sermon on Memory

On the 6th of March 1594 Andrewes preached a sermon before the Queen on the memorably short text 'Remember Lot's Wife' (Luke 17.32), by which he takes occasion in his customary division of the text, to reflect on the place of memory itself in the divine economy. After a brief exordium on Christ's command to us to use our memory, he begins by seeing the exercise of memory as the common element which unites the two offices of priest and preacher:

The prophet Esay doth call us that stand in this place, the Lord's remembrancers; as *to God for the people by the office of prayers,*

so from God to the people by the office of preaching. In which office of preaching we are employed as much about *recognosce*, as about *cognosce*; as much in calling to their minds the things they know and have forgot, as in teaching them the things they know not, or never learnt. The things are many we have commission to put men in mind of. Some touching themselves: for it is many times too true which the philosopher saith; *nihil tam longe abest a nobis quam ipsi nos*, 'Nothing is so far from our minds as we ourselves;' For naturally as saith the Apostle we do *παράρῳεiv*, 'leak and run out;' and when we have looked in the glass, we straight 'forget our fashion again.' (*Works II*, p.64.)

This passage, though gathered and reshaped from a multiplicity of sources, is particularly reminiscent of two passages in the *Confessions*. In the first Augustine reflects on the way in which cogitation is in fact the drawing together again of things which we already know but which have become scattered and lost:

My memory holds a great number of facts of this sort, things which I have already discovered and, as I have said, placed ready to hand. This is what is meant by saying that we have learnt them and know them. If, for a short space of time, I cease to give them my attention, they sink back and recede again into the more remote cells of my memory, so that I have to think them out again, like a fresh set of facts, if I am to know them. I have to shepherd them out again from their old lairs, because there is no other place where they can have gone. In other words, once they have been dispersed, I have to collect them again, and this is the derivation of the word *cogitare*, which means *to think* or *to collect one's thoughts*. For in Latin the word *cogo*, meaning *I assemble* or *I*

collect, is related to *cogito*, which means *I think*. (*Confessions*, pp.218-19.)

The second is the passage where Augustine says,

Truly it is by continence that we are made as one and regain that unity of self which we lost by falling apart in the search for a variety of pleasures. (*Confessions*, p.233.)⁽³⁷⁾

By blending the memory of these two passages, Andrewes has achieved a new unity in which he creatively applies Augustinian observations on the memory of sense-objects, which is the subject of the first passage, to the memory of ourselves as spiritual creatures, which is the subject of the second passage and of Andrewes's own remarks. Andrewes has of course added further to the breadth and complexity of his conflation of different influences, by expressing these essentially Augustinian ideas through allusion to and quotation from Aristotle and St Paul. For it was in the nature of Andrewes's mind, and his special imaginative gift, continually to be creating new unities out of the endless quotation and recombination of his sources. So we can see that even when he seems most directly influenced by Augustinian ideas, he is in fact subtly reshaping them. He goes on after this passage to add his own practical conclusions about how we should respond to these facts about memory and our own self-forgetfulness, together with speculations about how they affect our pictures of time and history, and especially our use of the biblical histories and narratives:

Therefore we have in charge to put men in mind of many things, and to call upon them with diverse *mementos*. *Memento quia sicut lutum tu*, 'remember the baseness of our mould what it is.' *Memento quia vita ventus*, 'remember the frailness of our life, how short it

is.' *Memento tenebrosi temporis*, 'remember the days of darkness are coming,' and they be many. All which we know well enough yet need to be put in mind of them.

But the storehouse, and the very life of memory, is the history of time: and a special charge have we, all along the Scriptures, to call upon men to look to that. For all our wisdom consisting either in experience or memory - experience of our own, or memory of others, our days are so short, that our experience can be but slender...and our own time cannot afford us observations enough for so many cases as we need direction in. Needs must we then as [Job] adviseth, *interrogare generationem pristinam*, 'ask the former age,' what they did in like case; search the records of former times, wherein our cases we shall be able to match, and to *pattern* [my emphasis] them all. (*Works* II, pp.64-65.)

Here Andrewes makes a twofold division of the preacher's role of remembrancer: first, the classically Augustinian one of recalling men to themselves, to a deeper understanding of their own condition and circumstances; and, secondly, his own development from that: the recalling of common memory, the inheritance of history and Scripture, in order to discern the significance of present experience, or in Andrewes's highly significant and characteristic term, to *pattern* experience, so that its significance can be clearly discerned and acted upon.

This idea of *patterning* experience is central to the work of both Andrewes and Donne. The mere memory of our own experience, the mere narrative of the history of others, is not enough. It is necessary for us to discern the pattern of divine activity within the remembered events, to determine their significant structure so that we can *match*

them against our own present experience and so discover its meaning.

As T.S. Eliot, put it:

We had the experience but missed the meaning,
And approach to the meaning restores the experience
In a different form...
...the past experience revived in the meaning
Is not the experience of one life only
But of many generations...(38)

The model of history which Andrewes is presenting in this sermon is cyclical and exemplary. Fundamental patterns are continually recurring in it:

Solomon saith excellently *Quid est quod fuit? Quod futurum est.* 'What is that that hath been? That that shall be.' And back again, what is that that shall be? That that hath been...So that it is but turning the wheel, and setting before us some case of antiquity which may sample ours. (*Works II, p.65.*)

The Scripture, because it is set forth for us by the Holy Spirit, is for Andrewes the memory book, the book of memorable *exempla par excellence*, whereby we match and pattern our experience, and he uses this sermon as an occasion to note the frequency with which Scripture enjoins the exercise of memory, gathering together into the unity of his discourse, within a single paragraph, scattered verses on memory gathered from Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Job, James, and Hebrews, all focussing at last and uniting in his chosen text which is three words of Christ:

Seven several times we are called upon to do it: 1. *Memento dierum antiquorum*, saith Moses. 2. *Recordamini prioris Seculi* - Esay. 3. *State super vias antiquas* - Jeremy. 4. *Investiga patrum memoriam* - Job. 5. *Exemplum sumite Prophetas* - James. 6. *Rememoramini dies priscos.* - Paul. 7. 'Remember Lot's wife' - Christ here; that is to lay our actions to those we find there, and of like doings to look for like ends. (*Works II*, p.65.)

As he develops his sermon Andrewes turns the image of Lot's wife, (literally as well as metaphorically, for she has been turned literally into an image - a statue, a pillar of salt, turning back to face Sodom and being frozen in the act), into an *exemplum* or pattern of all situations in which one is flying from sin or evil, and is tempted to turn back to it. The cities of the plain, on the one hand, and 'little Zoar', on the other, thus become symbols or types of sin on the one hand, and salvation, on the other. Our situation is always between the extremes, and our actions must conform either to the pattern of Lot who presses on to Zoar, or of Lot's wife who looks back to Sodom. By judicious use of memory we will be guided to discern the way in which every detail of their story corresponds with, and so reveals the significance of, some detail in ours.

As Andrewes makes his application he deliberately refrains from specifying the particular sins to which Sodom might correspond for us, or the particular virtue or calling of God which might in our lives correspond to Zoar, because he is concerned not to impose his own particular understanding of how the pattern is fulfilled, but rather to enable us to discover it for ourselves; for this reason he emphasises the actions and stages that make up the story, so that we can match each one to the content of our own individual memories. As he recapitulates the significant actions of the story, he substitutes 'we'

for the 'she' of his earlier narrative, which will form the pattern we apply to ourselves. He precedes each one with a repetition of the key verb in this sermon 'remember':

Remember we make not light account of the Angel's *serva animam tuam...*

Remember we be not weary to go whither God would have us - not to Zoar, though a little one, if our soul may there live..

Remember we slack not our pace nor stand still upon the plain

Remember we look not back...

But specially remember we leave not our heart behind us. (*Works II, pp.73-4.*)

Likewise he recapitulates the insights he has derived from and attached to the striking image of the salt-pillar in a list of the consequences of her backward glance, also introduced in each paragraph by 'remember':

Remember the danger and damage....

Remember the folly...

Remember the disgrace...

Remember the scandal...

Remember the infamy...

Remember the judgement...

Remember the difficulty of reclaiming to good. (*Works II, pp.74-75.*)

It is Andrewes's intention that the story of Lot's wife should become a memento or emblem, whereby we can gather up from the recesses of our mind, and firmly fix, our own wavering intentions. He concentrates especially on the image itself as a memory-image or mnemonic aid, such as those encountered in emblem books and used in the *ars memorativa*.

The image must become, by association, a means of recalling and applying all these things in time of need, and indeed he argues that it was for this very purpose that the divine providence ordered these events in the first place:

Now this pillar was erected...for our sakes...and not a pillar only to point and gaze at, but a pillar or rock of salt whence we may and must fetch wherewith to season whatsoever is unsavoury in our lives. And this, this is the life and soul of memory; this is wisdom - the art of extracting salt out of the wicked, triacle [antidote] out of vipers, our own happiness out of *aliena pericula*. (*Works II*, p.71.)

Here Andrewes indicates that the imaginative ordering of memory is a deliberate art, an 'art of salvation' as Donne was later to call it, and incidentally, to make his point more memorable, he alludes to a pun from Augustine himself (from a passage in his commentary on the Psalms) which Andrewes had in fact quoted verbatim earlier in the sermon in the course of his *divisio*. Augustine, alluding to the salt pillar, had written, and Andrewes had quoted him: '*Condiant nos, ut sal staturae ait nobis condimentum vitae* ', 'that the salt of this pillar may be the season of our lives'. (*Works II*, p. 64.)⁽³⁹⁾ Now Andrewes picks up the metaphor again, and fills it out with specific reference to the act of remembering.

Although, as can be seen, the bulk of the sermon is concerned with the ordering of memory and imagination for moral ends, so that we can correctly interpret our current moral position and act appropriately, Andrewes nevertheless began his sermon, in the passage referred to above about self-knowledge and self-recollection, with a rather deeper Augustinian mysticism of memory; indeed, he concludes the sermon on

the same note, for the last thing to be remembered is Christ himself, the risen and cosmic Christ who is the light of the mind and the memory, and in him the last things are to be remembered. Thus memory in this sermon includes all the modes of time, as we move from the memory of the past through the application and consequence of that memory to ourselves in the present, to the memory of Christ in whom is also contained the future, and beyond that eternity itself:

And when we have remembered these, remember Christ too that gave the *memento*; that He calleth Himself *Alpha and Omega*...And for a full *memento*, remember the reward. Remember how Christ will remember us for it; which shall not be the wages of a hireling, or lease-wise for time, and term of years , but *αἰῶνες αἰῶνων*, eternity itself. (*Works II*, pp.75-76.)

Summary

This survey and analysis of the theme of memory in Andrewes's work will, I hope, have shown two things. First, that memory is a central and important theme in his thought, and that he has worked out and expressed a rich development of Augustinian and classical notions of memory, which are integrated with his whole theology of salvation, so that any attempt to understand his work as a whole must take into account the central role played by his understanding of memory. Secondly, whilst it cannot be demonstrated with certainty that Andrewes deploys a particular memory system in the construction and delivery of his sermons, it is clear that the *ars memorativa* tradition provides a framework in which his peculiarities of structure and

imagery take on a new meaning and coherence, as means of assisting his auditors in remembering his sermons.

So far this theme has not been explored in Andrewes-criticism. The importance of time for Andrewes has been demonstrated in Elizabeth McCutcheon's thesis, and Douglas Chambers has analysed the topical ordering of thought, but neither of these theses draw the connection between the features they analyse and the *ars memorativa*, nor do they deal with memory as a single topic within Andrewes's thought. The single most important work on Andrewes, in my view, since Eliot's seminal essay, is Nicholas Lossky's general survey of the sermons, *Lancelot Andrewes Le Prédicateur*. This is an excellent and sympathetically written book, which came out when I was already more than half-way through my researches. Lossky has written a wide-ranging survey of all the leading features of Andrewes's thought from a strictly theological point of view, particularly emphasising Andrewes's debt to the Fathers of the Greek Church, but where he touches on the subject he confirms my opinion that memory had a central place in Andrewes's thought-world. He too notes that the Ash Wednesday and Lent series are especially concerned with memory, and emphasises the theme of the *memento mori*, which is certainly there, but which I have not emphasised in this thesis because it is so common in the period as not to be distinctive to Andrewes. Lossky comments:

Tout comme dans les sermons de Carême et du Mercredi des Cendres donc, c'est la mémoire de la mort qui engendre la mémoire permanente de Dieu.

Cette mémoire de Dieu qui s'exprime par la louange, l'action de grâce, et l'invocation, est ici joyeuse, Il s'agit en effet de fêter dans la joie la délivrance, sans oublier les dangers, tout comme à Pâques on n'oublie pas la croix.⁽⁴⁰⁾

This is a fine insight into the tension in Andrewes's work between the memory of pain or sin, which issues in a present passage into joy. Although Lossky does not explore the theme of memory as such, nor does he consider the relevance of the *ars memorativa*, I would want to agree with him entirely when he says of Andrewes's attitude to memory:

Le premier devoir est le devoir de reconnaissance. (Lossky, p.291.)

Notes

(1) Henry Isaacson, *An Exact Narration of the Life and Death of the Late Reverend and Learned Prelate, and Painful Divine, Lancelot Andrewes, Late Bishop of Winchester, Which may Serve as a Pattern of Piety and Charity to all Godly Disposed Christians*, London, 1650, (hereafter referred to as Isaacson's Life) reprinted in *Works X*. See Chapter Two, note fifteen, for further details of Bliss and Wilson's edition of Andrewes's *Works*, to which much reference will be made in this chapter.

(2) Paul Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes, 1555-1626*, London, 1958. Further references to this edition, whether in the text or in notes, will be to Welsby, followed by a page number.

(3) Quoted in Welsby, p.192.

(4) For a fuller account of the background of Andrewes's texts, see T.A. Owen, *Lancelot Andrewes*, Boston, 1981, Chapter Three. Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to Owen, followed by a page number.

(5) See *Lancelot Andrewes, Sermons*, edited by G.M.Story, Oxford, 1967.

(6) For their bibliographical researches and conclusions, see *Works X*, Appendix B, p.lx.

(7) The Revd. A.T. Russell, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Lancelot Andrewes*, Cambridge, 1860, p.308; and E.McCutcheon, *Lancelot Andrewes and the Theme of Time in the Early Seventeenth Century*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1961, p.48. Further references to this dissertation, in the text or in notes, will be to McCutcheon, followed by a page number.

(8) For a study of the tradition of Renaissance commentary on Genesis, see Arnold Williams, *The Common Expositor; an Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633*, London, 1948.

'A Catalogue of the Library of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes', including these eight commentaries, has been published by D.C. Chambers in *The Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, V, 1970, pp.100-21.

(9) *Αποπλασματια Sacra; or, A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures Delivered in St Paul's and St Giles his Church, by Lancelot Andrewes, Never before Extant*, London, 1657, p.94.

Further references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to *Orphan Lectures*, followed by a page number.

(10) See above, Chapter Two, pp.97-98.

(11) See below, Chapter Five pp.256-57, and Chapter Four, pp.236-41.

(12) See below, pp.127-29, and Chapter Five, pp.288-89.

(13) T.S. Eliot, 'Lancelot Andrewes', in *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot*, edited by Frank Kermode, London, 1975, p.183. Further references to this collection will be to *Selected Prose*, followed by a page reference. For a full discussion of Andrewes's influence on Eliot, see Chapter Five of this thesis.

(14) See *Selected Prose*, p.185. Kermode wrongly attributes this passage to a 1622 sermon in his notes (p.310). He has confused it with another sermon which was also important to Eliot. See below, Chapter Five, p.300.

(15) See above, Chapter Two, p.101.

(16) See below, Chapter Five, p.288.

(17) For Andrewes's emblematic use of the four birds, taken here from Jeremiah 8.7, as *imagines* for an *ars memorativa*, see below, Section D of this chapter, p.158.

(18) See below, pp.156-57.

(19) *Selected Prose*, p.44.

(20) *Good Friday 1613, Riding Westwards*, lines 32-35, in *John Donne, Dean of St Paul's Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, edited by John Hayward, London, 1929, p.292.

(21) *Selected Prose*, p.181.

(22) See below, Chapter Five pp.308-10.

(23) See above, p.128.

(24) The first sermon in the series was preached in 1606, the second in 1608.

(25) See below, p.156.

(26) Welsby p.135. Welsby gives a full account of Andrewes's involvement in the ensuing reaction, and an account of these sermons.

(27) Statute quoted in Welsby, p.136.

- (28) See below, Section E, p.168.
- (29) In fact the reference is to Book 10, Chapter 3 of the *City of God*, not Chapter 4.
- (30) Quoted in A. Attwater, *Pembroke College, Cambridge: A Short History*, edited with an Introduction and Postscript by S.C. Roberts, Cambridge, 1936, p.50.
- (31) See Willis, pp.43-48.
- (32) See above, Chapter Two, p.102.
- (33) See Chapter Two p.104, note 25, and Chapter Four pp.221-25.
- (34) See McCutcheon, pp.351 f., especially note 4.
- (35) See above, Chapter Two p.105.
- (36) For a more detailed comparison of these passages, and an account of Andrewes's influence on Eliot, see Chapter Five below.
- (37) See Chapter One, note 21, for details of the edition referred to here.
- (38) T.S. Eliot, *The Dry Salvages*, Section II, lines 45-51, in *Collected Poems 1909-1962*, London, 1974, p.208.
- (39) The quotation is from Augustine's commentary on Psalm 76, verse 16 (not verse 12, which is the reference given by Bliss), to be found in PL, 36, column 968.
- (40) Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes le Prédicateur, 1555-1626; Aux Sources de la Théologie Mystique de l'Eglise d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1986, p.292. Further references to this edition will be to Lossky, followed by a page number.

Chapter Four. The Theme of Memory in the Sermons of Donne

A) Background

i) Donne as a Preacher

Donne was ordained both deacon and priest on January 23rd, 1615, at the age of 43, and from that time until his death in 1631 he built and established a reputation as one of the great preachers of his age. Over these sixteen years we can see the integration into the task of pulpit oratory of all the literary and intellectual powers Donne had developed thus far in his life, a redirection of his energies which he did not at first find easy, as Bald, his most thorough and reliable biographer comments:

From the first he took his preaching very seriously, and worked hard to acquire fluency of delivery and ease of manner. His later reputation as one of the great preachers of his age was not won effortlessly or by his learning and literary ability alone.⁽¹⁾

Nevertheless, integrity and continuity are key notes in Donne's life and thought, and although he rightly saw his ordination as a new beginning and direction, he brought to the pulpit the same talents, experience, learning, and passion which engaged his poetry, as Walton wrote in a passage where he rightly compares Donne with Augustine:

And now all his studies which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentrated in Divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts and a new employment for his wit and eloquence: Now all

his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul, were engaged in the conversion of others.⁽²⁾

Walton is of course indulging his usual hyperbole, and were it the case that all Donne's earthly affections were at that moment and forever transformed, then he would have been a much less interesting and effective preacher. Nevertheless, his rededicated powers find new scope in the medium of the sermon, and Donne himself was aware both of the continuity and the change between 'Jack Donne' and Dr Donne. He makes an interesting, and I think elliptically personal, allusion to the effect on the secular writer of a vocation to divine utterance, in the exordium of his sermon preached to Queen Anne at Denmarke House in 1617:

As the Prophets and other Secretaries of the holy Ghost in penning the books of Scriptures, do for the most part retain, and express in their writings some impressions, and some air of their former professions...ever inserting into their writings some phrases, some metaphors, some allusions, taken from that profession which they had exercised before; so that soul, that hath been transported upon any particular worldly pleasure, when it is intirely turn'd upon God, and the contemplation of his all-sufficiency and abundance, doth find in God fit subject, and just occasion to exercise the same affection piously, and religiously, which had before so sinfully transported, and possest it...All affections which are common to all men, and those too, which in particular, particular men have been addicted unto, shall not only be justly employed upon God, but also securely employed, because we cannot exceed, nor go to far in imploying them upon him...And according to this rule too, *Salomon*, whose disposition was amorous, and

excessive in the love of women, when he turn'd to God, he departed not utterly from his old phrase and language, but having put a new and spiritual tincture, and form and habit into all his thoughts, and words, he conveyes all his loving approaches and applications to God, and all God's gracious answers to his amorous soul, into songs, and Epithalamions, and meditations upon contracts, and marriages between God and his Church, and between God and his soul.⁽³⁾

Lying behind this passage is not only the general sense of the rededication or reorientation of his talents which was implicit in Donne's decision to be ordained, but also the personal struggle to come to terms with the tragic death of his wife Anne, five months earlier. In preaching on a text expressing mutual love, ('I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me') he was wrestling with memories of love and loss that were still tender, and finding a way to transform and rededicate all the intellectual and articulate energy which his own secular loves had involved, and which had borne fruit in such powerful poetry. Because Donne's poetry is more widely read and remembered now than are his sermons, it is sometimes the case that the latter are treated as a general repository of thought and imagery to be quarried for material through which to come to a better understanding of the poetry. However, Donne himself is here suggesting that we should look to the sermons as at last the just and secure and fruitful employment of the talents, images, and experience which had made up the love poetry, so that the poetry should be quarried to help us understand the sermons rather than the other way round.

Certainly, from the time of this sermon onwards we can see Donne bringing to the art of preaching more and more of the fulness of his

powers and experience, and thereby acquiring and deserving an even greater reputation as a preacher than he had gained, amongst a smaller circle, as a poet. Thus we hear from Chamberlain in his letters, of Donne's first sermon at Paul's Cross, in commemoration of the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James, an occasion attended by many of the most influential men of James's realm, that Donne was 'exceedingly well liked generally'.⁽⁴⁾ It was later, when he became Dean, that Donne was to build and consolidate his reputation through his sermons at St Paul's, as Chamberlain - useful as ever in his commentaries on these times - makes clear: 'Our Deane made a very good sermon in the church as he hath done divers of late with great concourse.'⁽⁵⁾ There is further evidence of Donne's reputation for greatness in his preaching in various odes and encomia written in his praise, as well as in the occasionally hagiographical enthusiasm of Walton. Donne was frequently compared to the great orators of the classical age, to Cicero, whose long periods Donne emulated in contrast to the shorter Senecan style which characterised Andrewes's sermons, and also to Chrysostom, whose work Donne knew and quoted, as Richard Busby wrote in his elegy for Donne:

Mee thinkes I see him in the pulpit standing,
Not eares or eyes, but all men's hearts commanding,
Where wee that heard him to ourselves did faine
Golden Chrysostome was alive againe.⁽⁶⁾

Donne's reading and imitation of both the classical oratory of Cicero, and the christianised classical rhetoric of preachers like Chrysostom and Augustine, is certainly one of the channels by which he will have come in contact with the classical traditions of the art of memory as one of the parts of rhetoric, which I surveyed in the first two chapters of this thesis. The seriousness with which Donne took the art

of preaching might well have led him to investigate and acquire, if he had not indeed already done so as a part of his ordinary scholarship, the type of rhetorical art of memory which would guide and assist him in the composition and delivery of his sermons. Indeed, we are told by Walton, in a passage which emphasises the importance for Donne's method of form and division, that he did in fact commit his sermons to memory and preach memoriter:

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his Sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new Text, and that night cast his Sermon into a form, and his Text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the Fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory which was excellent. (Walton, p.67.)

The aim of this chapter will be both to examine what picture of memory and its uses emerges from a reading of those of Donne's sermons which have survived, and also trace, as we did with Andrewes, the possible influences of the *ars memorativa* on the structure, style, and imagery of the sermons.

ii) The Text of Donne's Sermons

If Walton is right about the frequency with which Donne preached, then the one hundred and sixty sermons of his now extant clearly do not represent the full fruits of his labour in this field, and this needs to be borne in mind to some extent in trying to build up a complete picture of his thought on any given subject. Nevertheless, we are fortunate that these sermons have been gathered together and edited in an excellent modern edition, in which the inevitable textual

difficulties have been at least to some extent identified and solved, whereas with Andrewes one is still having to deal with either the extremely hasty efforts of Laud and Buckeridge, or the perfunctory efforts of the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. It would be good to have a modern edition of Andrewes's sermons as thorough and painstaking as Potter and Simpson's ten volume edition of Donne.⁽⁷⁾ I have used Potter and Simpson throughout, except when working on or referring to the Prebend Sermons, where Janel Muellers's extremely helpful edition of 1971 has in some respects superseded Potter and Simpson.⁽⁸⁾

The textual history of the sermons, both in terms of early editions and surviving manuscripts, is fully set out in the first volume of Potter and Simpson, and does not need to be repeated here. But the fact that so many more of Donne's authenticated sermons survive than of Andrewes's, and that they were preached, so many on ordinary Sundays as well as the great feasts of the Church, means that the general survey in this chapter will be organised rather differently from that in Chapter Three. Whereas with Andrewes the sermons can be broken up naturally into groups based on the great feasts and seasons of the Church, Donne's sermons are much more thematically varied, and although there are of course surviving sermons for Christmas, Easter, and so forth, most of the sermons cannot be categorised by their occasion in that way. So in this chapter I propose to organise the survey in terms of what I feel to be the five most important aspects of Donne's thought on memory itself: memory considered in itself as a faculty in Man, and memory in its relations to the Holy Spirit, Scripture, preaching, and the sacraments. Within each of these aspects I will try to deal with the relevant material chronologically, working from Potter and Simpson's suggested chronology for the sermons. After this general thematic survey I will follow the pattern of the previous

chapter, with a review of arts of memory motifs, and then some more close analysis of particular sermons, in which we can see how the themes and motifs are blended in particular contexts.

B) A Thematic Survey of the Sermons as a Whole

i) Memory as a Faculty

There can be no doubt at all that Donne stood explicitly in the tradition of Augustine's trinitarian understanding of memory as one of three distinct but consubstantial faculties in Man, alongside will and understanding. Whereas in Andrewes's work this notion is always present implicitly, and forms a background for his theology of memory, it is only quoted and expounded explicitly in the *Orphan Lectures*.⁽⁹⁾ Donne, on the other hand, frequently quotes that passage in the *De Trinitate* and also its further refinements in St Bernard (for example, in the *De Gradibus Humilitatis*), and often makes explicit comment on this inner trinity when he deals with the subject of memory. Indeed, he develops it further, as we shall see, by linking the three faculties not only with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but also with the divine qualities of power, wisdom and goodness, memory corresponding in his system to goodness.⁽¹⁰⁾

In an early sermon from the spring of 1618, preached at Lincoln's Inn on Psalm 38, of which a fuller analysis is given in Section D below, Donne sets out St Bernard's crystallisation, or summary, of the Augustinian doctrine:

As God, one *God* created us, so we have a soul, *one soul*, that represents and is some image of that one God; As the three Persons of the Trinity created us, so we have in our soul a *three-fold impression* of that image, and as Saint Bernard calls it, A *trinity from the Trinity*, in those *three faculties* of the soul, the *Understanding*, the *Will*, and the *Memory*. (*Sermons* II, pp.72-73.)

For Donne, the right use of this faculty of memory comprehends the whole of Man's religious life,⁽¹¹⁾ but memory in Man is essentially conscious and reflective, as opposed to the unreflective memory of animals, a point he has taken from Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*,⁽¹²⁾ and for this reason Man's memory, reflecting on truth and giving glory to God either in thankfulness or in repentance, is able to redeem the time rather than merely to record it. Donne makes some of these distinctions between human and merely animal memory clear in a sermon preached on Candlemas Day in either 1622 or 1623.⁽¹³⁾ As part of a discussion of what it means to glorify God, Donne reflects on the uniqueness of Man's faculty of memory:

Now Glory is, *Clara cum laude notitia*, sayes S. Ambrose: It is an evident knowledge, and acknowledgement of God, by which, others come to know him too; which acknowledgement is well called a recognition, for it is a second, a ruminated, a reflected knowledge: Beasts doe remember, but they doe not remember that they remember; they doe not reflect upon it, which is that that constitutes memory. (*Sermons* IV, p.306.)

Having made this distinction Donne goes on to suggest that the rightly reflective use of memory will lead to present repentance and thankfulness, and a present glorifying of God for his past deliverances, and goes on in an interesting continuity with Andrewes on the same

subject to cite both the Armada and the Gunpowder Treason as deliverances whose remembrance would be blessing, but to forget which would be a further sin:

If God have delivered us from destruction in the bowels of the Sea, in an Invasion, and from destruction in the bowels of the earth, in the Powder-treason, and we go faint in the publication of our thanks for this deliverance, our punishment is but aggravated, for we shall be destroyed both for those old sins which induced those attempts of those destructions, and for this later and greater sin of forgetting those deliverances; God requires nothing else; but he requires that, Glory and Praise. (*Sermons IV*, p.306.)

Here it is the right remembering of sin which is able to turn the weight of sin into the weight of glory, and so redeem the time. Donne continues this theme of the right use of the faculty of memory in a baptismal sermon, which it is not possible to date accurately. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Here Donne alludes again directly to the three-faculty theory, but shows that each the faculties, though an image of God, is fallen and so in need of redemption. He suggests that the three theological virtues work towards that redemption, faith reminding memory, which can no longer comprehend God, still to rouse itself from weakness and glorify him:

To this purpose therefore, as we have found a *Trinity* in heaven, and a *Trinity* in earth, so we must make it up a Trinity of Trinities, and find a *third trinity* in ourselves. God created one *Trinity* in us...which are those *three faculties* of our soule, the *reason*, the *memory*, and the *will*; That Trinity in us, by another Trinity too, (by *suggestion* towards sin, by *delight* in sinne, by *consent* to sinne) is fallen into a third Trinity; The *memory* into a weaknesse, that that comprehends not *God*, it glorifies him not for

the benefits received; The *reason* to a blindness, that that discerns not what is *true*; and the *will* to a perverseness, that wishes not what's *good*; But the goodnesse of God, by these three witnesses on earth regenerates and re-establishes a new Trinity in us, *faith*, and *hope* and *charity*. (*Sermons V*, p.149.)

We get a picture of what such a regenerate or re-established trinity of the faculties might be, in a sermon preached at Whitehall in 1627, in the peroration of which Donne presents to the memory of his auditors the notion of two pictures of dying men, one dying with a rectified conscience and the other dying in his sins. In his picture of the good death Donne shows the agreement and witness of the three faculties each in its proper manner. In emphasising the substantial unity of the faculties he is probably echoing Augustine's comment that 'memory, understanding and will are not three lives but one life, nor three minds but one mind...neither are they three substances but one substance'.⁽¹⁵⁾ Having compared the long complexity of one's life, and the sudden brevity of one's death, with the length and care it takes to engrave a picture, and the suddenness with which it is brought to the press and printed on paper, Donne continues:

And when this Picture comes to the Presse, this man to the streights and agonies of Death, thus he lies, thus he looks, this he is. His understanding and his will is all one faculty; He understands Gods purpose upon him, and he would not have God's purpose turned any other way; hee sees God will dissolve him, and he would faine be dissolved, to be with Christ; His understanding and his will is all one faculty; His memory and his foresight are fixt, and concentred upon one object, upon goodnesse; Hee remembers that hee hath proceeded in the sinceritie of a good Conscience in all the wayes of his calling. (*Sermons VIII*, p.190.)

This passage is interesting not merely because it reiterates the trinitarian understanding of the faculties, but because of the way it links memory with foresight, and sees goodness as the rectified memory's special object. Memory is of course linked with foresight in the classical and scholastic treatment of the parts of prudence, and Donne is in some ways giving the character of the prudent man in this sermon, but it is also true that many of the scriptural injunctions concerning memory are about memory of the future, of the last things and of Christ's return, as we saw with Andrewes where the memory of Christ, who is *Alpha and Omega*, led to eternity itself.⁽¹⁶⁾

In the second of two extended sermons on Genesis 1.26, the *locus classicus* for this whole trinitarian faculty tradition, preached before the King in 1629, there is a passage in which Donne makes his reasons for associating memory both with goodness and foresight explicit, by associating the faculties not only with the persons but also with the attributes of God:

For as there are three Persons in the Essence of God: so there are three faculties in the Soule of man. The Attributes, and some kind of specification of the Persons of the Trinity are, Power to the Father, Wisdome to the Sonne, and Goodnesse to the Holy Ghost. And the three faculties of the Soule have the Images of these three. The Understanding is the image of the Father, that is, Power...and in the second faculty which is the Will, is the Image, the Attribute of the Second Person, the Sonne, which is Wisdome...And then, in the third faculty of the soule, the Memory, is the Image of the third person, the Holy Ghost, that is, Goodnesse. For to remember, to recollect our former understanding, and our former assenting, so far as to doe them, to Crowne them with action, that's true goodnesse. The office, that Christ assignes

to the Holy Ghost, and the goodnesse, which he promises in his behalfe is this, that he shall bring former things to our remembrance. The wise man *places all goodnesse in this faculty of memory.* [Italics mine] Properly nothing can fall into the memory but that which is past, and yet he says, *Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never doe amisse.* The end cannot be yet come, and yet we are bid to remember that. *Visus per omnes sensus recurrit,* says Saint Augustine. As all senses are called sight in the scriptures,...so all goodnesse is in remembering, all goodness, (which is the Image of the holy Ghost) is in bringing our understanding and our assenting into action. (*Sermons IX,* pp. 83-85)

Here memory is involved in all goodness, including the goodness of foresight. This passage is fascinating not only because of the way it blends the memory of the various passages from Genesis, John, and Ecclesiasticus, but also for the way in which Donne presents the faculty of memory as being the key which, as it were, activates and releases the other faculties of understanding and will, and so brings them to action, which is present. We will see in the more detailed analysis of particular sermons the way in which this powerful theology of memory as the God-given dynamic within the soul, was worked out by Donne in a practical application to the lives of those who heard him, and to his own life.

ii) Memory and the Holy Spirit

In some ways the special association for Donne between memory and the Holy Spirit has already been indicated in the survey of his trinitarian faculty theory. In this section I want briefly to underline it and to look at one or two of its consequences for Donne. The first is that,

although the trinitarian faculty correspondence implies an equality between the faculties considered in themselves as part of God's image in the order of creation, when they are viewed in the order of redemption, Donne gives a precedence or priority to memory over the other faculties, because he sees it as the most 'pregnant' faculty, the faculty through which the Holy Ghost is able to work most readily and effectively in applying Christ's merits to us, and so making his saving work effective. All three faculties are of course fallen and imperfect, but the memory is the most ready and apt for the work of redemption, so in the exordium of the sermon of valediction preached at Lincoln's Inn in 1619 Donne says:⁽¹⁷⁾

Here then the holy-Ghost takes the neerest way to bring a man to God, by awakening his memory; for, for the understanding, that requires long and cleer instruction; and the will requires an instructed understanding before, and is in it self the blindest and boldest faculty; but if the memory do but fasten upon any of those things which God hath done for us, it is the neerest way to him.

(Sermons II, p.235.)

This emphasis on the memory's priority in the Holy Spirit's work of bringing us to God in Christ is repeated again and again by Donne. The emphasis is as strong towards the end of his preaching career as it was at the beginning. So, for example, in a St Paul's Whitsun sermon of 1628 he says:

Truly the memory is oftener the Holy Ghosts Pulpit that he preaches in, then the Understanding...Therefore Christ places the comfort of this Comforter, the Holy Ghost in this, that he shall work upon that pregnant faculty the Memory. (*Sermons VIII*, pp.261-62.)

One of the consequences of this emphasis is that Donne sees a special role for the Holy Spirit in the remembering of the Scriptures, and of sermons after they have been preached, as he makes clear in a passage of particular relevance to the *ars memorativa* side of this thesis, preached the Easter before the Whitsun sermon quoted above. Donne develops his point in the context of a discussion of the differences between reading Scripture in church and reading it at home:

At home, the holy Ghost is with thee in the reading of the Scriptures; But there he is with thee as a Remembrancer, (*The Holy Ghost shall bring to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you saies our Saviour*). Here, in the Church, he is with thee, as a Doctor to teach thee; First learn at Church and then meditate at home, Receive the seed by hearing the Scriptures interpreted here, and water it by returning to those places at home. (*Sermons VIII, p.227.*)

There are several issues at work in this passage. There is the importance of application at home of truth acknowledged in church, and the emphasis on the divine presence in the Holy Spirit at home as well as in church, but parallel with that is a strong element of restraint, intended to safeguard the teaching of the Church as the properly authorised interpreter of Scriptures against private interpretation or spiritual illumination along a puritan model. Hence Donne's emphasis that the teaching and interpretation is given through the Spirit in the gathered Church through the office of the preacher called and warranted by the Church as a whole, as he makes clear a couple of sentences later:

When Christ bids you *Search the Scriptures*, he means you should go to them, who have a warrant to search; A warrant in their Calling.

Nevertheless, the Holy Spirit who inspired the interpretation of Scripture in preaching is equally active but in a different mode, at home, 'as a remembrancer'. And here the whole issue of remembering and meditating on sermons is raised. We saw in the last chapter how Andrewes made appeals for a set time in which memory of sermons could be exercised in a devout meditation, and how remembering and reworking sermons was in any case part of grammar school rhetorical training. This tradition lies, I think, behind Donne's formula, 'first learn at church, and then meditate at home', where he clearly sees meditation as the heart of the remembering which the Spirit as remembrancer encourages. It is clear that this meditative remembering is to be of the sermon, and not just of the scriptural passage itself, because he says 'Receive the seed by hearing the Scriptures *interpreted* here', and then adds 'and water it by returning to those places at home'. Now clearly the primary reference of the ambiguous phrase 'those places' is those places in Scripture which you have heard interpreted, but I think there is a secondary sense here of 'places' in the sense of commonplaces, and places in the memory or note-taking *schema*, and the division of the sermon - the preacher's 'orderlie places' of the art of memory - in which the images of the sermon are kept. As we have seen, of course, these 'topical' places may well be marked or headed by 'places' in Scripture, set out in the orderly division of the text, where a 'place' in the sense of a verse or word marks a place in the sense of *topos* or *locus* for a memory system. The *ars memorativa* tradition and Donne's own appeal to the 'art of memory' as an 'art of salvation', shed a light which shows new depth in phrases like 'returning to those places at home', which one

might otherwise miss. This development by Donne of the consequences of his notion of the Holy Spirit as remembrancer leads naturally, as we have seen in this passage, to a consideration of the right role of memory in relation to Scripture and to preaching, seen as a special domain for the work of the Holy Spirit.

iii) Memory and Scripture

Donne's theology of Scripture is at once simple and subtle. Simple in its clear affirmation that all Scripture is inspired by the Holy Spirit and that its individual authors are the Holy Ghost's 'secretaries', subtle in its elaboration of what this doctrine entails, and how the peculiarities and circumstances of each author are taken up and transformed rather than merely cancelled or overruled by the Holy Spirit; hence his reflections on the retention of their former language and habits of thought by David and Solomon. ⁽¹⁹⁾ The process whereby Scripture itself is written and comes to us is as subtle in Donne's thought as the process whereby our own memories and the narrative of our own lives is taken up and transformed by the work of the Spirit in our memories, in such a way as to redeem the time and bring us to Christ. Indeed, for Donne we are only brought into the salvific realm when both processes are going on at the same time, when the same Spirit who inspired Scripture is at work in the Church and the individual to apply and interpret it, to bring the symbolic narrative of the book and the historic narrative of the life into fruitful conjunction.

Without this interpretation and application, the original 'inspiration' of Scriptures is in vain, as Donne says of those who read without application:

They are offer'd their Book, the merciful promises of God to repentant sinners, in his Word; and they cannot read, they cannot apply them to their comfort: There is Scripture but not translated, not transferr'd to them: there is Gospel, but not preached to them; there are epistles but not superscribed to them. (*Sermons I*, p.232.)

This translation and transference which is primarily the work of the Spirit is achieved, as Donne here hints, in the Spirit's work in the preacher, and through the Scripture and the preacher, in the heart of the believer, helping him to draw together and hold in the memorable net of Scripture all things necessary to salvation. This notion of the heart being exercised in the gathering of what was scattered, which we saw attributed specifically to memory working with Scripture in the Andrewes sermon on 'Remember Lots wife', is suggested by Donne in the image of Scripture as a net:

A net is a large thing, past thy fadoming, if thou cast it from thee, but if thou draw it to thee, it will lie upon thine arme. The Scriptures will be out of thy reach and out of thy use if thou cast and scatter them upon Reason, upon Philosophy, upon Morality, to try how the Scriptures will fit all them, and beleve them but as far as they agree with thy reason; But draw the Scripture to thine own heart, and to thine own actions, and thou shalt find it made for that. (*Sermons II*, p.308.)

This emphasis on the necessity of drawing Scripture into one's own heart, and applying it to one's own particular circumstances, leads Donne to suggest that memory contemplated in the light of Scripture becomes itself a kind of scripture. In this passage he contrasts mere rote learning with the inner learning that comes from binding Scripture to our 'own history', our 'own life':

I am commanded *scrutari Scripturas*, to search the scriptures now, that is not to be able to repeat any history of the Bible without booke, it is not to ruffle a Bible, and upon any word to turn to the Chapter, and to the verse; but this is *exquisita scrutatio*, the true searching of the Scriptures, to finde all the *histories* to be *examples* to me...Turne over all the folds and plaits of thine owne heart, and finde there the infirmities and waverings of thine owne *faith*, and an ability to say, *Lord, I beleeve, help mine unbeleefe*, and then, though thou have no Bible in thy hand, or though thou stand in a dark corner, nay though thou canst not reade a letter, thou hast searched that Scripture, thou hast turned to *Marke 9.ver.24....*Turne to thine owne *history*, thine owne *life*, and if thou canst reade there, that thou hast endeavoured to turne thine *ignorance* into *knowledge*, and thy knowledge into *Practice*, if thou finde thyself to be an example of that rule of Christs, *if you know these things, blessed are you if you do them*, then thou hast searched that Scripture, and turned to *Jo. 13. ver. 17*. This is *Scrutari Scripturas*, to search the Scriptures, not as though thou wouldst make a *concordance*, but an *application*. (*Sermons III*, p.367.)

This notion, that interior experience constitutes a kind of inner parallel to Scripture, is developed more directly by Donne in one of the sermons more specifically concerned with memory, the sermon on Psalm 38 in which the phrase 'Bible without book' also occurs, but this time meaning an inner Bible rather than a mere memorisation of the outer Bible.⁽¹⁹⁾

For Donne there are certain biblical texts which more readily and truly than any others form the connections and interactions between scriptural and personal history, and certainly the book of Psalms was

one of these. Donne's reading of the Psalms is essentially Christocentric, and it is in their Christocentricity that he sees their relevance to the stories of each individual Christian, for each Christian is 'in Christ', and what is said of him in the Psalms will also be true of us in some measure. Donne makes this clear in the opening words of great second Prebend Sermon of 1625, on the text of Psalm 63.7, 'Because thou hast been my helpe, therefore in the shadow of thy wings will I rejoyce':

The Psalmes are the Manna of the Church. As Manna tasted to every man like that that he liked best, so doe the Psalmes minister Instruction, and satisfaction, to every man in every emergency and occasion. *David* was not onely a cleare Prophet of Christ himselfe, but a Prophet of every particular Christian; He fortels what I, what any shall doe, and suffer, and say. (*Sermons VII*, p.51. See also Mueller, p.91.)

This particular psalm, as Donne goes on to point out, was one of the five psalms which it was his duty, as a prebendary of St Paul's, to recite daily, and it is clear that in the manner of the old *lectio divina* he had indeed inwardly digested it, and speaks to it and from it with great authority in what is arguably one of his greatest sermons. The *divisio* of this sermon is of particular interest with regard to the theme of memory, because he chooses to divide the verse of his text according to the modes of time it encompasses, showing how David's assurance in the present for the future rests upon his right use of a remembrance of God's favour to him in the past. The art of memory, as we have discussed it, is in part an art of capitulation and recapitulation, of summarising and epitomising the total contents of a whole in terms of a symbolic loading of its parts, and Donne begins his *divisio* by showing that this psalm is an epitome of the whole Psalter,

and this verse an epitome of the psalm, so that it becomes for that reason a memory verse par excellence:

Now as the spirit and soule of the whole booke of Psalmes is contracted into this psalme, so is the spirit and soule of this whole psalme contracted into this verse...So that we have here the whole compasse of Time, Past, Present and Future; and these three parts of time shall be at this time, the three parts of this Exercise; first, what *David's* distresse put him upon for the present; and that lyes in the Context; secondly, how *David* built his assurance upon that which was past; (*Because thou hast been my help*) And thirdly, what he established to himself for the future, (*Therefore under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoyce.*) First, His distresse in the Wildernesse, his present estate carried him upon the memory of that which God had done for him before, and the Remembrance of that carried him upon that, of which he assured himselfe after. Fixe upon God any where, and you shall finde him a Circle; He is with you now, when you fix upon him; He was with you before, for he brought you to this fixation; and he will be with you hereafter, for *He is yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever.* (Mueller, p.92; *Sermons VII*, p.52.)

This notion, that one can fix upon God anywhere, even in one's past, and be drawn to him in the present, is at the heart of Donne's understanding of the devotional or meditative role of memory. The image of God as a circle becomes the means of transcending a linear time, through the assurance of God's presence even in that time which is past for us. This image of the circle, coming as it does at the conclusion of the *divisio*, a key point for an organised memory, becomes the dominant image throughout the rest of the sermon, into which the

accumulating meaning of the sermon is continually reinvested. Mueller points to the importance of the circle image in her Introduction:

In Donne's grammar of the soul the sequence of tenses and the assured tone of the text intimate God's continuing presence, imagined as a circle, which becomes the referent of every subsequent consideration in the second prebend sermon. (Mueller, p.50.)

Throughout the sermon there is a movement of turning and returning around a circle, something which Mueller picks up nicely in her commentary and also associates with Donne's interest in memory. Of the great concluding sentence of this sermon she says in her Introduction in an interesting comparison with Andrewes;

The repetition and suspension used in the vast circular development of the final periodic sentence give Donne's diction the involved and charged quality also conspicuous in Andrewes's effort to express this experience [the experience of transition between earthly and heavenly joy]. However Donne's translation of human life into the fulness of joy is incomparably advanced beyond Andrewes' in a magnificently apt metaphor of the ultimate translation, used years earlier in the *Second Anniversary* - the translation of the soul after death from earth to heaven. The whole is a prime example of the 'art of salvation' as the 'art of memory', the appeal to the vision of the inward eye. (Mueller, p.53.)

It is perhaps worthwhile at this point to offer some general comments on the introductory essay of Mueller's edition from the standpoint of this thesis. Apart from the essays of Quinn and Hickey discussed below,⁽²⁰⁾ Mueller's Introduction is the only piece of critical writing I

have come across to offer a substantial discussion of Donne's thought on memory and its importance for an understanding of his sermons. In her section 'The appeal to the Soul' in her Introduction, she acknowledges and examines the importance of the *De Trinitate* for Donne's thinking, and in general emphasises Donne's Augustinianism. This Augustinianism is indisputable, but she also points to a balancing, in some senses less mystical influence from Aristotelian/Thomist psychology, possibly mediated to Donne through Hooker. Having looked at this background she then goes on to quote from the passage in the sermon on Psalm 38 in which Donne says, 'the art of salvation is but the art of memory'. (21)

Clearly my own researches confirm her comments both on the Augustinian influence, and also on the general importance of memory for Donne. However, she seems to be unaware of the *ars memorativa* tradition, and therefore, like Quinn before her (though he was writing before Yates's *The Art of Memory* was published), Mueller fails to pick up on the significance of Donne's phrase 'the art of memory' or to examine the structure and imagery of the sermons in terms of the rhetorical memory traditions. Part of the purpose of this thesis is to show that there is more to Donne's phrase 'the art of memory' than she has allowed for. She is, I think, absolutely right to sum up the second Prebend Sermon as 'a prime example of the art of salvation as the art of memory, the appeal to the vision of the inward eye'. But this truth is fuller than she suspects. The second Prebend Sermon, with its tight structure, its two leading images of the circle and the balance, and its exact inner imaging of abstract truths, appeals 'to the vision of the inward eye' as she puts it, invites the exercise of an art of memory not only in the general Augustinian sense to which she draws attention in her commentary, but more specifically in the mixture of

rhetorical and devotional inner imaging to which we drew attention in Chapter Two.

Another feature of Mueller's introductory essay relevant to this thesis, is her occasional comparisons between Donne and Andrewes. We saw from the quotation above that although, following Eliot, she acknowledges the involved and charged quality of Andrewes's prose, she is otherwise dismissive, referring to Donne as 'incomparably advanced' over Andrewes in dealing with issues of time and eternity. I would want to take issue with this dismissive approach to Andrewes. For example having quoted the 'art of memory' phrase from Donne, she goes on to write:

In his emphasis on memory as the preacher's means of access to the soul and to the more refractory faculties of reason and will, Donne is singular among Anglican preachers of his day. He had, moreover, a singularly broad conception of the powers of the memory. It differs considerably from the quite ordinary notion which Andrewes for example expressed in his sermons on Luke 16.25 and 17.32, two texts which refer to the memory. Andrewes regarded the memory as a receptacle for learned precepts and truths, and as a recorder for past experience. Its usefulness for the preacher lay in its capacity to retain counsel that augmented the lessons of life. Donne however followed the platonising lead of St. Augustine in investing the memory with the additional power of reflecting upon the acquired and innate knowledge of the mind. (Mueller, pp.33-34.)

I hope that the general survey and specific analysis in Chapter Three of this thesis have shown that there is more substance and subtlety to Andrewes's thought on memory than Mueller here gives him credit for;

certainly he is more explicitly Augustinian than she allows, and is just as interested in the role of memory as reflection and recognition rather than mere retention. Since Eliot's famous comparisons and contrasts, it has become almost de rigeur to draw contrasts between Andrewes and Donne, and to seek to emphasise their differences. Whilst this is appropriate in a discussion of style, and to some extent, intellectual emphasis, nevertheless I would like in this thesis also to draw attention to areas they have in common, and I believe a special emphasis on memory is one of these.

A final area where Mueller's essay is interesting and suggestive is in the connection she draws between the emphasis on the Augustinian memory tradition, and the role of works on meditation and devotion, since both involve an access to God through inner imaging and an inner story. She rightly emphasises the devotional element in the Augustinian tradition, and shows its importance for Donne, particularly highlighting the influence of works like the Ignatian exercises on Donne. (Mueller, pp.31-2.) Following her hints, I shall be exploring this connection further in Chapter Five.

Returning to the relation between memory and Scripture in Donne's sermons, one might sum up his view by saying that the stories and images in Scripture, inspired by the Holy Spirit, contain prophetic correspondence with the lives of individual Christians. By hearing sermons and meditating on Scripture, with the help of the Holy Spirit individuals are able to uncover these points of correspondence, and so uncover and rightly order the true meanings of their own lives as these are embedded in memory. This is a principle we shall see in practice and made explicit in the individual sermons analysed in Section D. It clearly involves a high doctrine of preaching itself, and it is to Donne's ideas about the office of preaching that we now turn.

iv) Memory and Preaching

As we have seen, Donne's biographers have noted that 'from the first he took his preaching very seriously and worked hard to acquire fluency of delivery and ease of manner'. (Bald, p.315.) The seriousness with which he took the office of preaching and hearing sermons is clear from the number of occasions on which he remarks on the importance of preaching within sermons themselves. An example may be found in Donne's fascinating and controversial sermon preached after publication of King James I's notorious 'directions for preachers' in 1622. With Parliament suspended, and growing popular opposition to the Spanish match, the King had become worried about the expression of opposition and discontent from the pulpit. In 1620 the Bishop of London had been ordered to call all his clergy before him 'and to charge them from the King not to meddle in their sermons with the Spanish match or any other matter of state'. (Chamberlain II, p.331.)⁽²²⁾ In 1622, James published his 'directions for preachers', which appeared severely to limit the liberty of preaching, decreeing that,

no preacher below the rank of Bishop or Dean was to 'presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation ...but leave these themes rather to be handled by the learned men'...No preacher of any rank whatsoever was to limit the 'Power, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, and the People, than as they are instructed and preceded in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies, and Articles of Religion...set forth by public Authority'. (*Sermons* IV, p.28.)

Naturally these directions were perceived, especially by the puritan party, as an attack on the Church's authority to expound Scripture in

preaching, and the King ordered Donne as Dean of St Paul's and an influential public preacher, to explain to the people the meaning of the directions. Rather than make such a sermon a perfunctory call to unquestioning obedience, Donne confronts the issues head on, and although he makes the requisite call for obedience, the entire sermon is double-edged, for he makes it the occasion to set out his most powerful exposition of the absolute importance and divinely bestowed authority of the Church's preaching ministry.

Undermining, or at least relativising the two characteristics of the monarchy, anointing and divinely given power, Donne makes precisely these claims for the preacher, rooting them in and deriving them from Christ himself:

But for Preaching, He himselfe was anointed for that, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed mee to preach:...* Hee was anointed with that power, and hee hath anointed us with part of his owne unction: *All power is given unto mee,* sayes he, *in Heaven and in Earth;* and therefore (as he adds there) *Go ye, and preach:* Because I have all power, for preaching, take yee part of my power, and preach too. For, Preaching is *the power of God unto Salvation, and the savour of life unto life...* Preaching then being *Gods Ordinance,* to beget Faith, to take away preaching, were to disarm *God,* and to quench the spirit; for by that *Ordinance, he fights from heaven.* (*Sermons IV, p.195.*)

This passage, preached passionately in the teeth of controversy, sets the context for what Donne has to say about preaching and memory. We have seen that he sees the Holy Spirit as the basis of his argument for the authority of preaching. This emphasis on the Spirit is not merely

perfunctory or rhetorical, as we can see from many passages where he specifically attributes the efficacy of individual sermons to the present miraculous activity of the Spirit, as for example in this passage from an undated sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn on the text from Acts 10.44, 'while Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word':

...as a Gardiner takes every bough of a young tree, or of a Vine, and leads them, and places them against a wall, where they may have most advantage, and so produce, most, and best fruit: So the Holy Ghost leads and places the words and sentences of the Preacher, one upon an Usurer, another upon an Adulterer, another upon an ambitious person, another upon an active or passive Briber, when the preacher knows of no Usurer, no Adulterer, no ambitious person, no Briber active or passive, in the Congregation. (*Sermons V*, p.40.)

By the work of the Spirit in the memories of each auditor, which are a closed book to the preacher but open to God, the links are forged between the public story of the preached word and the private stories of each individual hearer. But for Donne this work in preaching is in vain unless memory is specifically invoked, as he says time and time again:

You see, Preaching itselfe, even the preaching of Christ himselfe, had been lost, if the Holy Ghost had not brought all these things to their remembrance. And if the Holy Ghost do bring these things, which we preach to your remembrance, you are also made fishers of men and Apostles,... men that assist the salvation of the world... (*Sermons VIII*, p.269.)

This supernaturalist doctrine of the Holy Spirit's special assistance in remembering sermons, and the emphasis on the importance of exercising such memory in 'meditations' at home in which the Holy Spirit acts as remembrancer,⁽²³⁾ does not of course preclude, but rather demands those natural assistances to the memory which the preacher can incorporate into the structure and imagery of his sermon, which must be well-wrought, worth remembering, and structured to be accommodated within the systematic memory tradition of the time. Donne's emphasis on the preacher's art appealing to memory counterbalances his emphasis on the overriding role of the Holy Spirit. Just as the Holy Spirit beautified Scripture with 'tropes and figures' and 'measured composition' so that it might appeal to the memory, so those who preach should do the same with their sermons:

There are not so eloquent books in the world, as the Scriptures: Accept those names of Tropes and Figures, which the Grammarians and Rhetoricians put upon us, and we may be bold to say, that in all their Authors, Greek or Latin, we cannot finde so high, and so lively examples, of those Tropes and those Figures, as we may in Scriptures...The style of the Scriptures is a diligent and an artificial style, and a great part thereof in a musical, in a metrical, in a measured composition, in verse....And so...long before, when God had given all the Law, he provided, as he himself sayes, a safer way, which was to give them a heavenly Song of his owne making: for that Song he sayes there, (Deuteronomy 31.19-22) he was sure they would remember. So the Holy Ghost hath spoken in those Instruments, whom he chose for the penning of the Scriptures, and so he would in those whom he sends for the preaching thereof: he would put in them a care of delivering God's messages, with consideration, with meditation, with preparation; and not barbarously, not suddenly, not occasionally, not extemporarily,

which might derogate from the dignity of so great a service.

(*Sermons II*, pp.170-71.)

The point of measure and song in Scripture is so that God could be 'sure they would remember', and it is a lovely touch that the sentence in which Donne praises such measure and rhythm in Scripture is one of the most ordered and rhythmical in the sermon, with the repetitive emphasis and alliteration in the rhythmic reiteration of 'in a musical, in a metrical, in a measured composition', and the brief finality of the summarising coda which breaks the alliteration in the neatness of a full stop: 'in verse'.

Sermons, then, for Donne are an essential part of the art of salvation, for they are God's ordinance for salvation, they are inspired by the Holy Spirit, they are to stir the memories of their auditors both of Scripture and of their own lives, they are themselves to be made memorable, to be remembered and meditated at home; to that end the preacher must labour by all the arts of rhetoric to make his sermons ordered and musical, both to fit the dignity God gives the sermon, and to make the message more memorable to the congregation. In the third section of this chapter we will look at some of the art of memory methods and motifs which Donne seems to be using to achieve this end in his own sermons.

v) Memory and Sacraments

Donne shares with Andrewes and his fellow Anglicans (to use an anachronistic term) a general understanding of sacraments as outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace, and in terms of the polemic with Rome is concerned to keep the number of sacraments properly speaking to two, Baptism and Eucharist. But this is not the

heart of his thought. For Donne, the really significant term for an understanding of a sacrament is the notion of a *seal*; sacraments are essentially seals of God's grace, both in the sense that in a seal the ordinary wax takes and retains an extraordinary image without changing its nature, and thereby becomes and signifies more than it actually is, and also in the sense that the seal is the legal guarantee of a document or a promise or a contract; it is sealed, and so guaranteed by its signatory. So in a sermon preached in 1619 on the text of Romans 13.11, 'for now is our salvation nearer than when we first believed', in a passage dealing with sacraments in general Donne says:

Because the grace of God itself cannot be discerned by the eye, nor distinguished by the touch,...we could not assure ourselves of the mercies of God, if we had not outward and sensible signs and seals of those mercies; and therefore God never left his Church without such external and visible means and seals of grace. And though all those means were not properly seals, (for that is proper to sacraments, as a sacrament is strictly taken to be a seal of grace) yet the Fathers did often call many of these things by that name sacraments, because they had so much of the nature of a true sacrament, as that they advanced and furthered the working of grace. (*Sermons* II, pp.254-5.)

Because the sacrament is something which advances and furthers the working of grace, and seals to us the certainties of God's promises, Donne asserts that a right use of memory, memory of God's past judgements and blessings, can become sacramental, and indeed that it is a sacrament in the strictly theological sense because it is God himself, as Holy Spirit, who enables us so to remember his past mercies that they are effective signs of his present grace. The fact that the

Eucharist is a *memorial* is taken by Donne as a precedent and invitation to make other memorials, and when memory is stirred, to treat that stirring as a sacramental gift from God, as he says in the Lincoln's Inn sermon on Psalm 38:(24)

And when God so works upon us, as that *He makes his wonderfull works to be had in remembrance*, it is as great a mercy, as the very doing of those wonderful works was before. It was a *seal* upon a *seal*, a seal of *confirmation*, it was a *sacrament* upon a *sacrament*, when in instituting the *sacrament* of his *body* and his *bloud*, Christ presented it so, *Doe this in remembrance of me*. *Memorare novissima*, remember the *last* things, and *fear* will keep thee from sinning; *Memorare praeterita*, remember the *first* things, what God hath done for thee, and *love*, (love, which, mis-placed, hath transported thee upon many sins) love will keep thee from sinning... (*Sermons* II, pp.73-4.)

Memory is thus given the character of a seal, a sacramental quality. Indeed, there is a sense in which for Donne it is *the* effectual sacrament, for even here the sacrament of the Eucharist is transitional in the structure of the thought, between the sacramental memory of God's former works in general, and the encouragement immediately after the example of the Eucharist to remember the last things; indeed, this sermon goes on to show that a rightly ordered and reviewed private memory can become a series of sacramental windows onto God. This impression that the Eucharist is not a centre or an end, but almost a precedent or itself a mnemonic, to encourage and remind us to make other and further acts of memory, is confirmed in other sermons where a mention of the Eucharist is almost always subordinated to an exhortation to exercise the memory in some further way. As for example in an Easter day sermon, preached when the King was dangerously ill,

on the text from Psalm 89.48, 'What man is he that liveth and shall not see death?'. In this sermon there is a chain of mnemonic associations, all of them leading to a memento mori, and the sacramental bread is made part of this general memento mori, since the sacramental bread reminds us of daily bread, which in turn reminds us of the frail dependence of life on food and the possibility of death by starvation:

As Christ sayes, that as often as wee eate the Sacramentall Bread, we should remember his Death, so as often, as we eate ordinary bread, we may remember our death; for even hunger and thirst, are diseases; they are *Mors quotidiana*, a daily death, and if they lasted long, would kill us. (*Sermons II*, p.203.)

This brings out a very sharp contrast between Andrewes and Donne in the way they relate memory and the Eucharist. Andrewes would never have used the Eucharist as a mere *exemplum* of remembering God's mercy, a mere precedent or encouragement to make similar remembrance of other mercies, much less as one link in a chain of mnemonic association, as it is here in Donne. For Andrewes, the Eucharist is always an end, a conclusion, a fulfilment. It is at the climax of his sermons that he mentions the sacrament and encourages his hearers to take it. For Andrewes, the sacrament, in and out of time, a past event, continually made present, yet proclaiming a future, is the supreme resolution of the paradoxical experience of memory, but also an objectively existent truth to which our subjective impressions and memories are subordinate. So he uses that great image of the centre of a circle in the fullness of time, from which lines of presence and meaning radiate into the past and future in type and sacrament. (25) Donne, on the other hand, is more interested in the subjective experience of receiving the Eucharist as part of the woven series of memory and experience which make up our lives now; it is one of many

ways of passing through memory to God. Although there is in Donne a mysticism of memory, it is not specifically sacramental and eucharistic in the formal way it is in Andrewes. Whereas for Andrewes memory serves the sacrament and is subordinated to it, for Donne the sacrament is subordinated to and serves the individual memory.

If for Donne, as we have seen, so much depends on right remembering, if sermons are to assist and appeal to the memory, if they are especially to be remembered at home and meditated upon, it is natural to ask how far the structure and imagery of Donne's sermons can be seen to work with the places and images of an ordered or artificial memory, and then as we did with Andrewes we can look at some individual sermons to see how these themes and motifs cohere in the context of the unified structure of particular sermons.

C) Art of Memory Motifs

As we have seen, the arts of memory rested on an organisation of two elements, places and images, into a consistent mnemonic system. The places preserved the order and shape of discourse, whilst the images referred to the content of the discourse. In considering the influence of the *ars memorativa* on Donne's sermons it is obvious to look first at the *divisio*, in which he sets out in advance the basic structure of each sermon, for evidence that he may have been using, or encouraging his auditors to use, a topical memory system, and then to look more generally at the images associated with the main points of

the sermon within each part of the divided structure, to see if they have any points of contact with emblems or other mnemonic *imagines*. Whereas the importance of memory in Andrewes has gone largely unnoticed, two or three writers on Donne have noticed its importance for him. As we saw above, Mueller in her edition of the Prebend Sermons noticed the importance of the Augustinian tradition on Donne's theology of memory, though she seems unaware of the art of memory traditions and does not refer to Yates's book. John Chamberlin, however, in his interesting and technical account of the formal rhetorical, dialectical, and grammatical background to Donne's sermons: *Increase and Multiply: Arts of Discourse Procedure in the Preaching of John Donne*, approaching the sermons as he does from the formal standpoint, suggests that given the importance for Donne of remembering and meditating on sermons, there may be some influence, especially in his formal divisions, of arts of memory of the type Frances Yates describes.⁽²⁶⁾ My own work in this field certainly confirms his suggestion. The passages about memory and preaching I have given above certainly confirm Chamberlain's conclusion that for Donne,

the preacher's task is especially to involve the Word of God in the memory of his hearers where it can remain present and work...The text of scripture must be divided and developed in such a way that will engage particularly this faculty. (*Increase and Multiply*, p.115.)

He also points out that making the sermons systematically memorable was to Donne's advantage, since,

when Donne mounted the pulpit he would have had, if notes at all, only an outline from which the entire sermon, worked out in his mind would be recollected. (*Increase and Multiply*, pp.115-6.)

In the first part of this section I will look at Donne's method and imagery of division in greater detail, and then in a second section at his imagery throughout the sermons in the light of the precepts of the *ars memorativa*.

i) *Divisio* and mnemonic *loci*

The first thing to note here is that Donne explicitly asserts that he intends his *divisio* to assist and appeal to the memory. Introducing the division of a sermon in St Paul's on its saint's day he says:

In the words chosen for this day, *And now behold I know &c.* we shall reduce to your memories, first His proceeding in the church after he was called...then the ease, the reposedness, the acquiescence that he had. (*Sermons VIII*, pp.158-9.)

This makes it clear that the division is intended to reduce the material to an order accessible to memory. Indeed, the division serves the function of a preliminary paraphrase which capitulates or encapsulates material which will be repeated, expanded, and then reduced again, so that it can be referred to again in the memory:

And Beloved, this distribution of the text, which I have given you, is rather a Paraphrase, then a Division, and therefore the rest will be rather a Repetition than a Dilation; And I shall onely give some such note and mark, upon every particular branch, as may return them, and fix them in your memories. (*Sermons VIII*, p.115.)

Here the division specifically promises a means of placing and impressing precisely the fixing and distinguishing marks which characterise an art of memory. Though these two passages, taken by themselves, might equally well be geared to ordinary note-taking, the really distinguishing mark of an interior memory system is the use of clearly imagined places to order a discourse, such as the structure of a building, a sequence of rooms, the plan of a journey etc., and in fact it is precisely such images that Donne uses again and again to accompany and illustrate the plan of his division. One of the clearest examples, which leaps out of the page at anybody familiar with the art of memory (and this indeed is the one example which Chamberlin discusses in detail) comes from a sermon preached to the nobility on the text of Luke 23.24, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do':

These words shall be fitliest considered, like a goodly palace, if we rest a little, as in an outward Court, upon consideration of prayer in generall; and then draw neare the view of the Palace, in a second Court, considering this speciall prayer in generall, as the face of the whole palace. Thirdly, we will passe thorow the chiefest rooms of the palace it self. (*Sermons V*, p.231.)

Chamberlin rightly comments that here,

Donne speaks of the *Divisio* as laying out 'places' in terms of *Loci et imagines*, the mnemonic device of classical Rhetoric...thus the *divisio* provides the overall construction that houses the sermon or the itinerary that guides it. (*Increase and Multiply*, p.116.)

Chamberlin only quotes this short passage from the *divisio* to make this point in passing, but that Donne clearly intended the palace image to

be used as a systematic mnemonic is borne out by the rest of the sermon, where at each new stage in his argument Donne reminds us where we are in the order of the division by some elegant reference to this initial 'palatial' structure. So, for example, having discussed prayer in general, he introduces the second section by saying:

It were unmannerlinesse to hold you longer in the Entry. One turne in the inner Court, of this special prayer in generall, and so enter the Palace. (*Sermons V*, p.233.),

and again some three hundred lines later,

We have now passed through all those roomes which we unlockt and opened at first. (*Sermons V*, p.239.)

This division was clearly no casual metaphor, used once and forgotten, but an invitation to imagine the sermon in terms of an interior palace, which has precisely the features and divisions of one of the few fully reconstructed memory systems we know of, that so brilliantly excavated in Jonathan Spence's book *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*,⁽²⁷⁾ which reconstructs the interior memory palace used by the Jesuit missionary to China Matteo Ricci in the 1590s. (Indeed, it is even possible, given the Ignatian background of Donne's earlier years, that Donne may have been directly influenced Ricci's or a similar system.⁽²⁸⁾) Ricci envisages not only a clearly constructed palace with all its individual rooms, but even the specific furnishings of the rooms become mnemonic *notae*. This kind of detail is also a feature of Donne's frequent palatial metaphor in his divisions, as he says at the end of his *divisio* for a sermon preached in 1622 to the Virginian company:

And so you have the *Modell* of the whole frame, and of the partitions, we proceede now to the furnishing of the particular roomes. (*Sermons IV*, p.267.)

Or again, concluding the *divisio* of his funeral sermon for Sir William Cokayne in 1626:

So have you the frame set up, and the roomes divided; The two parts, and the three branches of each; And to the furnishing of them, with meditations fit for this Occasion, we passe now. (*Sermons VII*, pp.259-60.)

Although the palace/rooms/furnishing metaphor is a frequent one with Donne in organising and subdividing the material of his sermons, it is *by no means the only metaphor of division* adaptable to mnemonic technique which he uses. He uses images of voyaging, of journeying, and of maps, all of which have their precedents in the types of memory system discussed in Chapter Two, and indeed Donne specifically refers to a journey through imaginary 'places' in the course of a sermon as an assistance to the memory, as when, summarising a division he says:

And because these are the land-marks that must guide you in this voyage, and *the places to which you must resort to assist your memory*, be pleased to take another survay and impression of them. (*Sermons V*, p.273, emphasis mine.)

In another sermon he uses the quarters of the compass much as Andrewes had used the quarters of the cross, to lay out the contents of his discourse. The mnemonic link with the theme of the sermon is the image of the world, for the sermon is on the Creation of the world. Indeed, not only is the overall image in keeping with the theme

of the sermon as a whole, but in distributing the four points of the compass to the four key words of his text, rather than distributing them randomly, Donne creates an appropriate link of association with each quarter to assist the memory. His text is '*Faciamus hominem ad similitudinem nostrum*' (Genesis 1.26), so that *Faciamus* is given the east because it is the first word where we begin, as the sun rises in the east, and also because *oriens* is a title of Christ, and the point summed in the word *faciamus* is the being of God as Trinity, which is only known through Christ. *Hominem* is placed in the west, because *hominem* stands in the mnemonic of the sermon for the mortality of our manhood, and the sun sets in the west, whose setting reminds us of mortality (a point further reinforced in the sermon by the colour association of red blood and red sunset with the original meaning of the word Adam). *Ad Imaginem* is given to the north, by association with the north wind in Song of Songs 4.16 and Job 37.22, because the wind both spreads God's goodness and scatters clouds, and the knowledge of being made to God's pattern counterbalances the knowledge of mortality. *Imagine nostra* is given to the south quarter, because it is the greatest glory of all to be made in God's image, and the sun at noon is at its brightest in the south. Thus Donne manages not only a clear visual image to assist the interior organisation of his discourse, set out explicitly at the beginning for all his auditors, but also contrives to build up associations which will reinforce both the memory of which parts are to go in which quarter and in what order they are to be reviewed, and the memory of the particular weight or emotional significance of each of his four main points. Four points, of which in fact it took him two sermons to complete the exposition, and the introduction of the second sermon continues the four quarters image on the clear assumption that it is still fresh in his hearers' memory. His disposition of these four words to stand for four points in the four quarters, each with its associations and attendant memory verses, is so

elaborate and subtle that it really only seems justified in the light of the sort of memory systems we have been discussing, and seems worth quoting in full:

And since we have the whole world in contemplation, consider in these words [his text in the *Vulgate*, '*Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem*'] the four quarters of the world, by application, by fair, and just accommodation of the words. First, in the first word, that God speaks here, *Faciamus*, Let us, in the plurall, (a denotation of divers Persons in one Godhead,) consider our East where we must beginne, at the knowledge and confession of the Trinity. For, though in the way to heaven, we be travelled beyond the Gentiles, when we come to confess but one God, (The Gentiles could not do that) yet we are still among the *Iews*, if we think that one God to be but one Person. Christs name is *Oriens*, the *East*; if we will be named by him, (called Christians) we must look to this East, the confession of the Trinity. There's then our East, in the *Faciamus*; Let us, us make man: And then our West is in the next word *Faciamus Hominem*. Though we be thus made, made by the counsell, made by the concurrence, made by the hand, of the whole Trinity; yet we are made but men: And man, but in the appellation, in this text: and man there, is but *Adam*: and *Adam* is but earth, but red earth, earth dyed red in bloud, in Soul-bloud, the bloud of our own soules. To that west we must all come, to the earth. *The Sunne knoweth his going down*: (Ps.104.19) Even the Sun for all his glory and heighth, hath a going down, and he knowes it. The highest cannot deuest mortality, nor the discomfort of mortality. *When you see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway you say there commeth a storm*, says Christ. When out of the region of your west, that is, your later days, there comes a cloud, a sickness, you feele a storme, even the best morall

constancy is shaken. But this cloud, and this storme, and this west there must be; And that's our second consideration. But then the next words designe a North, a strong and powerfull North, to scatter and dissipate these clouds: *Ad imaginem, & similitudinem*; That we are made according to a pattern, to an image, to a likenesse, which God proposed to himselfe for the making of man. This consideration, that God did not rest in that praeexistant matter, out of which he made all other creatures, and produced their formes out of their matter, for the making of man; but took a forme, a patterne, a modell for that work: This is the North winde, that is called upon to carry out the perfumes of the garden, to spread the goodness of God abroad. This is that which is intended in *Iob; Fair weather cometh out of the North*. Our West, our declination is in this, that we are but earth; our North, our dissipation of that darknesse, is in this, that we are not all earth; though we be of that matter, we have another forme, another image, another likenesse. And then, whose image and likenesse it is, is our Meridionall height, our noon, our south point, our highest elevation; *In Imagine nostra, Let us make man in our Image*. Though our Sun set at noon, as the Prophet *Amos* speakes ; though we die in our youth or fall in our height: yet even in that Sunset, we shall have a Noon. For this Image of God shall never depart from our soule; no, not when that soule departs from our body. And that's our South, our Meridionnal height and glory. (*Sermons IX, pp.49-50.*)

One of the most interesting and subtle things about this passage is the way he has taken out of their context from their places in the Psalms, Luke, Canticles, Job, and Amos, verses about weather or compass points, and reordered them into a new and coherent unity as mnemonic and directional signposts for exposition of a verse in Genesis. It is this

ability to use Scripture creatively in a series of new syntheses which continually re-relate different verses from different books into new patterns of coherence, which is part of the genius of Donne's way of re-reading scripture, so that each part reflects newly on all the others, very like the image of the room wainscotted with mirrored panels which he once used to describe the verses of the Bible: 'The scriptures are as a room wainscotted with looking-glass we see all at once.' (*Sermons* III, p.57.)

This elaboration of theological and emotional associations with the quarters of the compass seems to have run deeply in Donne, and is reiterated and lived through in his poetry, as for example in the *Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse*:

I joy, that in these straits, I see my West;
For, though their currants yeeld returne to none,
What shall my West hurt me? As West and East,
In all flatt Maps (and I am one) are one,
So death doth touch the Resurrection.⁽²⁹⁾

What then can we conclude from these elaborately set-out divisions in the opening passages of Donne's sermons, in their relation to the contemporary arts of memory? Whilst it would of course be possible to use entirely private place/image memory systems, without either the places or the images being supplied or suggested by the actual text of the discourse one was seeking to remember, it would clearly be an advantage if the mnemonic *loci* and *imagines* were built into the very text to be remembered, so that in recollection the medium and the message would be working together. From Donne's frequent use of palace/map/journey and other mnemonic motifs in his *divisio*, it seems almost certain that he was consciously incorporating mnemonic place

schemes into the imagery he used to illustrate the division of his text, whether he made use of a formal art himself, or was merely accommodating his sermons to their use by others. Although these efforts to accommodate his discourse to arts of memory are concentrated largely on the all-important structure of the *divisio*, where they would be most useful (especially since we have such a strong hint from Walton that the *divisio* was used by Donne as the key both for the composition and the memorisation of his sermons, ⁽³⁰⁾), I think it can also be shown, though perhaps with less certainty, that his choice of imagery and illustration for specific points, the furniture in the divided rooms of his discourse, is also designed for assimilation in an art of memory. This seems especially true in his deployment at key moments of striking or unusual images, and his cultivation of emblems or emblematic images, with which we shall deal briefly in the next section.

ii) Emblems and Mnemonic *Imagines*

In dealing with the images and illustrations in Donne's sermons that might have been influenced by, or conveniently adapted to use in, a memory system, one is dealing with an *embarras de richesse*. It could be said that Donne always thinks imaginatively or emblematically. Every thought in the sermons is incarnate in some striking image or illustration, every illustration seems able to generate and encapsulate new thought. This continual modification of sensibilities, and the ability to unite apparently disparate worlds of thought and experience with a striking image, which Eliot so notably observed in Donne's poetry, is as true of his prose.⁽³¹⁾ In this he differs from Andrewes, who tends to use his images more sparingly, and load them more deliberately and obviously with the particular points of truth with which he would have them associated, as he did for example with the image of Lot's wife.

Donne on the other hand scatters them broadcast, so that one at least will fall on good ground in the mind of each of his auditors, and take root as the seed around which the memory of that part of the sermon can cluster. Nevertheless he occasionally singles out a particular image for special attention, and when he does so, he specifically recommends it to his auditors as either an *emblem*, or a *remembrancer*. In doing this I think he is specifically inviting, and as it were accommodating, the art of memory, as he does in his *divisio*, and showing by example what might be done equally well with any other of the images he so richly provides. We will see in more detail how these images occur and are integrated into the pattern of the sermon in the sermons analysed in Section D. Here, I will just illustrate the way in which Donne explicitly sets up visual images to act as *remembrancers* for his congregation, telling them to use them as emblems; then I shall look at two examples of emblems in Donne's sermons, the first announced as a useful mnemonic emblem by Donne himself, and the second an example, as I hope to show, of how one of Donne's hearers gathered an emblem from his sermons, and used it as a means of remembering various of his teachings, and then published the emblem with its explanation in an emblem book, *The Soule's Solace*, in 1626. So we will see, first, the sort of encouragement and example Donne gave for the use of his imagery as mnemonic emblems or remembrancers, and then an example of somebody using his imagery according to that *ars memorativa* tradition.

In a sermon preached to the Countess of Bedford in 1620 on the text from Job 13.15, 'Loe though He slay me, yet will I trust in him', Donne begins by reminding his hearers in the exordium of the importance of fixing their mind and remembering, under the figure of Christ's being *Alpha and Omega*, that they too had a beginning in the life of this world, and must have an end. He goes on in the second part of his

two-part division to enumerate the ways in which we may find in the images all around us a series of 'remembrancers' of our mortality:

Everything is a remembrancer...If thou looke up into the aire, *remember that thy life is but a winde* (Job.7.7)...If thou behold a Tree, then Job gives thee a comparison of thy selfe: A *Tree* is an *emblem* of thyself; nay a Tree is the *originall*, thou art but the *copy*, thou art not so good as it: for *There is hope of a tree* (as you reade there) *if the roote wax old, if the stock be dead, if it be cut down, yet by the scent of the waters, it will bud, but man is sick and dyeth, and where is he?* (Job 14.7) He shall not wake againe, till heaven be no more. (*Sermons* III, p.202.)

Here he summons different images, which by association are tied up with brief verses from elsewhere in the same book he is expounding, so that anyone 'returning to those places' as he advises after hearing sermons, and re-reading the Book of Job, will find tags and phrases jogging their memory by the image, back to the place in the sermon where Donne has linked the image (wind and tree) with his sermon. It is interesting here that he refers to the tree image in passing as an *emblem* (Donne's italics), attesting to the growing popularity of emblems and emblem books. We will go on to look now at a passage where the emblem reference is not merely passing, but is deliberately announced and set up.

In the second of two sermons preached in Whitehall in 1620 on a text from Ecclesiastes 5.12-13, 'There is an evil sickness that I have seen under the sun: riches reserved to the owners thereof for their evil, and these riches perish by evil travail: and he begetteth a son; and in his hand is nothing', Donne divides the text by clauses, and in the section dealing with the way riches 'perish by evil travail' he

deliberately sets up an emblem which will stand for all that he is trying to say in that section:

You may have a good Embleme of such a rich man, whose riches perish in his travail, if you take into your memorie, and thoughts, a Sponge that is over-filled; If you presse it down with your little finger, the water comes out of it; Nay if you lift it up there comes water out of it; If you remove it out of his place, though to the right hand as well as to the left, it poures out water; Nay if it lye still quiet in his place, yet it wets the place and drops out his moisture. Such is an overfull and spongy covetous person: he must pour out as well as he hath suck't in; if the least weight of disgrace or danger lye upon him, he bleeds out his money; Nay if he be raised up, if he be preferr'd, he hath no way to it but by money, and he shall be rais'd, whether he will or no, for it. If he be stirr'd from one place to another, if he be suffered to settle where he is, and would be, still these two incomodities lye upon him; that he is loathest to part with his money, of anything, and yet he can do nothing without it. (*Sermons* III, p.65.)

The significant features here are the way the emblem is proposed specifically as an accommodation to the memory, 'Take into your memorie', and the way Donne sets up the verbal parallels between the movement of the sponge and of the rich man, in the four symbols, 'pressed with weight', 'raised up', 'stirred out of its place', 'left still', each of which becomes part of the fate of the rich man.

What distinguishes this particular passage is that Donne deliberately draws attention to the fact that he is using an emblem which may be 'taken into' the memory, an almost certain allusion to the art of memory; but equally, there are always sufficient images in each division

of each sermon to serve in this role of mnemonic emblem. In Chapter Two I pointed to the way in which contemporary books on the art of memory stressed the importance of using emblems as mnemonic *imagines*, and I also mentioned the fact that one book of emblems, *The Soule's Solace* published by Thomas Jenner in 1626, was in fact drawn entirely from contemporary preaching. Jenner does not give the full names of the preachers from whose sermons he has drawn his emblems, but just gives two letter initials. One of the initials occurring frequently in the collection is 'MD', and Sidney Gottlieb, in his facsimile reproduction *The Embleme Books of Thomas Jenner*, speculates briefly in a footnote that 'MD' might stand for 'Master Donne', since there are some themes in common between the poems setting out the emblems, and some of Donne's sermons, or that at any rate Jenner might have been capitalising on Donne's popularity by suggesting, from the initials that Donne was the source of some of his emblems.⁽³²⁾ Gottlieb does not take his tantalising suggestion any further, and since many of the themes and images in 'MD's' emblems are theological commonplaces, it might be hard to attribute them all specifically to Donne. My own reading both of *The Soule's Solace* and of Donne's sermons has led me to the conclusion that one at least of the 'MD' emblems was in fact culled from Donne's sermons, and is an example of an auditor picking up and remembering Donne's imagery as emblem, even when Donne himself has not drawn attention to its emblematic quality. The twenty-seventh emblem in Jenner is headed 'The new creation', and uses the image of a musical instrument which has gone out of tune to represent Man in his fallen condition:

A *Musick Instrument*, though fitting *strings*

Apt *peggs*, and *frets*, it hath..

...yet tis rejected

If't be out of tune...

...so every man that's born...

On the other hand, regenerate Man is an instrument which has been brought into tune by God through the office of preaching, so that his faculties (specifically mentioned as 'mind, will, conscience, memory') may be restored to due concord:

But when God's minister shall these upscrew,
And so doth tune and make this creature new,
He straight resounds a spiritual melody,
And in God's eares gives heavenly harmony...

Now this image of music and harmony is unusual amongst the more puritan or protestant commonplaces which make up most of *The Soule's Solace*, but readers of Donne will recognise that the notion of the sin or fall as disharmony, and of regeneration and heaven as being brought into tune and harmony, is a central and powerful image for Donne which recurs again and again in both the sermons and poetry. For Donne it probably has its roots in his reading of Francesco Giorgi's *De Harmonia Mundi*, a copy of which he possessed.⁽³³⁾ This is particularly interesting since Giorgi is one of the fathers and influences of Renaissance art of memory mysticism.⁽³⁴⁾

There are various passages from Donne's sermons which might qualify singly as the source of Jenner's emblem, or it may be an amalgam of several of them. In a sermon from which we have already quoted above,

where Donne was stressing that sermons to be memorable must be well ordered and harmonious like music, he says of unfallen creation:⁽³⁵⁾

God made this whole world in such an uniformity, such a correspondancy, such a concinnity of parts, as that it was an Instrument, perfectly in tune: we may say the trebles, the highest strings, were disordered first; the best understandings, Angels and Men, put this instrument out of tune. God rectified all again, by putting in a new string...the Messias, and onely by sounding that string in your eares, become we *musicum carmen*, true musick, true harmony, true peace to you. (*Sermons* II, p.170.)

Whilst this passage, rooted in Giorgi's *De Harmonia Mundi*, and borrowing perhaps an echo from Ulysses's speech in *Troilus and Cressida*, 'Take but degree away, untune that string and hark what discord follows..', may well be the root source of Jenner's emblem, it is not by itself an exact correspondence, since in *The Soule's Solace* it is the individual Christian rather than the world or mankind which is retuned by God. However there are a number of other passages in Donne's sermons from which Jenner could have taken this more individualistic notion of the emblem of Man as a musical instrument. For example in a sermon making exactly the point of 'The New Creation', that God does not destroy but remakes the penitent sinner, Donne uses just this image of the untuned stringed instrument:

God is a God of harmony and consent, and in a musicall instrument, if some strings be out of tune, wee doe not presently breake all the strings, but reduce and tune those, which are out of tune... (*Sermons* III, p.148.)

In the Jenner emblem we are told that it is God's word which transforms and retunes man:

... But wilt thou better be?

Let God's word new transforme and fashion thee:

As instruments, unless in tune, are slighted

So men, except new-made, ne'er God delighted.

Donne makes exactly this point, still under this distinctive and favourite image, in the great sermon on the power of preaching already quoted above.⁽³⁶⁾

And to Tune us, to Compose and give us a Harmonie and Concorde of affections...if we had no more of the same *Musique* in the *Scriptures*...this Song of *Deborah* were enough. (*Sermons* IV, p.180.)

In Jenner's emblem the 'humane faculties' in their natural state are in disharmony, and need to be perfected so that Man can make 'spiritual melody'. In a sermon preached in 1625, the year before Jenner published the *Soule's Solace*, Donne illustrated the truth that God through the Holy Spirit uses compunction to regenerate us by saying:

So when a naturall man comes to be displeased with his owne actions...though his naturall faculties be the Instruments in these actions, yet the Holy Ghost sets this Instrument in tune and makes all that is musique and harmony in the faculties of this naturall man. (*Sermons* VII, p.222.)

Any of these passages might have been the inspiration for Jenner's emblem. Indeed it is possible that the emblem deliberately combines them. Jenner's illustration shows a holy preacher tuning a stringed

instrument. If Jenner himself (or the anonymous author whom he is publishing) used a topical/visual art of memory it is quite possible that he set up the image when he first heard Donne use it, and then filed the points Donne made using the same image in other sermons, under that same image in his mind. So that when he came to write the verse explanation of the meaning of the emblem, he drew from it, according to the mnemonic art, the various theological points which Donne had chosen over the course of several sermons (covering the space of about five years) to associate with that image. If this were the case, then we would have in Jenner's emblem an exteriorised example of the way such an art of memory, used habitually at the hearing of sermons, might serve to accumulate, illustrate, and preserve the preacher's thought, slanted of course - as it certainly is in Jenner who had a strongly protestant doctrine of preaching, which comes out clearly in the poem - by the preoccupations of the individual auditor, but still preserving the preacher's original words and images. Whatever the case, Donne himself continued to develop the image, after, as well as before, the publication of *The Soule's Solace*, until it reached its most beautiful and concise expression in that poem written in his sickness:

Since I am comming to that Holy roome,
Where, with thy Quire of Saints for evermore,
I shall be made thy musique; As I come
I tune the Instrument here at the dore,
And what I must doe then, thinke here before. (*Complete
Poetry*, p.320.)

We have seen then, in this section some examples of how the ordering of places in Donne's *divisio*, and the symbolic loading of images in the body of his sermons, might correspond to some of the rules for places and images in a memory system. It remains now to look at how these

links with the *ars memorativa* tradition are combined with the broader theological doctrines of memory we surveyed in Section B of this chapter, in the course and context of two particular sermons.

D) Two Sermons

I would like to turn now in more detail to two sermons of Donne's in which he develops his teachings on memory more explicitly and at length. The first is one of a series on Psalm 38, delivered at Lincoln's Inn in the spring or summer of 1618. (*Sermons II*, pp.72-94.)

This sermon opens with an unusually long exordium before the formal division, which Donne devotes entirely to a profound valuation of memory as the key which unlocks meaning in Scripture, and as the faculty of the soul through which we hear God's call. This encomium of memory is occasioned by the fact that the Psalm's formal title is *Psalmus ad Recordationem*, a psalm of remembrance. In expounding his text Donne recalls Jerome's formula, '*titulus clavis*', the title of the psalm is the key to the psalm, so that memory, here, is the key which unlocks the mystery of the Scripture. Donne returns later with great effect in this sermon to this image of the key, but he begins his reflections by grounding us solidly in the Augustinian tradition of the soul's trinity of faculties, and passing on as he does so a little tag with which St Bernard, a mystic whom Donne frequently quotes when dealing with memory, had crystallised the Augustinian doctrine. This is a passage part of which we have already looked at briefly in our survey of Donne's understanding of the memory as a faculty, but here I quote it more fully and in relation to context;

As God, one *God* created us, so we have a soul, *one soul*, that represents and is some image of that one God; As the three Persons of the *Trinity* created us, so we have in our soul a *threefold impression* of that image, and, as Saint *Bernard* calls it, *A trinity from the Trinity*, in those *three faculties* of the soul, the *Understanding*, the *Will*, and the *Memory*. (*Sermons II*, pp.72-3.)

Of these three faculties, Donne argues that the memory is the one through which we are likeliest to hear God's call:

Of our perverseness in both faculties, *understanding* and *Will*, God may complain but as much of our *memory*; for, for the rectifying of the *will* the *understanding* must be rectified; and that implies great difficulty: But the *memory* is so familiar, and so present, and so ready a faculty, as will always answer if we will but speak to it, and aske it, *what hath God done for us or for others*. The art of *salvation* is but the art of *memory*. (*Sermons II*, p.73.)

This last phrase is vital, and succinctly expresses the absolute centrality of memory in Donne's mind. Indeed it was noticed and taken up in an article in 1958 by Robert Hickey, entitled 'Donne's Art of Memory'.⁽³⁷⁾ Hickey's article gives a brief overview of a number of passages in the sermons where Donne mentions memory, argues for its importance in his world-view, and suggests in a conclusion that throughout his sermons Donne's choice of imagery 'springs, in great part at least, from his belief that the understanding and the will are best reached by appealing to the memory'. Hickey's arguments were taken up by Dennis Quinn in his thought provoking paper on 'Donne's Christian Eloquence'.⁽³⁸⁾ Quinn gives a number of telling examples of the way in which Donne strives to achieve striking and vivid images which will work strongly upon the memory, and with which he

can build up associations with the particular points he wishes to make in the sermon. Though both these papers mention it, neither pays attention to the actual phrasing in the quotation given above, 'the art of salvation is but the art of memory'. What is interesting here, apart from the central role given to memory, as already mentioned, is the repetition of the word *art*. Donne is clearly not referring here to the casual or haphazard use of a faculty left in its natural state, but to an art - a deliberate and systematic cultivation of that faculty through the use of carefully acquired techniques. Both these papers were published before Frances Yates published *The Art of Memory*, and part of the purpose of this thesis has been to show the light her work sheds on the phrase 'the art of memory' as Donne uses it in this context. For here, I believe, Donne is alluding directly to the arts of memory, and showing in the course of the exordium a way in which they can be spiritualised or made part of one's devotional life, so that they become an art of salvation.

Having made the assertion that 'the art of salvation is but the art of memory', Donne immediately goes on to elaborate and deepen his point. First of all he shows that the two great, related acts of salvation by God, are celebrated and made present and active to us by memory; so the giving of the Law is prefaced with the memory of God's great act of redemption in the Exodus, and more profoundly still - for it is the reality of which the Passover was only the type - in the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, God is made present to us by the memory, so that, as we saw at the beginning, access to the past by means of memory becomes a way of entering even more deeply into the present. For Donne the mere fact that we should be able to remember God's mercy in the past is a sign of his present mercy to us now, as he puts it in a great passage which immediately follows his saying about the art of salvation:

When God gave his people the *Law*, he proposes nothing to them, but by that way, to their memory; *I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt*; Remember but that. And when we expresse God's mercy to us, we attribute but that faculty to God, that He *remembers us*; *Lord what is man that thou art mindfull of him*? And when God works so upon us as that *He makes His wonderfull works to be had in remembrance*, it is as great a mercy as the very doing of those wonderfull works was before. It was a *seal upon a seal*, a seal of *confirmation*, it was a *sacrament upon a sacrament*, when in instituting the sacrament of his *body and his bloud*, Christ presented it so, *Doe this in remembrance of me*. (*Sermons II, pp.73-4.*)

Having firmly established the high point of Christian memory mysticism in the sacrament, Donne is not afraid to call Plato to his aid as Augustine had done before him, and draw parallels between the doctrine of reminiscence and Christian teaching on memory:

Plato plac'd all learning in the memory; wee may place all Religion in the memory too: All knowledge, that seems new today, says Plato, is but a remembering of that which your soul knew before. All instruction, which we can give you today, is but the remembering you of the mercies of God, which have been new every morning.
(*Sermons II, p.74.*)

After this brief allusion to the Platonic doctrines comes a passage which is particularly fascinating in the light of what we know about the artificial memory systems:

Nay he that hears no Sermons, he that reads no Scriptures, hath the Bible without book; He hath a *Genesis* in his *memory*; he cannot

forget his *Creation*; he hath an *Exodus* in his memory; he cannot forget that God hath delivered him from some kind of *Egypt*, from some oppression; he hath a *Leviticus* in his memory; he cannot forget that God hath proposed to him some Law, some rules to be observed. He hath *all* in his memory, even to the *Revelation*.
(*Sermons* II, p.74.)

Just as Andrewes proposed the stages and episodes of the story of Lot's wife as a pattern in which we can remember our own past and see its significance, so Donne here shows that the pattern of the whole Bible has an interior correspondence with and reflection in our own memories, and if we can only return to our memories and discern the pattern we will discover the meaning of the experience which will lead us to God. As we saw in Chapter Two, in the *ars memorativa* tradition we sometimes find the image of an inner book in the mind in which experiences are sorted according to their correct headings. Behind Donne's image here is also the commonplace of the two books by which God speaks to us, the book of Scripture and the book of creation, so that just as every element of the creation as macrocosm is present in the microcosm of Man's nature, so too there is an interior correspondence in the memory with the whole of the Bible. The preacher's task is to make the connections, or more accurately to enable the auditor to make the connections for himself. Because of the Fall, the interior book of memory has become disordered, falsely patterned, or chaotic and completely without pattern. In a creative encounter with Scripture such as Donne and Andrewes are trying to facilitate, we are shown the *significant structure* or pattern in Scripture, either in a particular episode, as in Andrewes's sermon, or in the overall structuring of the entire Bible, as in this present passage. We are then invited to revisit our own memories and reorder them according to the divinely inspired pattern of Scripture, so that

we can come through those memories, even memories of sin, into God's presence and purpose as a pattern in our life, and so redeem the time. Like Andrewes, Donne believes that this exercise of memory leads not just to theological knowledge of God's purpose in our lives, but also to self-knowledge, and thus to true liberation. Donne makes the point about our lack of self-knowledge in a phrase strikingly similar to Andrewes's, '...it is many times too true "nothing is so far from our minds as we ourselves"...',⁽³⁹⁾ when he says:

There may be enough in *remembering ourselves*; but sometimes that's the hardest of all; many times we are farthest off from ourselves, most forgetful of ourselves. (*Sermons II*, p.74.)

He follows Andrewes and Augustine in believing that if we could only remember ourselves deeply and thoroughly enough, we would inevitably be led through the most inner recess of memory, as Augustine was, into the presence of God and so be able to turn to him at last:

Let (all the world) but remember thoroughly, and then as it follows there, *They shall turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the Nations shall worship him.* (*Sermons II*, p.74.)

Donne concludes the encomium on memory in this sermon by returning to and developing the image of the key with which he began. The key which was at first the key as title only to unlock this particular psalm has become an image of memory as a universal key, which can liberate the individual from the prison of unredeemed time:

Therefore *David* makes that the key to this Psalme; *Psalmus ad Recordationem*, a *Psalm for Remembrance*. Being lock'd up in a close prison, of multiplied calamities, this turns the key, this opens the

door, this restores him to liberty, if he can *remember*. (*Sermons* II, p.74.)

As T.S.Eliot, the spiritual heir and so often the verbal echo of Donne and Andrewes, sums it up, 'This is the use of memory:/For liberation...'(40)

The second of Donne's sermons on which I wish to comment here is the famous 'Sermon of Valediction at my going into Germany', preached at Lincoln's Inn on April the 18th 1619, on the text, 'Remember now thy creator in the days of thy youth'. (*Sermons*, II pp.235-249.)

Donne opens his comments on our exercise of the faculty of memory in this sermon with an assertion of its primacy over the other faculties, and of the special role of the Holy Spirit in actuating the memory and bringing it back to God himself:

Here then the holy-Ghost takes the neerest way to bring a man to God, by awakening his memory; for, for the understanding, that requires long and cleer instruction; and the will requires an instructed understanding before, and is in itself the blindest and boldest faculty; but if the memory doe but fasten on any of these things which God hath done for us, it is the neerest way to him. Remember therefore, and remember now, though the Memory be placed in the hindermost part of the brain, defer not thou thy remembering to the hindermost part of thy life, but doe that now. (*Sermons* II, p.235.)

He goes on to make the kind of distinction between shallow and more profound memory which we found in Psalm 77 in Chapter One: (41)

Now, *in this day*, and *in these days* Remember first the Creator,
That all these things which thou labourest for, and delightest in,
were created, made of nothing; and therefore thy memory looks not
far enough back, if it stick only upon the Creature, and reach not
to the Creator. (*Sermons II*, p.236.)

This movement of memory through the creation, but then beyond to the creator, is of course the heart of St Augustine's teaching on the right use of memory, and Donne follows it up with an apt quotation which he attributes to St Bernard, but which actually occurs in Augustine's *Confessions*, Book 10 Chapter Four, where the memory is referred to as *stomachus animae*:

The memory says St. Bernard is the stomach of the soul, it receives and digests and turns into good blood, all the benefits formerly exhibited to us in particular, and exhibited to the whole Church of God. (*Sermons II*, p.236.)

This striking image is followed by an exhortation to his auditors to turn inwards to their own memories, in which Donne employs an image which could have come directly from any of a number of the published arts of memory with which we dealt in Chapter Two. The image certainly derives from that tradition, but Donne, in the light of his own experience and of Augustinian memory mysticism, has subtly strengthened and deepened it: it is the image of memory as the interior picture gallery:

Go to thine own memory; for as St Bernard calls that the stomach of the soul, we may be bold to call it the Gallery of the soul, hang'd with so many and so lively pictures of the goodness and mercies of thy God to thee, as that every one of them shall be a

catechism to thee, to instruct thee in all thy duties to him for those mercies: And as a well made and well plac'd picture looks alwayes upon him that looks upon it; so shall thy God look upon thee, whose memory is thus contemplating him, and shine upon thine understanding, and rectifie thy will too. (*Sermons* II, p.237.)

The image of the memory as an interior gallery could have come straight from the psuedo-Ciceronian treatise *Ad Herennium* or any of its progeny. It is interesting to note that the two main requirements for interior images in the *Ad Herennium*, that they should be lively - *imagines agentes* - and that they should be well spaced, are both mentioned in this passage. Further it is worth noting that Donne asserts that each of these interior pictures can be made a catechism to instruct the soul. The original use of such images in the *ars memorativa* was of course to store and then to yield information when requested, very much by means of the question and answer system of the catechism. As we saw in Chapter Two, the manipulation of such memory images was transformed during medieval times into a system of devotion and contemplation whereby religious truths, and holy intentions and resolutions, were remembered in their particular order by means of their embodiment in striking and symbolic inner images, each feature of the image standing for one aspect of the truth to be remembered. I think it is possible to see something of the influence of such practices here in Donne's image of the inner gallery, in which every picture can become a catechism. Donne however goes further than any of his possible sources, for his inner pictures are not merely mnemonic *notae* for remembering some catalogue of moral resolutions; rather they become windows on to the eternal, each potentially a channel for a mystic experience of God's very presence in the soul. Here we are back with the Augustine of the *Confessions*. But whereas Augustine's path through memory to God involved passing

through the various hierarchies of remembered images and feelings until, as it were by elimination, we come to God himself, Donne here, in an imaginative transformation, applies to any remembered interior image the theology of the icon - the picture that looks out as well as in. He shows that if only the memory is well placed ('patterned', Andrewes would say) and we are willing to contemplate it properly, then that memory can become a sacrament through which God communicates himself to us directly: 'so shall thy God look upon thee whose memory is thus contemplating him and shine upon thine understanding and rectifie thy will too.'

That Donne had elaborated what we might call this sacramental theology of the interior icon from his own experience, no one who has read his religious poetry can doubt. One thinks for example of the great passage in *Good Friday, 1613. Riding Westward*, where he mentions the power and exercise of memory precisely in describing this experience of looking at an inner image which looks back with the eyes of God:

Though these things as I ride be from mine eye,
They'are present yet unto my memory,
For that looks towards them; and thou look'st towards mee,
O Saviour, as thou hang'st upon the tree. (*Complete Poetry*,
p.292.)(42)

Donne follows this passage with yet another image drawn from the *ars memorativa* traditions, an image we noted in the other sermon, the image of memory as an interior book; here the type of book Donne seems to have in mind is the picture or emblem book, of the type Jenner collected and printed. Emblem books are really just a printed set of examples of the mnemonic images which people are instructed how to form in the *ars memorativa*. So Donne says, 'every man hath a

pocket picture about him, a manual, a bosom book', and continues in a splendidly mixed metaphor,

and if he will turn over but one leaf and remember what God hath done for him even since yesterday, he shall find even by that little branch, a navigable river, to sail into that great and endless Sea of God's mercies towards him, from the beginning of his being.
(*Sermons* II, p.238.)

In the sermon on Psalm 38 Donne had remarked that 'everyman hath a Genesis in his memory, he cannot forget his creation', when he was trying to show that the entire pattern of the divine story in Scripture is reproduced in microcosm in each one of us. Within the main body of this Sermon of Vaediction, Donne gives us a practical and carefully worked out example of how Genesis can be appropriated and internalised, how we can indeed have a Genesis in our memory, remembering our creation. He divides the text into three main branches, 'Remember', 'Remember Now', and 'Remember in the day...'. The third section forms almost a summary of the whole of what he wants to say, and so he gives it its own orderly subdivision into seven parts. What he does, following exactly the methods of the artificial memory systems, is to use a well known and significant sequence, in this case the seven days of creation, as a sequence of memory places or *loci*, and images, *imagines*, which can be attached by symbolism and association to the thoughts and doctrines which he wishes us to order and remember. The scheme he enunciates can be summarised as follows:

Day 1: The first day God made light. When we think of light we are to remember first Jesus Christ because '*erat lux vera*, he was the true light' (*Sermons* II, p.240.). Second, light also stands for the light of the Gospel. These are ordered first on day one, and we are to remember

that Jesus Christ and his Gospel take precedence over everything else. Third God made the light first, because otherwise we would not be able to see and enjoy the rest of his creatures. '*Frustra essent si non viderentur*' (*Sermons* II, p.240.). In applying this Donne seeks to make memorable a political point:

'Our first day is the light and love of the Gospel; for the noblest creatures of Princes, (that is the noblest actions of princes, war and peace and treaties) *frustra sunt*, they are good for nothing, they are nothing, if they be not shew'd and tried by this light, by the love and preservation of the Gospel of Christ Jesus. (*Sermons* II, p.240.)

He makes several further points, each linked symbolically to the well-known imagery of the first day, so that they can be easily remembered, and then presses on to set up his points in the other days, making the transition with a gentle piece of humour saying that he will 'make shorter days of the rest, for we must pass through all the six days in a few minutes'. (*Sermons*, II p.241.)

Day 2: On the second day God made the firmament and divided the waters above the firmament from the waters below the firmament. The image of the firmament is to stand in our minds for what Donne calls the *terminus cognoscibilium*, the limits of those things which God hath given Man means and faculties to understand. Even the stars in the firmament can be turned by Donne into a memory-image to help us picture and remember what he is saying, for they represent the Church Doctors; just as we cannot see beyond the stars, so we must not go beyond the Doctors and Fathers of the Church in our doctrines:

The Fathers and Doctors, have ever from the beginning proposed things necessary to be explicitly believ'd, for the salvation of our souls; for the eternal decrees of God, and his un-reveal'd mysteries, and the inextricable perplexities of the School, they are waters above the firmament....here God raises up men to convey us the dew of his grace, by waters under the firmament; by visible sacraments, and by the word so preach'd, and so interpreted as it hath been constantly and unanimously from the beginning of the Church. (*Sermons* II, pp.241-2.)

It is worth noting in passing here how Donne takes an opportunity for castigating English Calvinism for prying too closely into the secrets of God and his unrevealed mysteries, and it is beautiful the way, by sleight of hand, he manages in a phrase to confound them with the scholastics to whom they would of course be totally opposed, though from the perspective of Donne's hard won 'Anglican' *via media* both schools of thought are tainted with the same folly of presumption.

Day 3: On the third day, the gathering together of the waters and the growth of plants, Donne continues his image of the waters below the firmament as the Church's sacraments and preaching, and the image of herbs bearing seed becomes the vehicle for him to make yet again his distinction between seminal doctrines and fruitless, contentious doctrines. The Church is the gathering together, the congregation of all that is necessary and life-giving, and the doctrines she taught will only be called good by God if they bear seed, if they are seminal and life-giving. Again, Donne cannot resist a dig at some of his contemporaries:

...but for doctrines which were but to vent the passion of vehement men, or to serve the turns of great men for a time,

which were not seminal doctrines, doctrines that bore seed, and were to last from the beginning to the end; for these interlineary doctrines, and marginal, which were no part of the first text, here's no testimony that God sees that they are good. (*Sermons II*, p.242.)

Day 4: Turning to the fourth day, Donne finds profound and subtle use for the images of the sun and moon as mnemonics for his teaching:

In the fourth daies work, let the making of the Sun to rule by day be the testimony of Gods love to thee, in the sunshine of temporal prosperity, and the making of the Moon to shine by night, be the refreshing of his comfortable promises in the darkness of adversity; and then remember that he can make thy sun to set at noon, he can blow out thy taper of prosperity when it burns brightest... (*Sermons II*, p.242.)

Day 5: His instruction on how to turn the images of the creeping and flying things created on the fifth day into fruitful memory-images deserves to be quoted in full, not least because it shows Donne's respect for the individuality of those to whom he preached, his awareness that whilst one might need to be abased another might need to be lifted up and consoled; so, whilst providing hints on how these images might be applied, he delegates the responsibility for their actual use:

Let the fift daies work which was the creation *omnium reptibilium* and *omnium volatiliium*, of all creeping things, and of all flying things...signifie and denote to thee, either thy humble devotion, in which thou saiest of thyself to God, *vermis ego et non homo*, I am a worm and no man; or let it be the raising of thy soul in that,

pennas columbae dedisti, that God hath given thee the wings of a dove to fly to the wilderness, in a retiring from, or a resisting of tentations of this world; remember still that God can suffer even thy humility to stray, and degenerate into uncomly dejection and stupidity, and senselessness of the true dignity and true liberty of a Christian: and he can suffer this retiring thyself from the world, to degenerate into a contempt and despising of others, and an over-valuing of thine own perfections. (*Sermons* II, p.243.)

Donne uses the image of the sixth day, Man's being made of earth and inspired with the breath of God, to fix the memory both of our mortality and our immortality. Finally, the image of the Sabbath rest is given a threefold meaning. Indeed Donne produces a circularity which imitates the condition of eternity or perfection of which he speaks, by adding to the sentence with which he begins to speak of the Sabbath, a recapitulation of the points he has laid down in his memory-images so far, so that we revisit the entire first archetypal week of creation in the space of this one sentence, and experience it through memory with all its deeply layered imagery as a profound regeneration. In the light of Donne's careful preparation of our minds the whole sentence becomes a mimesis or model of God's act of creation as it impinges on our individual souls, climaxing in Donne's text, that we should remember our creator. Structurally and poetically, indeed theologically, this sentence is a small masterpiece and is worthy of close scrutiny:

And when the Sabbath day hath also remembered thee, that God hath given thee a temporal Sabbath, plac'd thee in a land of peace, and an ecclesiastical Sabbath, plac'd in a Church of peace, perfect all in a spiritual Sabbath, a conscience of peace, by remembering now thy Creator, at least in one of these daies of the week of thy regeneration, either as thou hast light created in thee, in the first

day, that is, thy knowledge of Christ; or as thou hast a firmament created in thee the second day, that is, thy knowledge what to seek concerning Christ, things appertaining to faith and salvation; or as thou hast a sea created in thee the third day, that is, a Church where all the knowledge is reserv'd and presented unto thee; or as thou hast a sun and moon in the fourth day, thankfulness in prosperity, comfort in adversity, or as thou hast *reptilem humilitatem*, or *volatilem fiduciam*, a humiliation in thyself, or an exaltation in Christ in thy fifth day, or as thou hast a contemplation of thy mortality and immortality in the sixth day, or a desire of a spiritual Sabbath in the seventh, In those days remember thou thy Creator. (*Sermons* II, p.243.)

Obviously, there was a tradition going back to the Fathers of detailed and symbolic commentary on the week of creation; after all, Augustine himself concluded the *Confessions* with such a commentary. The tradition extended up to Donne's time, and the first week of creation was of course the subject of Du Bartas's epic poem *La Semaine*, translated into English as 'The Divine Weeks and Works by Sylvester'. It was published in instalments from 1592, and as a complete edition in 1608, which went through five reprints between that time and 1640. Clearly Donne was familiar with this poem, and indeed it has been argued that his *Metempsychosis* was intended in part to parody Du Bartas. However, if one wants to find a contemporary example of somebody using the Genesis narrative as an internalised devotional memory system, as Donne suggests in this sermon, one need look no further than Lancelot Andrewes himself, and in the next chapter we will look at the influence of the *ars memorativa* as well as their theology of memory itself on the devotional writings of both Andrewes and Donne.

Summary

From all the foregoing, I think one can draw three conclusions. Firstly, that Donne possessed a coherent and pervasive doctrine of memory which represented his own personal development of the Augustinian memory tradition; secondly, that he was aware of, made appeals to, and almost certainly made personal use of the traditional rhetorical arts of memory available in his day, and that these have had a considerable, and beneficial influence on the style and structure of his sermons. Thirdly, that he brought the Augustinian and the rhetorical notions of memory into fruitful interplay, and was able thereby to suggest that the Augustinian exercise of memory as a means of access to God could make beneficial use of some of the interior ordering of place and image which characterised rhetorical memory, so that the art of memory may become the art of salvation.

Having surveyed the role of memory both theologically and rhetorically in the sermons of Andrewes and Donne, I shall turn in my final chapter to look at how this rhetoric and theology was manifest in other genres than the sermon, and lastly look for comparison at the role of memory - and particularly of the memory of Andrewes and Donne - in the work of T.S.Eliot, the modern writer on whom they have probably exercised their greatest influence.

Notes

(1) R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life*, Oxford, paperback edition, 1986, p.315. Hereafter, this edition will be referred to, in the text or in notes, as Bald, followed by a page number.

(2) Izaak Walton, *The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert and Robert Sanderson* (first published 1640-70) World Classics no.303, Oxford, 1966, p.48.

- (3) *Sermons I*, pp.236-37.
See Chapter One, note 6, for further details of the edition of Donne's sermons to which reference is made here, and extensively throughout this chapter.
- (4) *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, edited by N.E. McClure, (2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1939), Volume II, p.67. Hereafter, in the text or in notes, this edition will be referred to as Chamberlain, followed by volume and page number.
For a more detailed discussion of this occasion, see Bald, pp.322-23.
- (5) Chamberlain II, p.443.
- (6) 'Elegy in Memory of John Donne', quoted in W.R. Mueller, *John Donne: Preacher*, Princeton, 1962, p.85.
- (7) See Chapter One, note 6.
- (8) *Donne's Prebend Sermons*, edited with an Introduction by Janel M. Mueller, Harvard, 1971. Hereafter, in the text or in notes, references to this edition will be to Mueller, followed by a page number.
- (9) See above, Chapter Three, pp.114-15.
- (10) See below, pp.184-86.
- (11) See below, p.229.
- (12) See above, Chapter One, pp.30-32.
- (13) For a discussion of the dating, see *Sermons IV*, pp.38-39.
- (14) For a discussion of this sermon's provenance and the problems of dating it, see *Sermons V*, pp.10-11.
- (15) *De Trinitate*, Book 10, Chapter XI in *The Works of Aurelius Augustine VII*, p.259. (See Chapter One, note 23.)
- (16) See above, Chapter Three, p.170.
- (17) See also below, pp.232-41 for a fuller analysis of this sermon.
- (18) See above, pp.176-77.
- (19) See below, p.229.
- (20) See below, p.227.
- (21) For my discussion of this sermon, see below, pp.226-32.
- (22) See *Sermons IV*, pp.26-28 for a fuller discussion of the political situation.
- (23) See for example *Sermons VII*, p.227.
- (24) For a full discussion of this sermon, see below, pp.226-32.
- (25) See above, Chapter Three, p.123.
- (26) John S. Chamberlin, *Increase and Multiply*, pp.115-17. See Chapter Two, note 17, for further details of this book, which will hereafter be

referred to, whether in the text or in notes, as *Increase and Multiply*, followed by a page number.

(27) Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. For further details of this book, see Chapter Two, note 23.

(28) See below, Chapter Five, pp.258-60.

(29) John Donne, *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, edited by John Hayward, p.320. See Chapter Three, note 20, for further details of this edition, which will hereafter be referred to, in the text or in notes, as *Complete Poetry*.

(30) See above, p.179.

(31) *Selected Prose* (see Chapter Three, note 13 for further details of this collection); see especially p.64.

(32) *The Emblem Books of Thomas Jenner*, edited by Sidney Gottlieb, (see Chapter Two, note 25), Introduction, p.xii, note 6.

(33) See the list of 197 books from Donne's library in Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne, Dean of St Paul's*, 4th edition, Oxford, 1973. See also Frances A. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*, London, 1984, Chapter Four.

(34) Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (see Chapter One, note 28), p.262.

(35) See above, pp.202-03.

(36) See above, p.200.

(37) Robert L. Hickey, 'Donne's Art of Memory', in *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 3, 1958, p.29.

(38) Dennis Quinn, 'Donne's Christian Eloquence', in *A Journal of English Literary History* 27, 1960, p.276.

(39) See above, Chapter Three, p.163.

(40) *Little Gidding*, Section III, lines 7 and 8, in T.S. Eliot, *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (see Chapter Three, note 37), p.219.

(41) See above, Chapter One, pp.9-11.

(42) For a broader discussion of Donne's poetry, see Chapter Five of this thesis.

Chapter Five. Memory, Meditation, and Poetry

In the preceding chapters we have seen how Andrewes and Donne, each in his own way, developed the traditions about memory which he had inherited, and adapted them to the genre of the sermon. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the ways in which the material I have discussed apropos of the sermons, exerts influence on the shaping and writing of other genres; specifically, to look at the influence both of the arts of memory and their own theologies of memory on the writing, first, of devotions and meditations, and secondly, on the writing of poetry. In looking at the relation between *memory and meditation* I will look specifically at the two *devotional works* we have by Andrewes and Donne: Andrewes's *Preces Privatae*, and Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*.

In the second section I shall first examine Donne's poetry in the light of the memory traditions discussed in this thesis. Then I shall trace the influence that Andrewes exercised on T.S. Eliot's poetry, and compare what Eliot says about memory in his poetry with the tradition on which he is drawing.

A) Memory and Meditation

i) General Background

During the period when Andrewes and Donne lived, there was a great flowering of 'meditation', in which arts of meditation, books of

devotions, and spiritual exercises were published in large numbers. The most influential amongst these, in both the English and the Roman Church, was the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius of Loyola, first published in 1548.⁽¹⁾ The growth and influence of the various arts of meditation in this period is discussed at some length in Louis Martz's book, *The Poetry of Meditation*.⁽²⁾ Martz's thesis is directly relevant to the concerns of this chapter. He shows, I think conclusively, how pervasive and influential the culture of meditation was, and demonstrates its formative influence on the religious poetry of the period, especially on Donne's; as he remarks: 'As for Donne himself, I believe that meditative techniques are essential to the dominant qualities of Donne's poetry'. (Martz, Introduction, pp.xxii-xxiii.) Although the terms 'meditation' and 'devotion' can be used very broadly, Martz shows how they came to take on a 'more sharply delimited significance', (Martz, p.14) referring to a deliberate, interior application of the mind's powers to truth about God, oneself, or the world, proceeding in due order and coming to some specific issue or result. It begins as an exercise of the understanding and the memory, but ends in devotion, the stirring of the will and affections. Martz cites many contemporary writers on meditation to illustrate these features: the common thread of order and deliberation, and of movement through the interior powers and orders of the soul, might be summed-up in these words from the Anglican Bishop Hall's influential *Arte of Divine Meditation*, published in 1606:

Our Meditation must *proceed* in due order, not troubledly, not preposterously: it begins in the understanding, endeth in the affection, it begins in the braine, descends to the heart; begins on earth, ascends to Heaven; Not suddenly, but by certaine staires and degrees, till we come to the highest. (Quoted in Martz, p.25.)

This conveys the deliberation and order, although it mentions only the understanding in its accounts of the initial stages of meditation, whereas, as we shall see, the widely influential Ignatian tradition makes a deliberate use of the Augustinian concept, which has been so central to this thesis, of the *three powers*, of memory, understanding, and will.

The connection between the art of meditation and the art and purpose of the kind of preaching with which we have been dealing, is clear; for the sermon also seeks to begin in understanding and end in affection, to move the hearers and, as Hall says of meditation, 'is nothing else but a bending of the mind upon some spiritual object, through divers forms of discourse, until our thoughts come to an issue'.⁽³⁾ This congruence and affinity between the sermons we have studied and the art of meditation is further emphasised by the special appeals, to which I drew attention in the last two chapters, which Andrewes and Donne made to their auditors, to make their sermons a subject for meditation at home.⁽⁴⁾ There seems, indeed, in Donne and Andrewes to be a special affinity for meditation and devotion, which is not only a matter of temperament but, I think, a consequence of a common emphasis on a theology and art of memory which has strong affinities with the contemporary arts of meditation. Janael Mueller has noted the importance of meditation for Donne in terms of his Augustinian psychology, in the preface to her edition of the *Prebend Sermons*:

In fact, Donne's labeling of St. Bernard 'the Father of meditation' and his frequent use of the term 'meditation' to describe his own sermons connect most closely with the *Sermones in cantica*, where eloquent demonstration is made anew of the Augustinian reciprocal relationship between knowing and loving God. For Donne the preacher this was the importance of the theory of psychology

underlying systematic meditation: that it showed the way to rousing and working upon the reason and the will of man... He recognised the shared objectives of preaching and of meditation; spiritual renewal and growth. As he adapted the methods of meditation to his poetry, he adapted the psychology of meditation to his sermons. 'Accustome thyself', he exhorted his hearers, 'to meditations upon the Trinity, in all occasions, and find impressions of the Trinity in the three faculties of thine own soul, thy Reason, thy Will and thy Memory.' (Mueller, p.32, *Sermons* III, p.154.⁽⁵⁾)

This relation between the sermon and the art of meditation was of course reciprocal, as was the relation of the sermon and the art of memory, each drawing on and referring to the other. So, just as Donne and Andrewes recommend set times for devotion and meditation in the course of their sermons, in the same way Hall in his *Arte* recommends sermons and Sunday services as providing fit matter for formal devotion, as John Booty remarks in his essay on Hall's *Arte* and Anglican Spirituality:

Sunday is suggested as a propitious time for meditation: 'for the plentiful instruction of that day stirreth them up to this action and fills with matter and the zeal of thy public service warmeth thy heart to this other business of devotion'.⁽⁶⁾

Given this strong link between Andrewes's and Donne's sermons and contemporary arts of meditation, and the strong emphasis on memory and the art of memory in their sermons, the question arises as to how far there are common threads between the exercise of memory described or encouraged homiletically, and the spiritual exercises of contemporary devotion.

I think there are six broad strands which bind the themes of memory and meditation together in the thought-world of Andrewes and Donne, four of them relating to their theology of memory in general, and two of them relating specifically to the art of memory.

First, there is, as we have seen, a common inheritance of Augustine's trinitarian psychology, transmitted down through the *De Trinitate* itself, through St Bernard and St Bonaventure, and finally through Ignatius, who uses it as a framework for the structuring of his spiritual exercises. Within this tradition, memory and writing on memory has a naturally high place in devotional and meditative writing, because it is one of the three great elements of the image of God in Man which it is the object of meditation to purify, redeem, and integrate into the divine work of sanctifying the believer now.

Secondly, there is the emphasis on the exercise of memory as a form of, and means to, self-knowledge. As we have seen, both Andrewes and Donne emphasise remembering and knowing ourselves, preventing such self-knowledge from slipping away. As an essential preliminary to knowing God, both the true form of ourselves, and its capacity to point to the divine as a vestige of his image, are discovered by a recourse to memory. Our present sense of who we are is as much contained in and discovered through memory as our past. This is also emphasised in contemporary arts of meditation. The Ignatian use of the 'three powers' model makes this clear, as a much later poet, with strong affinities to Donne and a deep formation in the Ignatian tradition, wrote in his commentary on the spiritual exercises:

Memory is the name of that faculty which towards present things is Simple Apprehension and, when it is question of the concrete only, *gnosis*, *epignosis*, the faculty of Identification, towards past things

is Memory proper, and towards things future or things unknown or imaginary is Imagination. When continued or kept on the strain the act of this faculty is attention, advertance, heed, the being ware, and its habit, knowledge, the being aware. Towards God it gives rise to *reverence*, it is the sense of the *presence* of God.⁽⁷⁾

Here we can see many themes we have already explored in the sermons, especially the sense in which memory leads to awareness both of self and ultimately of God. This same strand of memory as self-knowledge connects with the art of meditation where that art chooses, as the subject for meditation, one's memory of past episodes in one's own life, either moments of grace and providence, or occasions of sin. Thus Hall, in his list of fit subjects for meditation, includes what is contained in our memory as individuals, as a Church, and indeed as a race, when we remember the Fall. Amongst the things on which we may choose to meditate he includes,

the graces and proceeding of our sanctification, our glorious estate lost in our first parents, our present vileness, our inclination to sin, our several actual offences, the temptations and slights of evil angels. (Hall VII, p.54.)

We can see the use of this personal memory and self-awareness as the prime material for the exercise of devotional memory, worked out at length in Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, which I shall discuss later.⁽⁸⁾

The third strand connecting memory and meditation is the emphasis in both Andrewes and Donne on the way in which the experience and stories of others, rightly remembered, can be matched or patterned with our own, to help us understand the significance of our past and

to guide our thoughts and actions in the present - especially the stories remembered and recorded in Scripture. This connects directly with the practice in contemporary arts of meditation, rooted in the Ignatian exercises, of vividly reliving episodes of Scripture, and then finding the various ways in which they touch upon or comment on our own lives.

The fourth element is the special understanding of *recollection*, in works on meditation, as a special and final fruit of meditation which is able to lead one directly into the presence of God. This connects directly with the higher moments of what I called 'memory mysticism' when dealing with Donne's sermons.⁽⁹⁾

Martz makes it clear that for many, devotion or meditation in the formal sense, was a prelude to contemplation, in which the presence of God is in some sense directly enjoyed by the contemplative soul, and he argues for a strong mystical element in popular works aimed at the laity as well as those intended for the religious orders. He suggests that one may discern in works of the period a series of stages, passing from meditation, through devotion, to a contemplative state of complete recollection.

Meditation may end with a state of 'devotion'; it may go beyond this into something very close to a state of mystical contemplation; and it is certainly true that in portions of the work of Crashaw, Vaughan, and Traherne, and even in portions of the work of Donne and Herbert, we seem to touch the state of mystical 'recollection'.
(Martz, p.20.)

This is not to say that either the sermons or devotional writing of Andrewes are always alluding to this state when, in showing how God

may be present to us through memory, they use a term like *recollection*, but it does indicate a common understanding that this is a possibility, and it is occasionally made more explicit, as in that passage quoted in the last chapter where Donne describes God's redemption of the three powers, where it is surely no coincidence that he chooses the word 'contemplating' to describe the activity of the memory:

So shall thy God look upon thee, whose memory is thus contemplating him, and shine upon thine understanding, and rectify thy will too. (*Sermons* II, p.237.)

The two strands of the devotional or meditative tradition which are bound up with the *ars memorativa* tradition are, first, the concern for formal procedure and order, and secondly, the use of techniques of precise inner imaging. As we have seen, it is a characteristic of all the arts of meditation that they are deliberate and systematic. In a writer like Hall, there is still considerable freedom and latitude within the system; in Ignatius and his closer followers there is much more precision and rigour, much more method. The point of interest here is that the mind trained to the formal procedures of a rhetorical art of memory, with its emphasis on order as the key to true memory, will naturally be receptive to and benefit from an art of meditation which involves ordering and reviewing material systematically, and vice versa. Indeed, in Chapter Two we saw how, in the hands of the scholastics, especially Aquinas, precisely this fruitful cross-fertilisation between the art of memory and the devotional arts came about. Indeed, a system devised as an aide memoire could easily be transformed and used for devotional purposes. We saw traces of this happening in the sermons of both Andrewes and Donne, and when we come to look at Andrewes's *Preces Privatae* we shall see the same thing happening again.

The use of precise inner imaging as a common strand between the arts is most apparent in the Ignatian tradition, with its careful rules for the composition of place and its encouragement of the vivid imaginary use of the five senses in the inner as well as the outer world. It even gives the same advice as is found in the *Ad Herennium*, to prepare the images beforehand, even down to details of spacing and measurement, as the English Jesuit, Gibbons, writes concerning the use of the *Exercises*:

We must see the places where the things we meditate on were wrought, by imagining our selves to be really present at those places; which we must endeavour to represent so lively, as though we saw them indeed, with our corporall eyes; which to performe well, it will help us much to behould before-hand some Image wherein that mistery is well represented, and to have read or heard what good Authors write of those places, and to have noted well the distance from one place to another, the height of the hills, and the situation of the townes and villages. And the diligence we employ heerin is not lost; for on the well making of this *Preludium* depends both the understanding of the mystery and attention in our meditation. (Quoted in Martz, p.27.)

This exact composition of place, and the advice which follows for imagining people and other images, has an obvious connection with the art of memory. It has more direct relevance to Donne's poetry than to either his or Andrewes's devotions, but nevertheless it forms part of the common mind-set, the common assumption of an intense faculty of inner imaging, which lies behind some of the *ars memorativa* themes I have been seeking to highlight in the sermons.

Given all these common strands and interrelations between the understanding of memory in the sermons and the arts of meditation, it is not surprising to find that both Andrewes and Donne were active in the sphere of devotional and meditative writing, and it is to their writings in this genre that we now turn.

ii) Andrewes's *Preces Privatae*

We have in Andrewes an example of the vital, formative role the revived arts of devotion and meditation might play in the life of a religiously minded man of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Buckeridge in his funeral sermon tells us that 'the greater part of five hours every day did he spend in prayer to God'. (See *Works V*, p.296.) Even if we allow for some pious exaggeration, it is clear that devotions and meditations were an essential part of Andrewes's daily formation as a man and a preacher, and as Brightman says in his scholarly edition, 'the *Preces Privatae* is a monument to these hours of devotion in which he first tested for himself what he has bequeathed for us.'⁽¹⁰⁾ Indeed, with the *Preces* we have the advantage of access to something private, not intended for publication, not published in Andrewes's lifetime - notes, as it were, from his inner life. There are of course problems arising from this as to the correct content and ordering of the work, and competing claims from different manuscript and printed sources. Many of the later English editions of this extremely popular work take liberties with the earlier arrangements, for various devotional or polemic reasons. For my purposes here I am following Brightman's English edition and translation, which is the most thorough and scholarly, with my own cross-references to the Greek, Latin and Hebrew text as it is printed in Bliss and Wilson's edition of the *Works*, Volume X.

The most immediately striking thing about the *Preces* is that it was composed in the original languages of its sources, in Greek, Latin, and, occasionally Hebrew. This is not surprising considering Andrewes's skills as a linguist, but it is significant because it means that when he opens sections of his devotions with phrases like Μνησθητι τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας, (*Works X*, p.118), ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΜΟΥ, ΚΥΡΕ, (*Works X*, p. 208) etc., the petition to God to make a remembrance carries the full force and connotations it had acquired in the Septuagint. Likewise, in his preparations for Communion he uses ἀνάμνησις, with all the gathered power of association which we considered in Chapter One.

In fact, allusion and association are really the key to what is happening in the *Preces*. The whole thing works by evoking and organising a whole series of memories of other sources given in the form of allusion and quotation. As Brightman comments, 'few lines, perhaps none, are wholly original; they are for the most part a mosaic of quotations.' (Brightman, p.xlii.) Each of these comes in a kind of mnemonic shorthand, to symbolise the fuller meaning of its original context, and to be enriched by the new context in which Andrewes has placed it, the significance of his art resting in this ability to create significant new combinations and rearrangements. In this respect the structure and method of the *Preces* bears a strong resemblance to the method of T.S.Eliot's poetry, a resemblance explored in more detail below.⁽¹¹⁾

By far the greatest mass of quotation and allusion in the *Preces* is to Scripture, and Brightman has noted the way in which Andrewes is attracted to type and symbol in these allusions. Brightman's observations are especially striking in the light of the *ars memorativa*, with its insistence on remembering abstract truths by means of striking or familiar human figures, and especially in the light of

Andrewes's own practice of this method as we saw it, for example, in the sermon on Lot's wife. Brightman observes:

He collects materials for whole departments and disposes them for meditation. And he thinks in terms of the Bible and its typical figures. The 'evils and difficulties' in Church and State alluded to above, are mostly recounted, not in abstract terms, but in the concrete form of the typical figures of Holy Scripture - Asshur, Jeroboam, Reheboam and the rest. And so it is elsewhere; like the *Sermons* the devotions are a study in the symbolism of the Bible...In short he has brought the Sacred Scriptures in detail into definite relation with actual experience, and has studied them in this relation till he has found them *typical* throughout and in detail. (Brightman, pp.xliv-xlv, emphasis mine.)

This business of relating the images of individuals in Scripture thoroughly and in detail to the actual experience of life is of course precisely what the art of memory, as used in the sermons, is likely to encourage.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of an influence on the *Preces* from the formal arts of memory is in the structure and ordering of the material for prayers for each day of the week.⁽¹²⁾ Andrewes uses the sequence of the seven days of the Creation as a means of remembering and shaping his devotion and intentions. His sequence of prayers for each day of the week begins with a section entitled *commemoration*, in which he remembers the work of that day in Creation, and then associates with the image of each day the things he wishes to remember or be thankful for. His scheme is remarkably close to Donne's at the end of his 'Remember thy Creator' sermon.⁽¹³⁾ On the first day, for example, he remembers light and associates with light that which can be known of

God. On the fifth day the image of the reptiles and birds moves him like Donne to reflect on the call to lift oneself above the things of the world and follow Christ in the glory of his Ascension. Obviously, a book of private devotions, giving many pages to each day, gives Andrewes scope to develop his thought within the Genesis scheme in a far more detailed and personal way than Donne is able to do in his sermon. In his entry for the sixth day, for example Andrewes reflects, like Donne, on how the picture of God making Man of clay, and then breathing his spirit into him, expresses the paradox of our being both mortal and immortal, but he then goes on to dwell in detail on the physical image of Man, and to turn the parts of the human body into a sub-system within the larger memory system he is using; he creates within the series of seven days a second series of seven parts of the body, with each of which he associates first a faculty of the soul, and then an aspect of Scripture or the life of the Church. The logic behind these associations is sometimes clear and sometimes seems to rest on some private and inscrutable mnemonic association in Andrewes's own mind. His system works as follows and is printed out in a table in his devotions:

heart	life	knowledge of God
reins	sensation	writing the law
eyes	reason	oracles of the prophets
ears	spirit	melody of psalms
tongue	free will	admonition of proverbs
hands	memory	experience of histories
feet	conscience	worship of sacrifice

It is curious that Andrewes should associate the memory with the hands. This may be an arbitrary association of his own; it may simply stem from the idea that histories are written down with hands, or it

may be perhaps an association from the *ars memorativa*, for the *Ad Herennium*, in giving advice on the creation of *loci*, the inner memory places, suggests that each fifth *locus* should be divided off with the image of a golden hand. Because these devotions were never intended for publication there are sometimes obscurities in them which, in their opacity, suggest some private mnemonic rather than the public mnemonic of emblem and type which was the currency of sermons. This is not so much a problem as we turn to Donne, for although the *Devotions* are in one sense intensely private, in another they are clearly public, for he published them shortly after the illness that occasioned them, with an explicit and public dedication to the King. It is to this unique work that we now turn.

iii) Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*

In many respects the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* is a unique work, but nevertheless it clearly has its place as part of the great flowering of works of devotion and meditation of which I have already spoken. The debate about where the *Devotions* fits into this tradition has largely centred on the possible or probable influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola. The controversy is in many ways still unresolved, and its recent progress is summed up in the preface to the second of Anthony Raspa's editions of the *Devotions*.⁽¹⁴⁾ The extent of the direct influence is not at issue here, for as with everything else, Donne takes up and transforms what he inherits, sharpening and focussing it for his own particular purpose. Whatever the influence of Jasper Heywood, his Jesuit uncle, and the recusant circles of his childhood, his decision to enter Anglican orders, and polemical satiric works like *Ignatius his Conclave* make it clear that Donne was not uncritically 'Ignatian'. I think Raspa is probably right to argue, as he does in his Introduction, that the influence of the

Exercises on the Devotions was not so much a matter of method and structure, as Martz and Van Laan had argued,⁽¹⁵⁾ but rather of concentration and intensity. He does accept, however, that Donne shares with Ignatius a sense of the operation of the three powers in meditation, but goes on to make an interesting comment about the way Donne differs as to their application. His comments about memory (made without any reference to the possible influence of the art of memory) are particularly interesting:

Of course, if Donne retained the sense of the inner cosmology of the Ignatian meditation of his boyhood, because of training, conviction, or both, he did not necessarily accept the path of every one of his planets. [Raspa is here using the Ignatian metaphor of the powers of the soul as constituting its heavens or constellations.] Some of Ignatius's ideas forbade it. A number of elements in the meditative application of the powers of the mind and body in the Ignatian inner cosmology prevented Donne's full commitment to the rules of the *Exercises*. Each of the powers of the mind in Scholastic tradition had two functions, and Ignatius used each of these functions in a particular way. According to the general currents of Scholastic tradition, the memory, the first power, brought about the recall of an ideal suitable for meditation, and it also had the function of restoring to the consciousness the memories of experiences...Donne used the first functions of all three powers to further the ends of the Ignatian sensibility for willed experience. But he rejected Ignatius's use of their second functions. (*Devotions*, p.xxxiii.)

At first sight, this comment of Raspa's seems nonsensical, because there can be no doubt whatsoever that Donne is always asking us to use the power of memory 'to restore to consciousness the memories of

experiences'. Indeed, as I shall argue below, that was the whole purpose of writing the *Devotions*; they are to preserve and restore the experience of illness so that the remembered experience can itself become a 'remembrance' of lifegiving spiritual truth. Raspa cannot mean that Donne is rejecting this sense of memory outright. Fortunately he makes what he *does* mean clear a little later in his Introduction. He means that Donne objects to the method in the Ignatian prelude of stepping outside the context of one's own experience into a purely imaginary world, and using images drawn from memory, not to find God through the integrity of one's own past, but merely as building blocks to build up and illustrate an imaginary world. This, as Raspa points out, 'contradicted Donne's idea of historicity'. It also downgraded the possibility of biblical types functioning as historical parallels as well as symbols:

The picture which the Exercitant of the exercises created was a fictional image which dangerously subsumed the function of the prototypes of the Bible as the sufficient staple of salvation... But the art of the Ignatian prelude was acceptable to him - with certain alterations. Donne could replace the fictional picture of Ignatius with the copies of the prototypes of the Bible in contemporary history. (*Devotions*, p.xxxiv.)

I think this is a roundabout way of saying that Donne is more interested in the formal exercise of memory, as a means of making and underlining the connections between truth in the narrative of Scripture and truth in the narrative of one's own life, than he is in using it as the starting point for an imaginative encounter with God where some scriptural episode merely provides the *mise-en-scene*. In fact the Ignatian understanding of memory is a less fruitful background for understanding memory in the *Devotions* than what Donne himself says

in his own sermons about memory and the art of memory. Against that background, what he is doing in the *Devotions* becomes perfectly clear. In the sermons he had told his auditors:

Go to thine own memory...the gallery of the soul, hanged with so many and so lively pictures of the goodness and mercy of God to thee as that everyone shall be a catechism to thee to instruct thee in all thy duties to him for those mercies. (*Sermons* II, p.237.)⁽¹⁶⁾

In the *Devotions* Donne is giving a worked example of exactly this method of going to one's own memory, one's own experience of life, and finding in it a catechism, or dialogue with God, which will lead to liberating truth. Raspa makes no mention of the art of memory, or the emphasis on it in the sermons, in the Introduction of his edition. In what follows I shall try to fill this gap by offering a brief reading of the *Devotions* in the light of Donne's understanding of the art of memory as an art of salvation.

Between late October of 1623 and January of 1624 an epidemic fever swept through London, which may have been typhus, or the 'seven day' or 'relapsing fever'. Whatever it was, Donne was certainly amongst those who suffered in the epidemic, and was very seriously ill, perhaps for as long as three weeks.⁽¹⁷⁾ The *Devotions*, written during his convalescence, was an attempt to integrate the memory of this experience with truth as Donne encountered it in Scripture and in the experience of prayer, so that his own experience of adversity and of a close encounter with death might become, not a barrier, but a gateway to the mercies of God. Although much of the detail is certainly distinct and personal, yet the meditations are so constructed that they may become a type or pattern for others suffering illness or near to death too, to transform and bring to good issue their experience; or, the

whole thing could be used as a useful pattern and example for the healthy, who may, by an exercise of imagination rather than memory, enter into the same devotional encounter with God. A number of features assist this aim. First, it is interesting that though Donne gives many details both of his symptoms and of his treatment, his coming out in spots, for example, and the application of pigeons to 'draw the vapours from his head', Donne never actually names his illness. Here I think he is trying to universalise the experience by simply using the general term 'sickness', whilst at the same time showing how every particular detail of the illness itself may, in devotion and through meditation on Scripture, acquire a 'divine' significance. Secondly, the particular experience of illness, whilst concentrated on in detail, becomes as it were the epitome, or recapitulation of the whole experience of life, so that by a concentration on the memory of a particular time one's whole experience of the past can be brought into focus. As Raspa says in a perceptive comment, which unfortunately he fails to follow up in the rest of his Introduction, Donne gives us in the *Devotions* 'the experience of a lifetime in the exigencies of a moment'. (*Devotions*, p.xiii.) Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, Donne gives a worked example of the way in which the details of personal memory, such as being laid in bed, disfigured with spots, hearing a bell, submitting to certain specific treatments, can be bound together by an effort of art and imagination to corresponding details and images in the sacred or idealised narrative of Holy Scripture, in such a way that the details acquire a new meaning, a meaning which is now integrated with the great narrative of salvation. An approach in devotion to this meaning 'restores the experience', as Eliot was to say, 'in a different form', but this time a form in which chaos and illegibility have been rendered ordered and intelligible. (Later in this section we will be looking at some of the specific ways in which Donne forges the links between the details of private narrative and the

details of Scripture.) Fourthly, the tripartite structure of the *Devotions* encourages the exercitant to engage in colloquy with himself and with God, but in a constructed and directed way. The movement from 'meditation' to 'expostulation' and finally to 'prayer' in each devotion is a movement from reflection, first with oneself on one's own experience, and then a wrestling, almost as it were on equal terms, with God as witness to the experience, in which the main imaginative work of forging links between private and scriptural narrative is done, and then finally into a more transcendent or redemptive kind of discourse, in which the tensions are brought to an issue and resolved in some moment of integration of the life and will of the time-bound creature with the will of the eternal God, who loves him and in whom he finds his fulfilment.

The nature of time itself, and the role of memory is, not surprisingly, an important theme in the *Devotions*. Indeed the first meditation, expostulation, and prayer deal with the problem of time, beginning in the meditation with the experience of time as vanity and chaos, the generator of random changes and depletions, which seem to undermine the meaning of life; it moves through the expostulation to the notion of our need to order time, so as to grasp spiritually significant moments, arriving at last, in the prayer, at a resolution in which a contemplation of God's eternity, figured as a circle, leads to a renewed sense of meaningful direction and order in time itself, and a desire to exercise memory so as to discern God's mercy even in the beginning of all our actions. This sets the tone and theme of all the ensuing devotions. So the first meditation begins with the sentence: 'Variable and therefore miserable condition of man; this minute I was well, and am ill, this minute.' (*Devotions*, p.7.)

The expostulation continues the images of temporal mortality in the image of dust and ashes, but adds the notion of the Lord's hand underlying, and therefore potentially preserving, what is mortal, whilst at the same time, in the image of the potter's wheel, subtly introducing the image of circularity which will be taken up into the resolution of the temporal/eternal dilemma in the prayer:

If I were but meere *dust & ashes*, I might speak unto the Lord, for the *Lordes* hand made me of this dust and the *Lords* hand shall recollect these *ashes*; the *Lordes* hand was the wheele upon which this vessell of clay was framed, and the *Lordes* hand is the *Urne* in which these *ashes* shall be preserv'd. (*Devotions*, p.8.)

These opening words of the expostulation also involve the notion of resurrection as the literal *recollection* of that which was scattered, ('at the round earth's imagined corners'), a theme which also occurs in the sermons where one moves between a literal and a metaphorical *recollection*, both leading to a redeemed and eternal unity of what was otherwise scattered through time. The opening words of the prayer restate the time/eternity difference, but this time in entirely positive terms, leading to the desire to look backwards in memory to God's mercies in the past so that we may have assurance of his present mercies here:

O eternall and most gracious *God*, who considered in thy selfe art a *Circle*, first and last, and altogether; but considered in thy working upon us, art a *direct line*, and ledest us from our *beginning*, through all our wayes, to our *end*, enable me by thy *grace*, to looke forward to mine end, and to look backward to to the considerations of thy mercies afforded mee from the beginning; that so by that practise of considering thy mercy, in my beginning

in this world, when thou plantedst me in the *Christian Church*, and thy mercy in the beginning in the other world, when thou writest me in the *Booke of Life*, in my *Election*, I may come to a holy consideration of thy *mercy*, in the beginnings of all my actions here... (*Devotions* pp.9-10.)

As Donne makes clear here, this art of memory, exercised as an art of salvation, is something which God himself enables; and as he makes clear in a later meditation it is God as Holy Spirit, the person of the Trinity corresponding in the vestigial image to Man's memory, who assists in this work. And this especially is what makes it possible to remember sin as sin, and not despair, for it is itself a work of God's grace that sin is remembered. Thus, in the expostulation of the tenth devotion, grappling with the need to confess sins of which one is not conscious, Donne compares a medicine, drawing unhealthy humours towards itself out of the body, to the equally restorative and purgative work of the Spirit, drawing into conscious memory whatever needs to be spoken and transformed in confession:

As *Physicke* works so, it drawes the *peccant humour* to it selfe, that when it is gathered together the weight of itself may carry that humour away, so thy *Spirit* returns to my *Memory* my former sinnes, that being so recollected, they may powre out themselves by *Confession*. (*Devotions*, p.54.)

There is an element, together with the other kinds of memory we shall be examining below, of this kind of purgative memory in each of the devotions, so that they never become a merely idealistic or idealising gloss on the past.

Having established, as it were, the framework and the theology of his overall purpose in this first devotion, Donne then uses all his wit and ingenuity in the subsequent meditations to assist this purpose, and to root it in the specific imagery of the remembered illness, tying it by its images to verses of Scripture, so that each reinforces the other as a remembrancer of grace. It is to some specific examples of this method at work that we now turn.

A good example of the way in which Donne takes up and transforms the remembered images of what actually happened when he was ill comes in the third devotion, subtitled 'The patient takes to his bed', where Donne takes up the image of the bed itself, and turns it into a catena of scriptural verses involving beds, much as Andrewes made a catena of verses with *memento*, in his sermon on Lot's wife. The meditation begins by developing the image of a bed negatively, as constriction, loss of dignity, and the type of the grave:

A sicke bed is a grave; and all that the patient saies there, is but a varying of his owne *Epitaph*. Every nights bed is a *Type* of the *grave*: At night wee tell our servants at what houre wee will rise; here we cannot tell ourselves, at what day, what week, what moneth. Here the head lies as low as the foot; the *Head* of the people, as lowe as they, whome those feet trod upon. (*Devotions*, p.15.)

The expostulation then works through a kind of dialogue between his own experiences and memories of being in bed, and a cluster of associated verses in Scripture about being in bed. Donne begins with the experience of being a child in bed, an infant lying helpless and unable to move, comparing his vulnerability and helplessness then with

his present condition, and balancing it with the Lord's love of children set forth in the Gospel of Mark, and the prophet Jeremiah's claim to be a child before God:

My God, and my Jesus, my Lord, and my Christ, my Strength, and my Salvation, I heare thee, and I hearken to thee, when thou rebukest thy Disciples, for rebuking them, who brought children to thee; Suffer little children to come to mee, saiest thou. Is there a verier child than I am now? I cannot say with thy servant Jeremy, Lord, I am a child, and cannot speake; but O Lord, I am a sucking childe, and cannot eat, a creeping childe, and cannot goe; how shall I come to thee? Whither shall I come to thee? To this bed? I have this weake and childish frowardnes too, I cannot sit up, and yet am loth to go to bed; shall I find thee in bed? (Devotions, p.16.)

Having begun with this primal memory of infant helplessness in bed, the expostulation goes on to answer the vital question 'shall I find thee in bed?' by working through its other images and associations, primarily its strong associations with sexual activity and the attendant sense of sin. In this stage of the expostulation the bed, by what it has witnessed becomes, as it were Donne's accuser:

Shall I find thee in bed? Oh have I alwaies done so? The bed is not ordinairily thy *Scene*, thy *Climate*: Lord, dost thou not accuse me, dost thou not reproach to mee, my former sinns, when thou layest mee upon this bed? Is not this to hang a man at his owne dore, to lay him sick upon his owne bed of wantonnesse? (Devotions, p.16.)

Then Donne recalls a sequence of passages from the Old and New Testaments which all deal with people in bed. He wrestles first with the

bed as a reproach, recalling God's condemnation of luxury, which is made through the prophet Amos when he speaks of Israelites lying complacently on beds of ivory; then he runs through Old Testament images of the bed as a symbol, on the one hand, of peace and rest, and on the other of tribulation. This leads Donne to feel the need of God and yet he is unable to go to him. There follows a catena of images from the New Testament of people being bedridden, which move from pictures of helplessness to the image of Christ visiting the bedside. This issues in an appeal for visitation by God in Spirit and sacrament. In this way the significance of the bed image runs from sin, through tribulation, to helplessness, and finally to hope:

When thou chidest us by thy *Prophet* for lying in *beds of Ivory*, (Amos 6.4) is not thine anger vented? not til thou changest our *bedds of Ivory*, into beds of *Ebony*; *David* sweares unto thee, *that hee will not goe up into his bed, till he had built thee a House*. (Psalm 132.3) To go up into the bed, denotes strength, and promises ease; but when thou saiest, *That thou wilt cast Jesubel into a bed*, (Apocalypse 2.22) thou mak'st thine own comment upon that. Thou callest the bed *Tribulation*, great *Tribulation*: How shall they come to thee whom thou hast nayled to their bed? Thou in the *congregation*, & I in a solitude: when the *Centurions* servant lay sicke at home, his *Master* was faine to come to *Christ*; the sicke man could not. (Matthew 8.6) Their friend lay sicke of the *Palsey*, and the four charitable men were fain to bring him to *Christ*; he could not come. (Mark 2.3) *Peters* wives mother lay sicke of a fever, & *Christ* came to her; shee could not come to him. My friends may carie mee home to thee, in their prayers in the *Congregation*; Thou must come home to me in the visitation of thy *Spirit*, and in the seale of thy *Sacrament*. (*Devotions*, pp.16-17.)

It is as if Donne has been led in the concordance of his memory by a chain of association from one occurrence of the bed image to another, and as he draws them out he shapes them into a narrative which will inform and transform the meaning of the remembered bed of his own sickness. The vital element is the movement from the isolated 'I' narrator of the meditation to the engaged interlocutor of the expostulation and prayer; the private experience becomes the experience of relationship, because in the course of the expostulation we move from the isolation of sickness to communion. 'Shall I find God in this bed?' is the key question for this devotion, as in the other devotions the question is fundamentally, 'where is God in this experience?'. The guarantee of God's involvement is the discovery that the same experience occurs as an image in Scripture, where God's dealings are set forth. God's presence is felt in the reproach and the weakness of being bedridden, precisely so that his help can be invoked in the recovery, and, as Donne explicitly says at the end of the expostulation, so that God himself can assist in transforming the memory of illness, and make it beneficial. Donne achieves this renewal of conviction at the end of the expostulation by boldly quoting to God his own law from the Book of Exodus, that the person who makes another man bedridden must also give him recompense:

And it is thine owne Law, O God, that *if a man bee smitten so by another, as that hee keepe his bed, though he dye not, hee that hurt him, must take care of his healing, and recompense him.* Thy hand strikes mee into this bed; and therefore if I rise againe, thou wilt bee my recompence, all the dayes of my life, in making the memory of this sicknes beneficial to me. (*Devotions*, p.17.)

The writing of the devotion is itself a fulfilment in Donne of the promise to make the memory beneficial, for that in essence is the task

of the devotion. Throughout the course of the meditation and the expostulation Donne has been loading the bed with more and more significance, so that it carries his life from infant memory, through sexual encounter, helplessness, anger, pleading, hope, challenge to God, and finally an assurance of his intimate involvement in all these aspects of Donne's life. In the prayer this loading, or intensifying of the image, reaches its climax when the problem posed in the expostulation, the difficulty of coming to God whilst bedridden, is resolved by the confident acclamation that God is indeed there with Donne in the bed, there wherever he turns, almost as though God has become the bed, a bed of thorns in its witness and accusation of sin, and its witness to weakness and dissolution, a bed of feathers in its symbolism of peace and comfort. The feathers and thorns carry the full weight of their scriptural associations, until the whole struggle passes through the assurances, taken from the Psalms of David, that God makes our bed in sickness, and that on that bed we may indeed commune with him and be still. Where the bed was once the sign of distance from God, it has been transformed to be as close as the altar itself:

As thou hast made this *bed* thine *Alter*, make me thy *Sacrifice*...I come unto thee, *Oh God my God*, I come unto thee, (so as I can come, I come to thee, by imbracing thy comming to me) I come in the confidence, & in the application of thy servant *Davids* promise, *That thou wilt make all my bed in my sicknesse; all my bedd;* That which way soever I turne, I may turne to thee; And as I feele thy hand upon all my body, so I may find it upon all my bedde, and see all my *corrections*, and all my *refreshings* to flow from one, and the same, and all from thy hand. As thou hast made these *feathers thornes*, in the sharpnes of this sickenes, so Lord make these *thornes feathers* againe, *feathers* of thy *Dove*, in the peace

of Conscience...Forget my bed *O Lord* as it hath beene a bedde of sloth, and worse than sloth... but having burnt up that bed, by these vehement heates, and washed that bed in these abundant sweats, make my bed againe, *O Lord* and enable me according to thy command, *to commune with mine own heart upon my bed, and be still.* (*Devotions*, pp.18-19.)

The conclusion of the prayer allows the bed image to become the means of both acknowledging and transcending the sins, the weakness, and the fear of death of which the bed has become the symbol, and the fruit of this is a cleansing of the soul, and especially of the memory, so that the sin which has been ritually remembered in the devotion can be remembered with peace now, instead of accusation and calumny; thus Donne asks God to enable him:

To provide a bed for all my former sinnes, whilst I lie upon this bed, and a grave for my sins, before I come to my grave; and when I have deposed then in the wounds of thy Sonn, to rest in that assurance, that my Conscience is discharged from further *anxietie*, and my soul from farther *danger*, and my Memory from further *calumny.* (*Devotions*, p.19.)

This pattern, of taking the image from experience, and knitting it together with the same image in Scripture, until a consideration of both its positive and negative connotations intensifies and, as it were, transignifies the remembered image, is repeated again, with varying degrees of intensity, in all the other devotions. It is part of the pattern of movement, from the concentration on physical sickness and health in each meditation, through corresponding spiritual/scriptural images of sickness and health in each expostulation, to a resolution in the redeeming power of God in each prayer. So, for example when in

the thirteenth devotion '*the Sicknes declares the infection and malignitie thereof by spots*', we move from a completely negative physical experience found in the meditation ('...these spots do only tell us, that we are worse, then we were sure of before') (*Devotions*, p.68), through the notion of spiritual sickness and impurity evoked by Old Testament sacrificial Law in the expostulation ('Thou wilt accept no spotted sacrifice'), through various scriptural developments of spottedness to a promise of divine cleansing; finally, in the prayer, the image has been transformed, and Donne is able to say 'these spots are but the letters, in which thou hast written thine owne Name and conveyed thy self to mee'. (*Devotions*, p.70.)

Sometimes the image for meditation is taken from some other remembered circumstance associated with the illness, as for example in the famous devotion about the tolling of the bell, one of three, all building on the same image. Here the development of the image, from mortality and terror through to comfort, is as much through the transforming imagery of Church and liturgy as through biblical imagery. Indeed, the three devotions correspond to the three passing bells of Anglican ritual; nevertheless, there is still a strong admixture of scriptural reference, with this same effect of binding the individual narrative of suffering to the great collective narrative of salvation. The whole exercise consists of turning the images of memory into metaphors of salvation, by acknowledging their darker connotations, and then redeeming them. Sometimes Donne does this by recalling the same process in scriptural typology - how throughout Scripture certain images may stand either for evil or good, for the Devil or Christ. The tenth devotion, for example, is titled '*Lente & Serpenti satagunt occurrere Morbo*', and is a meditation on the way the illness 'steales on insensibly' in Donne's body. The notion of hidden illness in the meditation leads to a consideration of the danger of hidden or

unconscious sin in the expostulation, figured under the image of an insinuating serpent. Donne develops the image with full force almost to the end, until he counters it with its scriptural counterpart in a triumphant conclusion of the prayer which fully exploits the ambiguity of any image:

And since sinne in the nature of it, retains still so much of the author of it, that it is a *Serpent*, insensibly insinuating it self into my *Soule*, let thy *brazen Serpent*, (the contemplation of thy *Sonne* crucified for me) be evermore present to me, for my recovery against the sting of the first *Serpent*; That so, as I have a *Lyon* against a *Lyon*, *The Lyon of the tribe of Judah*, against that *Lyon*, that *seekes whom hee may devoure*, so I may have a *Serpent* against a *Serpent*, the *Wisdome of the Serpent*, against the *Malice of the Serpent*. (*Devotions*, p.55.)

The art of memory, working as an art of salvation here and in all these devotions, is really a drawing together of many disparate threads, to be woven into a new and renewing pattern of significance. There is the thread of imagery from the original illness, which draws with it associated chains of memory from the rest of Donne's life; there is the thread of corresponding scriptural imagery, in a catena of passages linked by the mnemonic associations of a single word like bed, or bell, or serpent; there is the further tangled thread in Scripture itself of the development of different, sometimes opposite, symbolic values for each image; there is the thread of the overriding or overruling Gospel story running, often invisibly, in and out of all the other narratives. Donne's art of memory untangles, and then reweaves these threads together in the *Devotions*, until the pattern of private memory and of scriptural association come together into a single pattern of salvation.

B) Memory and Poetry

i) The Art of Memory in Donne's Religious Poetry

The purpose of this section is not to offer any exhaustive new study of Donne's religious poetry, which has already received so much and such varied critical attention, but rather to re-read the poetry and some of the criticism in the light of material from the memory tradition, and from Donne's own writing as set out in the main body of this thesis. Clearly, the theme of memory is very broad and could include not only Donne's specific references to memory itself in his verse, but also the various structured or 'spontaneous' acts of recollection which occur during the course of the poems. For a student of the sermons, one of the most interesting aspects of Donne's later poetry is found in the occasional passages in which he remembers, recapitulates, or alludes to passages from the sermons.⁽¹⁸⁾ This allows one to see the turn of his mind, stereoscopically as it were - the same thought focussed in the different lenses of prose and poetry. Indeed the powerful influence of sermons, in hand or already preached, on poems as they were composed, is part of the evidence for the way Donne may have used the elements of the art of memory in the composition and retention of his sermons.

This discussion will move from the general to the particular, looking first at the influence of the *ars meditativa* on acts of recollection in the poetry, then specifically at Donne's use of emblems in the poetry, illustrating at the same time his transference of images from the sermons to poems.

As we saw in the discussion of the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, considerable attention has been paid to the influence of Ignatian

method with its systematic engagement of the three powers of the soul on Donne's poetry. Whilst it cannot be argued that the devotions are strictly Ignatian in any derivative or doctrinaire way, but are, as I hope I have shown, practical outworkings of Donne's teaching in the sermons on the right use of memory, the case for a specifically Ignatian influence on the *Holy Sonnets* is stronger and has been made convincingly both by Martz in *The Poetry of Meditation* and by Helen Gardner in her edition of the *Divine Poems*.⁽¹⁹⁾ Though they differ as to the details of Donne's application of Ignatian method, both Gardner and Martz comment on the importance of the power of memory in these poems.

Helen Gardner sees the power of memory as being especially employed in the two preludes of a formal Ignatian meditation, especially the first, which is the *compositio loci*, reserving reason and will for the points and colloquy of the meditation. (See Gardner, p.1.) In summing up the use of the three powers in the Ignatian *Exercises*, she dwells on the memory as the 'storehouse of images':

Lastly, the memory, the storehouse of images, having been engaged in the preludes, and the reason in the points, the third power of the soul, the will, is employed in the colloquy, which is a free outpouring of the devotion aroused. (Gardner, pp.1-11.)

She makes no mention of the *ars memorativa* which ran so closely in parallel, rhetorically and spiritually, with the *ars meditativa* with which she is dealing, but clearly the emphasis in the art of memory on vividly imagined *loci* and *imagines* is precisely what is required in the meditative use of memory here as the faculty for composing place and storing images. The evidence from the foregoing chapters of Donne's familiarity with, and development of both rhetorical and devotional arts

of memory, certainly strengthens her argument for the formal way he is using memory in the divine poems. She goes on to argue that the first sequence of the *Holy Sonnets* is in fact a formal Ignatian-influenced meditation on the last things, and that the opening of the first sonnet as she orders them, *As due by many titles I resign...*, is an act of formal self recollection on Donne's part:

Donne begins his set of sonnets on the Last Things in the proper manner with a preparatory prayer. In the octave of the first sonnet he recollects himself, remembers his creation and redemption, and that he has received the gift of the Holy Spirit. (Gardner, p.li)

To remember these three things in remembering oneself - one's creation, one's redemption, and the seal of the Spirit - was of course precisely the task Donne set for himself and his auditors in the sermon on the text 'Remember now thy creator in the days of thy youth', though on that occasion he used the images of the first week as the system whereby to order and preserve those acts of memory. Helen Gardner goes on to suggest that there are within each of the sonnets, divisions according to the Ignatian model, with a recollective *compositio* forming the octave, and petition or points of meditation forming the sestet:

The next three sonnets show very clearly the two preludes of a meditation, which correspond neatly to the two parts of a sonnet: the *compositio loci* occupying the octave, and the 'petition according to the subject', the sestet. (Gardner, p.li)

In fact the organisation of these sonnets is not as exactly systematic as this approach might suggest, as she herself acknowledges:

He [Donne] is a poet using for his own purposes various elements from a familiar tradition not a pious versifier turning common material into rhyme. (Gardner, pp.*l*ii - *l*iii)

The prelude as *compositio loci*, which seems to lie behind the opening lines of many of these sonnets, is not so much a rote exercise of memory, as a double engagement of memory and imagination with Scripture and experience, which allows personal memory and the recollection of scriptural themes and imagery to be fused into one story, through which the narrator of the poem and the God of Scripture may have an encounter in the present. This creative combination of memory and imagination is something to which Louis Martz has drawn attention in his analysis of the sonnets. So, for example, where Helen Gardner says of the opening of *At the round earth's imagined corners*, 'the *compositio loci* is a picture of the Last Judgement...followed by the petition to the Lord to delay the summons', (Gardner, p.*l*ii), Martz expands on this by emphasising the role of memory and imagination in bringing about dramatic encounter in the present:

Likewise in the first quatrain of Sonnet 7 we see the dramatic operations of both imagination and memory, for here the speaker remembers the description of Doomsday in the book of Revelation, especially the opening of the seventh chapter: 'I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth' and he cries out, seeing them there in a vivid composition of place:

'At the round earth's imagined corners, blow
Your trumpets, Angells and arise, arise
From death, you numberless infinities
Of soules, and to your scattred bodies goe....' (Martz, pp.50-51.)

Martz then goes on to suggest that after the memory has been engaged in this first quatrain, the next quatrain is concerned with the understanding, and the rest of the sonnet expresses affections and petitions which belong to the will, so that the three Augustinian/Ignatian powers of the soul are covered in the course of the sonnet.

Whether or not one feels that Donne is consciously engaging in this systematic progress through the powers of the soul, the point of interest in this and others of the *Holy Sonnets* is the way the memory and imagination are used to make the narrator effectively present at a past or future event, and then to return him to his own time changed by the encounter with another time; *this is the way of using memory* which we have encountered in the sermons. So in this sonnet we have a dramatic engagement with the angels, as if they were already here and about to blow the trumpet, and a vision of resurrection which leads not to triumphalism but to a sudden consciousness of sin, and the whole sonnet turns from a petition *for* the end to a petition that the end might be delayed, so that Donne can make a right use of the present. He knows that one day he will be 'there', that is on the Last Day before the throne, but if, as he had imagined, he were to be 'there' now and in this instant it would be too late for repentance and grace:

'tis late to ask abundance of thy grace,
When we are there; here on this lowly ground,
Teach mee how to repent;...(20)

Thus, after fleeing *from* the present he returns to it as to re-discovered grace and opportunity, because 'here' in the 'lowly ground' of the present he may, with God's help 'repent'.

This same ability to be vividly present in another time so as to return changed or renewed to one's own is present in the following *compositio loci* in Sonnet Eleven:

Spit in my face you Jewes, and pierce my side,
Buffet, and scoffe, scourge and crucifie mee,
for I have sinn'd, and sinn'd, and onely hee
Who could do no iniquitie, hath dyed...(Complete Poetry, p.284.)

Here the speaker is present as Christ suffers his Passion, and asks Christ's tormentors as they are in the very act of tormenting Christ to turn instead on him. Again the poem turns from this eagerness to be in another time back to the present, and through repentance to grace, through a contrast of past and present:

They killed once an inglorious man, but I
Crucifie him daily, being glorified.

From this penitent discovery of truth there is a move to grace and prayer: 'Oh let me then his strange love admire...'

The insistent and stressed *I*, *me*, and *my*, in this poem emphasise the way in which the past which is 'out there' becomes part of the 'here', the 'lowly ground' of the speaker and his own life story, and this in its measure is a showing forth in verse of the truth Donne explored in the sermons, that the sacred exercise of memory is itself an act of grace and mercy on God's part:

When God so works upon us that he makes his wonderful works to be had in remembrance it is as great a mercy as the very doing of those wonderful works was before. (*Sermons* II, pp.73-74.)

Both the *Corona*, with its catena of remembered episodes from the life of Christ, and the *Holy Sonnets*, with their passionate wrestling with God apprehended through remembered, imaginatively rekindled, scriptural imagery, are a kind of seizing hold in the deliberation of verse of God's mercy extended in the gift of memory.

We have seen, both in the sermons and in the devotions, how Donne brought about a fusion of the emblematic tradition, which had already become part of the rhetorical art of memory, with the spiritual art of memory as an art of salvation, which plays such an important part in his thinking. Essentially he was encouraging people to make of their own memories a 'manual or bosom book', an emblem book in which they could see God's truth in their lives *encapsulated emblematically in the vivid images of memory*. This involves turning vividly remembered images into sacred metaphors, which encapsulate or contain spiritual truth. In the *Devotions* we saw this process at work, so that the sick bed, the occurrence of spots, the tolling of bells, all become emblems of truth, and keys to the memory of further truths linked in a chain of remembered scriptural verses by a common image. We can see this process of *emblamatising* experience vividly at work in some of the poetry. Perhaps the most vivid example of this process is in *A Hymne to Christ, at the Author's Last Going into Germany*. Significantly, this poem involves direct verbal echoes and recollections of a sermon which is concerned with memory, and we see the use of the emblem in a spiritual art of memory as the connecting link.

On the twelfth of May 1619, Donne left England and travelled as the chaplain of Viscount Doncaster on a diplomatic mission into Germany. He had many reasons to be apprehensive about the voyage, and feared that he would never return. Indeed, a fortnight before he wrote to Sir Henry Goodyer saying:

We are within fourteen days of our time for going. I leave a scattered flock of wretched children, and I carry an infirme and valetudinary body, and I goe into the mouth of such adversaries, as I cannot blame for hating me, the Jesuits, and yet I go. (21)

On the eighteenth of April he preached a farewell sermon at Lincoln's Inn, which expressed some of the same fears for the journey. And this sermon was in fact one of his major statements on memory, the sermon on the text 'Remember thy creator in the days of youth', which we discussed in the last chapter. It will be remembered that this sermon used the first week of the creation as a series of mnemonic emblems, all culminating in a repeated refrain to remember the creator in each of the days of the week, recapitulated in a single sentence of summary. At the end of the sermon he turns to address his congregation personally, and develops the theme of remembrance, this time as a means of communion and communication, since in God all times and places, the furthest East and the furthest West, are gathered up:

Now to make up a circle, by returning to our first word, remember: As we remember God, so for his sake, let us remember one another. In my long absence, and far distance from hence, remember me, as I shall do you in the ears of that God, to whom the farthest East, and the farthest West are but as the right and the left ear in one of us; we hear with both at once, and he hears in both at once; remember me, not my abilities...but remember my labors and endeavors, at least my desire, to make sure your salvation. And I shall remember your religious cheerfulness in hearing the word...That if I never meet you again till we have all passed the gate of death, yet in the gates of heaven, I may meet you all...Remember me thus you that stay in this Kingdome of peace, where no sword is drawn, but the sword of Justice, as I shal

remember you in those Kingdome, where ambition on one side, and a necessary defence from unjust persecution on the other side hath drawn many swords; and Christ Jesus remember us all in his Kingdome, to which, though we must sail through a sea, it is the sea of his blood, where no soul suffers ship-wrack; though we must be blown with strange winds, with sighs and groans for our sins, yet it is the Spirit of God that blows all this wind, and shall blow away all contrary wind of diffidence or distrust in God's mercy. (*Sermons II*, pp.248-49.)

Here he not only makes his words poignant because he reveals that he believed that they might be his last to this congregation in this life, but also appeals again for his 'labours' on their behalf, that is to say his sermons, to be remembered. There is strong evidence that this sermon, celebrating and giving a theology of memory, structured with an *ars memorativa* place system, illustrated with memorable emblems, and concluding with an appeal for the exercise of memory, was indeed widely remembered and disseminated, set down afterwards, by several hands, each of whom may have originally remembered the sermon by their own art of memory, for we possess more manuscript versions of this than of any other of Donne's sermons, all of which agree in substance and structure, but vary in various points of phrasing. However, interestingly, the different manuscripts, none in Donne's hand, have more agreement one with another than with the folio text as it was first printed, which represents a carefully thought out revision by Donne himself, rather than a mere recollection by his auditors.⁽²²⁾

There is a beautiful turn at the end of this sermon, which has been so much concerned with our acts of memory towards good, when the final contemplation of God's kingdom is introduced by an allusion to the thief's prayer in Luke's Gospel, in which it is Christ himself who is

asked to exercise the divine memory, and so ensure the thief's salvation: 'Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom'. So Donne turns the focus of his sermon with the prayer: 'And Christ Jesus remember us all in his Kingdome'. Then, very much in the manner of the *Devotions*, Donne takes the most immediately powerful and pressing experience, the anticipation of a dangerous sea voyage, and emblamatises it so that it may carry a message of salvation rather than destruction: 'though we must sail through a sea it is a sea of his blood.'

Sometime between the composition of this sermon and his departure on the twelfth of May,⁽²³⁾ Donne composed the poem *A Hymne to Christ, at the Authors Last Going into Germany*, which makes this process of emblematisation, which is discernible in the sermon, explicit, and opens in the first stanza with a recollection of the last images of the sermon:

In what torne ship soever I embarke,
That ship shall be my embleme of thy Arke;
What sea soever swallow mee, that flood
Shall be to mee an embleme of thy blood;
Though thou with clouds of anger do disguise
Thy face; yet through that maske I know those eyes,
Which, though they turn away sometimes,
They never will despise. (*Complete Poetry*, p.306.)

Here the emblem of the sea as Christ's blood is set in a stanza with the ship and the clouds also emblematised, so that even fearful experience can be made a window to God, and its memory part of the 'pocket manual or bosom book' of divine emblems of which Donne had spoken in his sermons. Whereas in the Valediction sermon Donne had closed the distance 'as far from East to West' that he was to travel,

with the notion of God's equal presence at both ends of the journey, in the second stanza of the poem he turns the idea of the distance to advantage by stirring our memories with a subtle allusion to Scripture, and also, through Scripture, to the 'farthest East..farthest West' phrasing in the sermon:

I sacrifice this Iland unto thee,
And all whom I lov'd there, and who lov'd mee;
When I have put our seas twixt them and mee,
Put thou thy sea betwixt my sinnes and thee.

Surely the unspoken but vital memory here is of the verse in Psalm 103, as Donne would have recited it from the Prayer Book:

Look how wide also thee east is from the west:
so far hath he set our sins from us. (Psalm 103 v.12.)

From these roots in the Valediction sermon the poem then goes on in its own proper development to work through a metaphor of being 'rooted and grounded in love', towards a resolution of Donne's frequent themes of marriage and rivalry in his relations with God. What is of interest to us here, though, is the way in which Donne's employment of memorable emblems as part of his use of and appeal to memory in the sermons, was able to cross-fertilise with his workings as a poet, and provide imagery and material for that very different art.

I do not think it can be argued that either the rhetorical or spiritual art of memory is as central to an understanding of Donne's poetry as it is to a reading of his sermons. Nevertheless, an awareness of his development of the theme and methods of memory in the sermons does sometimes highlight and explain themes and images in the poems which

might otherwise pass unremarked. A thorough examination of the whole of his poetic corpus in the light of the memory tradition might prove rewarding, but is, properly speaking, beyond the scope of this thesis.

ii) T.S.Eliot

In various parts of this thesis I have had occasion to refer to the works of T.S. Eliot, both because of his seminal and perceptive essays on Andrewes and Donne, and because of the number of striking parallels and confluences of their thought with his, especially his affinity with Andrewes. In many respects Eliot, both by his criticism and by his poetry, is responsible for restoring proper critical attention to Andrewes and, to a lesser extent, to Donne, fulfilling throughout the course of his literary life the prophecy he had made in the important early essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', that all writers are contemporary, and that a good modern writer will redefine the relations of all other writers, and change the way we read those of the past. (*Selected Prose*, p.180.)(24)

I think this is more especially true for Eliot's relationship to Andrewes than it is for his relationship to Donne. Certainly Andrewes's sermons have a stronger life in Eliot's poetry than any of Donne's, for Eliot regarded Andrewes as the more gifted preacher, and also shared with him many more intellectual and stylistic affinities. It therefore seems fitting to conclude this thesis by looking at the way in which Andrewes has exercised an influence on Eliot, to look at the ways in which he assesses, remembers, and alludes to Andrewes, and to compare his own understanding of memory with Andrewes's. To do this, we shall first review the way in which Eliot as reader and poet approaches the tradition of which Andrewes is a part, then we shall look at the relevant parts of his great critical essay on Andrewes, before going on

to a more detailed comparison of their approaches in terms of composition, pattern, syntax and allusion. Finally, I will give some critical analysis of the occasions when Eliot has chosen specifically to remember and allude to Andrewes's sermons in his own work.

a) Past and Present for Eliot as Reader and Poet

At the heart of Eliot's seminal essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' is the conviction that 'the historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past but of its presence.' (*Selected Prose*, p.38.) It is not simply a question either of lineal development or of servile imitation, but rather of a simultaneity :

The historical sense compels a man to write, not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with the feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer, and within it the whole literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order. This historical sense, which is a sense of the *timeless and the temporal together* is what makes a writer traditional. (*Selected Prose*, p.38, emphasis mine.)

It follows from this notion of a 'simultaneous order' that every 'new' addition to the stock of literature subtly alters the relations of all the other parts, bringing certain aspects of the past into a new light and a new relation to themselves and the present, as Eliot goes on to make explicit:

What happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art which preceded it...The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole*

existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art towards the whole are readjusted. (*Selected Prose*, p.38.)

Nowhere is this more true than in Eliot's own poetry, which did indeed lead to a reassessment of the tradition, and the establishment of new lines of relationship between previous works of literature, not least in the cases of Andrewes and Donne. As a result, Donne has been re-read and almost reinvented as a 'modern', stretching metaphor to bridge the gap of our 'dissociation of sensibility'. Certainly, Eliot's allusive style was intended to render conscious this reordering of the patterns of the past in a series of carefully ordered poetic recollections. His use of one of Andrewes's Nativity sermons in the opening of the *Journey of the Magi* is a clear example of this simultaneity of the past, in which Andrewes's voice as a preacher, Eliot's as a poet, and the imagined voice of the poem's first century narrator, all speak at once. The reader of the *Journey of the Magi* returns to the Nativity sermons to find that he is now reading a subtly different work. We will be looking at Eliot's specific allusions to Andrewes in more detail below, but there can be no doubt that the understanding of past and present, of the 'historical sense' outlined in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' constitutes the basis for the way Eliot deals with the past as a poet, and is manifest and consistently developed throughout his poetic career. Indeed, he concludes the essay by suggesting that this awareness of the simultaneity of the past in the cultural memory of literature is essential, if the poet is to know his metier, to know what is to be done:

...and he [the poet] is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment

of the past, unless he is conscious not of what is dead but of what is already living. (*Selected Prose*, p.44.)

Characteristically, Eliot is using all the energies of the word *moment* here, summoning not only the present *instant* of the past, but the *moment*, the weight, the importance the pressing, forward *momentum* of the past, a *moment* which we see in all these senses in his poetry.

It is there, in fact though not made explicit, in the complex allusiveness of his earlier verse, especially *The Wasteland*, which is itself an example, or at least a mimesis of the reordered patterning of the network of European literature, which Eliot suggests in this essay is the consequence of true originality. But the continuity of this kind of thinking throughout Eliot's life is shown by the fact that these ideas are expressed explicitly and further developed in the later poetry, in *Ash Wednesday* and *Four Quartets*, sometimes in ways that directly echo the wording of this essay.

An important theme running through *Ash Wednesday* is the redemption and recovery of that which was lost, the regathering and reintegration of time. Opening with a line gathered in from Shakespeare's sonnets about the impossibility of 'turning again' to what is past, it nevertheless, by allusion, does exactly that, and gathers as the poem proceeds, that sense of the momentum and power that is found in the acts and words of turning and returning, even in the Lenten season the turning of the year, which Andrewes developed so brilliantly in his *Ash Wednesday* sermon on turning and returning, a sermon which certainly lies behind some of the tone and imagery of this poem. In some ways the central point to this poem is the repeated cry 'redeem', which comes in Section IV:

The new years walk, restoring
Through a bright cloud of tears, the years restoring
With a new verse the ancient rhyme. Redeem
The time... (Section IV, lines 16 - 18, in *Collected Poems 1909-1962*, p.100.(25))

Eliot's whole poetic effort is to restore with a new verse what was also there in the ancient rhyme, what, as he says in the *Four Quartets*, was 'lost and found again'. And primarily for the poet the recovery of lost language the redemption of words is essential. *Ash Wednesday* involves this theme of the redemption of words with the great Christian theme of redemption through and by the Word, and in so doing redeems and reintegrates what had been the lost words of Lancelot Andrewes himself, reflecting on the paradox of the *Verbum infans*, 'the Word without a word, unable to speak a word'. And so, in section V, Eliot takes up the theme, and concludes it with an allusion to and reordering of Andrewes's words, manifesting precisely that simultaneity of past and present literature which he had expounded as a critical theory so many years earlier:

If the lost word is lost, if the spent word is spent
If the unheard, unspoken
Word is unspoken, unheard;
Still is the unspoken word, the Word unheard,
The Word without a word, the Word within
The world and for the world; (Section V, lines 1 - 6, p.102.)

And so as the poem moves towards its climax, in the regathering and redemption of what is lost, even 'the lost heart stiffens and rejoices' as we approach a union of the temporal and the eternal figured in the 'spirit of the river' and the 'spirit of the sea'.

These themes are made yet more explicit and further developed in the *Four Quartets*, Eliot's great meditation on the mysteries of memory, time, and timelessness. The first of them, *Burnt Norton*, sets the theme of the meditation with the speculation:

Time present and time past

Are both perhaps present in time future... (Section I, lines 1
and 2, p.189)

and goes on to summon the latent energies in the words *echo* and *memory*, which are to echo and be recalled throughout the poem. The present *moment* of the past is opened as the still point which is the meeting of all times;

Time past and time future

What might have been and what has been

Point to one end, which is always present. (Section I, lines 46-
48, p.190.)

This first quartet moves towards a theology of the redemption of time, an affirmation that the passage of time itself is hallowed by the reordering of memory to configure with the eternal pattern, a theology of memory which stems directly from the tradition which it has been the purpose of this thesis to expound. By a hallowed art of memory, time the destroyer is conquered:

Time past and time future

Allow but a little consciousness.

To be conscious is not to be in time

But only in time can the moment in the rose-garden,

The moment in the arbour where the rain beat,

The moment in the draughty church at smokefall
Be remembered; involved with past and future.
Only through time time is conquered. (Section II, lines 37-44,
p.192.)

These moments, all significant moments, are in every sense 'present moments of the past' forming the true history or memory which Eliot calls in the final quartet a 'pattern of significant moments.'

Burnt Norton finishes with the idea of pattern as the eternal or redemptive element within the order of time, only by the form, or pattern, can words or music reach the stillness, an idea which, as we saw in Chapter Three is at the heart of Andrewes's approach to scriptural narrative, discerning the timeless pattern or order, and then creating by his rhetoric the points of connection between personal and scriptural memory. *East Coker* further develops this idea of pattern and applies to the whole human experience precisely the insight about the simultaneity of literature and the consequent reordering of the pattern by new works, or in this case 'every moment', which he had applied to literature in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'. Immediate individualistic knowledge imposes a false pattern, for the true pattern is continually renewed:

...There is, it seems to us,
At best, only a limited value
In the knowledge derived from experience.
The knowledge imposes a pattern, and falsifies,
For the pattern is new in every moment
and every moment is a new and shocking
Valuation of all we have been. (Section II, lines 31-37, p.199.)

This is not of course a naive denigration of human experience as such, but rather an attempt to escape from the eccentricity or parochialism, the possible shallowness of immediate personal experience and memory, and to connect instead with a deeper memory in which the 'moment' is allowed its momentum as it gathers into itself the experience not of one life, but of many, as Eliot goes on to suggest at the end of *East Coker*, meditating again on the great word 'pattern':

...As we grow older

The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated

Of dead and living. Not the intense moment

Isolated, with no before and after,

But a lifetime burning in every moment

And not the lifetime of one man only

But of old stones that cannot be deciphered. (Section V, lines
19-25, p.203.)

Indeed, we can see this development, this move from the isolated moment of individual memory to the pattern into which is woven the memory of both the dead and the living, in the movement from *Burnt Norton*, with its intense private memories of childhood and its isolated moments with 'Ridiculous^(+u) waste sad time/~~stretching~~ before and after', and *East Coker* with its evocation of rustic community and of the complex pattern of relationships in Eliot's ancestry.

The *Dry Salvages* returns to the emblems of the river and the sea as symbols of the relations of time and timelessness which Eliot had first evoked in *Ash Wednesday*. And having developed these emblems with great power and beauty, Eliot returns again more explicitly to his dominant idea of pattern, pattern which is by its nature significant, and not a matter of merely sequential recollection:

It seems, as one becomes older,
That the past has another pattern, and ceases to be a mere
sequence -

Or even development: (Section II, lines 37-39, p.208.)

As he develops this idea, he does so by drawing directly on the language and imagery of Andrewes's great sermon on Lot's wife. Where all the key words - memory, experience, generation, and above all *pattern* - occur:

But the storehouse and very life of memory is the history of time...For all our wisdom consisting either in experience or memory -experience of our own or memory of others...Needs must we then as [Job] adviseth, *interrogate generationem pristinam*, 'ask the former age' what they did in like case; search the records of former times, wherein our cases we shall be able to match, and to *pattern* them all. (*Works* II, pp.64-65.)

Transformed and developed by Eliot, fused by the catalyst of the poet's mind with many other things, this becomes:

We had the experience but missed the meaning,
And approach to the meaning restores the experience
In a different form, beyond any meaning
We can assign to happiness. I have said before
That the past experience revived in the meaning
Is not the experience of one life only
But of many generations... (Section II, lines 45-51, p.208.)

That this passage is moving partly in the *moment* of the Andrewes sermon seems clear since there follows in the poem a sudden evocation

of a figure glancing backwards, over the shoulder, looking towards a sudden terror, which is of course the mnemonic key and dominant image of the Andrewes sermon, which takes the figure of Lot's wife, frozen forever in her backward glance, as the controlling mnemonic of the whole discourse; and so the image, unworn by subsequent attrition, surfaces in ~~The~~ *Dry Salvages*:

... - not forgetting

Something that is probably quite ineffable:

The backward look behind the assurance

Of recorded history, the backward half-look

Over the shoulder, towards the primitive terror. (Section II,

lines 51-55, pp.208-09.)

All these meditations on time, timelessness, memory, and pattern are woven beautifully together in *Little Gidding*, the final quartet, where the confluence in a particular place of many moments in history and individual memory are transfigured by its being a place of prayer, and so of access through time to the Lord of time, and so to timelessness, in a place where 'prayer has been valid'. And here we face the dilemma as to what history is to be to us:

...History may be servitude,

History may be freedom... (Section III, lines 13 and 14, p.219.)

It is by the appropriation in his poetic of a true art of memory, an art of memory which has become an 'art of salvation', that Eliot is able to 'redeem the time', not by escaping it but by transforming it:

...A people without history
Is not redeemed from time, for history is a pattern
Of timeless moments. So, while the light fails
On a winter's afternoon, in a secluded chapel
History is now and England. (Section V, lines 20-24, p.222.)

At this moment in the patterning of the poem the reader does indeed find himself drawn by the art of Eliot's memory into 'the present moment of the past'.

We have seen in the foregoing how deeply Eliot brooded on the themes of history and memory, and from the number of echoes and allusions to Andrewes on which I have commented, just in passing, we can see something of the confluence of their minds as well as the specific debt Eliot owed to Andrewes. I shall deal in more detail with the echoes and borrowings below, but first I shall look in this context at what Eliot himself had to say about Andrewes in the essay from the volume *For Lancelot Andrewes* with which Eliot acknowledged and tried to pay something of his debt to Andrewes.

b) Eliot on Andrewes

There can be no doubt that Eliot regarded Andrewes as being among the truly great in the canon of English prose, since he says of the sermons in the opening paragraph of his essay on Andrewes: '... they rank with the finest English prose of their time, of any time' (*Selected Prose*, p.179), and certainly a reading of this essay makes it clear that Andrewes was exercising a strong influence both on Eliot's own spiritual development and on his poetic theory and practice. As is often the case in Eliot's critical writing, he praises qualities which he himself

is seeking in his verse. The essay on 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' had argued for an effacement of personality in the poet, and a humility, almost a purity of approach to his subject, and these are precisely the qualities Eliot praises in Andrewes. He praises three main qualities in Andrewes's style: 'ordonnance, or arrangement and structure, precision in the use of words, and relevant intensity.' (*Selected Prose*, p.181.)

It is interesting that Eliot notices the importance of order and structure in Andrewes; it has been part of the purpose of this thesis to show that order and structure were part of the tradition of structured memory in the old arts. By 'relevant intensity' Eliot means the generation or inclusion only of that intensity of emotion which is generated by and adequate to the subject, a refusal to admit rhetorical colour or to charge the subject with energies which derive from the personality and private concerns of the author, rather than the subject in hand - something of which he accuses Donne.

The combination of relevant intensity and precision of language results in a powerful concentration of many carefully delineated and distinguished layers of meaning into single words and phrases, or rather the exegesis of these meanings from the words and phrases, and then their reordering and concentration back into the original word which begot them, a technique which, as I have tried to show, arises from the purpose and method of the *ars memorativa*. Eliot puts it thus:

Andrewes takes a word and derives the world from it; squeezing and squeezing the word until it yields a full juice of meaning which we would never have supposed any word to possess. (*Selected Prose*, P.184.)

Eliot goes on to note, significantly and repeatedly, that Andrewes has a peculiar talent for impressing the memory:

In this extraordinary prose, which appears to repeat, to stand still, but is nevertheless proceeding in the most deliberate and orderly manner, there are often flashing phrases which never desert the memory. In an age of adventure and experiment in language, Andrewes is one of the most resourceful of authors in his devices for seizing the attention and impressing the memory. (*Selected Prose*, p.185.)

The foregoing pages have, I hope, shown just quite how literally Eliot's phrase 'impressing the memory' may be taken. What is certain is that Eliot's own memory and imagination was deeply charged and impressed with words, phrases, whole passages, and certainly ideas and images from Andrewes's sermons, especially the Nativity sermons. It is significant that almost every passage he quotes in this essay, probably from memory, resurfaces somewhere in his poetry, if not in direct quotation, then ghosting the text in one form or another. Indeed one of the passages which Eliot quotes from Andrewes is in fact a strange mismemory, since it is in fact a quotation from the adaptation of Andrewes which Eliot used in *Gerontion*. Even the example of a memorable phrase which he quotes after the above remarks, 'Christ is no wild-cat' seems to surface strangely in *Gerontion* as 'Christ the Tiger'. Before we turn to these allusions, echoes, and borrowings, many of which have already been noted in passing elsewhere in this thesis, it is worth commenting on the sympathies and similarities in approach in poetics, as well as in metaphysics, which made Eliot and Andrewes such kindred spirits, and enabled such a clear transmission of ideas across the centuries.

c) Sympathies and Similarities of Approach

We have already seen how much Eliot and Andrewes shared in terms of their emphasis on an art or ordering of memory, which by significant structure or pattern would seek to redeem the time. We have also seen how they both seek a 'relevant intensity' which effaces the merely personal, and eschews easily manufactured or rhetorical emotion. Both men had a tremendous fascination with words and language, the medium in which they work, a concern for precision and right ordering as well as for skilfully managed ambiguity in language. Perhaps the best delineation of their common 'poetic' comes in a description of Andrewes's method in the *Preces Privatae*, (the work in the Andrewes canon which most approaches the terseness of form and allusiveness of poetry), written in 1903 by Brightman, the great modern editor of the *Preces*. Almost every sentence in the following paragraph could be written of Eliot's poetic method, a mere change of names would make it a just consideration of his achievement, though it was written five years before Eliot had published any verse. Eliot however certainly read Brightman's appraisal of Andrewes, and it is highly significant that he quotes in full this paragraph, so pertinent to his own poetry, as part of his essay on Andrewes:

But the structure is not merely an external scheme or framework: the internal structure is as close as the external. Andrewes develops an idea he has in his mind: every line tells and adds something. He does not expatiate, but moves forward: if he repeats it is because the repetition has a real force of expression; if he accumulates, each new word or phrase represents a new development, a substantive addition to what he is saying. He assimilates his material and advances by means of it. His quotation is not decoration or irrelevance, but the matter in which he

expresses what he wants to say. His single thoughts are no doubt often suggested by the words he borrows, but the thoughts are made his own, and the constructive force, the fire that fuses them is his own. And this internal, progressive, often poetic structure is marked outwardly. The editions have not always reproduced this feature of the *preces*, nor perhaps is it possible in any ordinary page to represent the structure adequately; but in manuscript the intention is clear enough. The prayers are arranged, not merely in paragraphs, but in lines advanced and recessed, so as in a measure to mark the inner structure and the steps and stages of the movement. Both in form and in matter Andrewes's prayers may often be described rather as hymns. (Brightman, p.1, quoted in *Selected Prose*, pp.182-3.)

Repetition and accumulation, the use of significant spaces and indentations, the generation of an original utterance by a careful combination of quotations and allusions, these are all features of Andrewes's style which were also features of the kind of verse Eliot was writing at this time, particularly in *Ash Wednesday*, a poem which very clearly shows Andrewes's influence, as does *Gerontion*, and of course, most famously, the *Journey of the Magi*. I will deal with Eliot's direct borrowings from and allusions to Andrewes below, but it is clear that from the point of view of style and poetics, from the point of view of intellectual rigour and philosophical presuppositions, and, from the mid-twenties onwards, from the point of view of religious faith, there was an increasing intellectual, imaginative, and spiritual resonance between Eliot and Andrewes. This enabled Eliot not only to make the critical rediscovery of Andrewes set out in his essay, which was first published in the *Times Literary Supplement*, but also to be a channel for Andrewes's 'present moment', so to appropriate and recombine passages from Andrewes's work that they both maintained their own

original integrity and became part of the seamless robe of the new verse which Eliot was creating. It is to these points of allusion, these sudden contacts between past and present, memories of Andrewes reshaped in the imagination, and surfacing again in Eliot's poetry, that we now turn.

d) Echoes and Allusions

The group of Andrewes's sermons which seems to have entered first, and most deeply into Eliot's imagination, which he quotes and indeed recommends as a separate volume in the essay, is the Nativity sermons. Indeed almost every passage he quotes in the essay finds its way into the poetry. The use of the 'cold-coming' passage is of course the most famous, and is noted by Kermode in *Selected Prose*; he also notes the misquotation via *Gerontion* from the *Verbum infans* sermon.

Kermode's annotation is useful but is also brief and unfortunately inaccurate, since he falsely assumes that when Eliot strings more than one quotation together he is quoting from the same sermon, but Eliot's memory is further ranging than that and this has resulted in some false attribution in the notes to *Selected Prose*. The notes in the appendix A p.310 should be amended as follows:

'who is it'... Nativity Sermon 1610 (not 1622)

'I know not how'... *ibid.*

'Christ is no wild-cat' Nativity Sermon 1622 (not 1610). This is a completely different sermon from the one Eliot has just been quoting - it is part of the *Magi* sermon he will quote later.

The debt to these Nativity sermons has been observed because of their appearance in Eliot's essay, but the debt to the other sermons, particularly the Lent sermons, has largely been missed, perhaps because these sermons are less easily available. I shall begin in this section with the famous 'cold-coming' allusion, showing, I hope, Eliot's poem is far more indebted to *the pair* of Andrewes's sermons from which the passage comes than the mere observation that Andrewes is the source of the first five lines would suggest; I shall then go on to look at some of Eliot's less noticed borrowings.

The 1622 sermon, the second of two sermons on Matthew 2, verses 1 and 2, the journey of the Magi, is beautifully organised around the emblem of a star. Andrewes uses the image of a five pointed star as a mnemonic place system for the five points of the sermon, five aspects of the narrative of the Magi which can be related and applied to the narrative of his auditors' lives. Namely: 1) their faith, 2) the work of their faith, 3) their coming, 4) their enquiry, and 5) their end. It is the third section, on the Magi's coming which immediately struck Eliot, which he quotes in the Andrewes essay, and which he adapts for the opening of his poem, but the adaptation/allusion is not gratuitous, and, as we shall see, Andrewes's meditation on his fifth point, 'their end', also informs Eliot's poem. As he did with his account of the journey of Lot and his wife, so with the journey of the Magi, Andrewes invites us to visualise the journey in an almost Ignatian composition of place, so that in the *application* we can put ourselves in the Magi's place. It is a striking passage showing Andrewes's mastery of the short Senecan sentence, in contrast to Donne's preference for long Ciceronian periods. The short sentences suggest something immediate and vivid, indeed Eliot says of this passage, 'before extracting all the spiritual meaning of a text, Andrewes forces a concrete presence upon us'. (*Selected Prose*, p.185.) Then he cites this passage:

It was no Summer progress. A cold coming they had of it at this time of the year, just the worst time of the year to take a journey, and specially a long journey in. The ways deep, the weather sharp, the days short, the sun furthest off, *in solstitio brumali*, 'the very dead of winter'.

This whole passage is taken up for the opening of Eliot's poem, with only a change from the third person to the first person. This change is absolutely in the spirit of the sermon, and of Andrewes's method of scriptural exegesis and application. We saw in the Lot's wife sermon how Andrewes did this himself, first narrating the story in the third person, and then in his application inviting his auditors to join in a retelling of it in the first person. Eliot may indeed have taken the idea from such a sermon, or more immediately from the sermon on the same text which immediately precedes this one in the collection, and to which this forms a sequel, where there is a passage in which Andrewes invites us to make just the identification Eliot makes in the poem, and from which I believe Eliot has also picked up the images of the camels and dromedaries:

Venerunt, here 'they are come;' and *venimus*, 'we' in them and with them. Who not only in their own names, but in ours make here their entry; came and sought after, and found and worshipped, their saviour and ours, the saviour of the whole world...Now a *venerunt*, the great gate set wide open this day for all - for these here with their camels and dromedaries to enter, and all their carriage. (*Works I*, p.241.)

Having taken these beginnings from Andrewes, Eliot goes on to develop the theme in his own way, though still threading further patches of

the sermon into the new garment of his poem, as when he repeats the phrase

...but set down

This set down

This... (Lines 33-35, p.110.)

Andrewes uses a similar phrase to introduce an emphasis on the necessity of our turning to the Magi to enquire of Christ:

Secondly set down this; that to find where he is, we must learn of these to ask where he is, which we full little set ourselves to do.
(*Works I*, p.259.)

The deepest development of the theme in Eliot's poem though, is his final paradox about birth and death; his suggestion in the voice of the Magi, that the birth of Christ is the death of their old culture and way of life, of the 'old dispensation', and with a foreshadowing of 'another death' with its unspoken promise of another birth, of being begotten again to a lively hope. This emphasis on the birth as a death, on the bitterness of the journey's end and yet the paradoxical longing - 'I should be glad of another death' - with its delicate ambiguity coming either as a statement of despair, or of a hope for a new birth beyond it, is original to Eliot, and is not part of the main thrust of the Andrewes sermon, though some of its raw material, the suggestions for it, are there in the sermon, as when Andrewes juxtaposes the birth and death of Christ by drawing together the two Herods who threatened, one at the birth and the other at the death:

Thus he at His Birth.

And at his death, the other Herod... (*Works I*, p.260.)

Andrewes is making quite a different point, but the juxtaposition of birth and death here may have suggested to Eliot his own development of the idea. This birth/death occurs under Andrewes's fifth point or beam of the star, 'their end', where one of his main ideas is the 'disappointment' that must have been felt at a human level by such great kings after so long a journey, to find so poor a sight as this poor stable and this birth which would make him 'more like to be abhorred, than adored of such persons'. He draws a contrast between the splendour that awaited the Queen of Sheba when she sought Solomon, and the 'unlikely birth' that greeted the wise men:

Weigh what she found and what these here - as poor and unlikely a birth as could be, ever to prove a king or any great matter. No sight to comfort them, nor a word for which they any whit the wiser; nothing worth their travel. (*Works I*, p.261.)

From these passages Eliot has taken a phrase here, a tone of disappointment or of concealed glory there, and made his own piece, which has a new and I think more profound emphasis, given as much as anything by a shift of perspective from the immediacy of a present narrative to the patterning of memory, a remembrance after many years when the speaker is perhaps himself nearing death, coming to the end of another journey which will also lead to Christ:

All this was a long time ago, I remember,
And I would do it again, but set down
This set down
This: were we led all that way for
Birth or Death? There was a Birth, certainly,
We had evidence and no doubt. I had seen birth and death,
But had thought they were different; this Birth was

Hard and bitter agony for us, like Death, our death.

We returned to our places, these Kingdoms,

But no longer at ease here, in the old dispensation,

With an alien people clutching their gods.

I should be glad of another death. (Lines 32-43, p.110.)

In the *Journey of the Magi* Eliot was making full and conscious use of Andrewes; engaging as it were in a protracted dialogue, or perhaps duet with him, across the ages; but even as early as *Gerontion* passages of Andrewes were finding their way into Eliot's verse, being taken up and metamorphosed, recombined to form in Eliot's phrase 'a new compound'. (*Selected Prose*, p.41.)

In 1618 Andrewes preached his Nativity sermon on Luke 2.12-14, the text beginning, 'And this shall be a sign unto you; you shall find the child swaddled and laid in a cratch'. He makes every word of the text a sign or symbol of some truth about the Incarnation, enforcing it on the memory by means of striking word play and paradox. About two thirds of the way through the sermon he says:

Signs are taken for wonders. 'Master, we would fain see a sign', that is a miracle. And in this sense it is a sign to wonder at. Indeed, every word here is a wonder. To βρέφος, an infant; *Verbum infans*, the Word without a word; the eternal Word not able to speak a word; 1. a wonder sure. 2. and the σπαργανωτός, swaddled and that a wonder too. 'He,' that (as in the thirty-eighth of Job he saith) 'taketh the vast body of the main sea, turns it to and fro, as a little child, and rolls it about with the swaddling bands of darkness;' - He to come thus into clouts Himself! (*Works I*, p.204.)

In the strange complex amalgam of images and allusions which is *Gerontion*, voiced as the self-deprecatory meditations of a dying man, 'thoughts of a dry brain in a dry season', comes this passage:

Signs are taken for wonders. 'We would see a sign!'
The word within a word, unable to speak a word,
Swaddled with darkness. In the juvenescence of the year
Came Christ the tiger... (Lines 17-20, p.39.)

By a strange transformation, the sharp paradox of the word *without* a word has become a word *within* a word, so that the phrase 'unable to speak a word' becomes, not an expansion of the phrase 'without a word', but rather suggests that the word within a word is so trapped within itself as to be unable to utter its own meaning, a situation which is exactly that of the narrator of the poem who is trapped within himself by his own memories, which form no coherent pattern for him, rather than liberated by a vision of the order or pattern of his own history; and so the inner word of *meaning*, trapped within the outer word of his story is dumb, unable to speak a word. He would fain 'see a sign', but he cannot; the knowledge of his past is disordered and cannot issue in the coherence of repentance, and so of forgiveness. 'History may be freedom, history may be servitude', Eliot was to write years later in the *Four Quartets*. Here in *Gerontion* he had foreshadowed this insight with a chilling vision of unredeemed memory enforcing history as servitude:

After such knowledge, what forgiveness? Think now
History has many cunning passages, contrived corridors
And issues, deceives with whispering ambitions,
Guides us by vanities. Think now
She gives when our attention is distracted

And what she gives, gives with such supple confusions
That the giving famishes the craving. Gives too late
What's not believed in, or if still believed,
In memory only, reconsidered passion...(Lines 33-41, p.40.)

In some ways this passage on memory as a source of confusion and frustration is properly echoed and answered in the familiar compound ghost's ironic litany of the 'gifts reserved for age' in *Little Gidding*:

'And last, the rending pain of re-enactment
Of all that you have done, and been; the shame
Of motives late revealed, and the awareness
Of things ill done and done to others' harm
Which once you took for exercise of virtue.'
(Section II, lines 85-89, p.218.)

However, this time the context is not the self-bound, self-tormenting convoluted 'wilderness of mirrors' which is the context of the exasperated spirit in *Gerontion*, but rather the redemptive pain and re-enactment of Dante's *Purgatory*, which spirals upwards towards the refining fire of the divine love rather than downwards towards the icy flames of hell; thus, by the measure, the pattern of the dance, the pains and frustrations of memory, become themselves redemptive as the world of the poem turns and pivots on the momentous 'unless' which concludes the ghost's speech:

'From wrong to wrong the exasperated spirit
Proceeds, unless restored by that refining fire
Where you must move in measure, like a dancer.'
(Section II, lines 90-93, p.219.)

But this is to anticipate. What matters here is that this strangely twisted fragment of Andrewes, torn from its original context in a thought-world where redemption is a possibility and indeed is about to emerge from the swaddling bands of darkness, and used in *Gerontion* to express only 'tears shaken from the wrath-bearing tree', nevertheless lived on as a seed in Eliot's mind. Indeed, when he came to quote the passage from the original Andrewes sermon it comes to his mind filtered through *Gerontion*, and it is in fact *Gerontion* and not the original which he quotes in the essay, until it could be reintegrated into his verse again, this time reverting to Andrewes's original 'Word without a word', and in the profoundly redemptive context of *Ash Wednesday*.

In the Nativity sermon of 1623 Andrewes had said 'Christ is no wild-cat', a phrase which was reversed and emerged as 'Christ the tiger' springing in 'the juvescence of the year', in *Gerontion*. But *Gerontion* never reaches the juvescence of the year, and remains a poem within a 'dry season'. By *Ash Wednesday*, with its recurrent turns and plays on spring and the turning of the year, taken from Andrewes's *Ash Wednesday* sermons, the year had turned, the juvescence of the year had come, and Christ the tiger had indeed burst the swaddling bands of darkness and sprung into Eliot's life. So in the opening of *Ash Wednesday V*, in a passage which fully acknowledges the lostness of the *Gerontion* experience, but this time integrates it into the possibilities of redemption opened by the Word (this time, significantly with a capital) which Eliot had found at the still centre of things, he returned to this passage of Andrewes, restoring Andrewes's 'without', and retaining his own 'within', but this time profoundly altering its meaning and context:

If the lost word is lost, if the spent word is spent
If the unheard unspoken
Word is unspoken, unheard;
Still is the unspoken word, the Word unheard,
The Word without a word, the Word within
The world and for the world;
And the light shone in darkness and
Against the Word the unstilled world still whirled
About the centre of the silent Word. (Section V, lines 1-9,
p.102.)

Here, though lostness is acknowledged, the silence of the Word has become something positive, the stillness of the divine Word himself, who keeps as it were a silent vigil of retained meaning against the spentness and lostness of every transitory word. In *Gerontion* the word is trapped 'within a word, unable to speak a word' like a series of increasingly diminished and empty Russian dolls, each word unpacking merely another and smaller and emptier version of itself, issuing in nothing but 'vanities', a striking anticipation in verse of the more inane blind alleys of some forms of 'critical deconstruction', in which semiotics replaces lucid criticism, all words become 'variety in a wilderness of mirrors', language bears no relation to experience, but is merely words within words, unable to speak because 'every decoding is just another encoding'. In *Ash Wednesday* this sterile self reference of words within words has been replaced by the fertile image of the Word 'within... and for the world', a celebration of the Johannine creation theology, in which all is made and sustained through the Word, which is unspoken because it exists before time and so before speech; for the unspoken Word is the symbol of Christ in his coeternity with the Father and the Spirit, whereas the spoken Word is the symbol of his incarnation in time; but in both he is the still centre of the turning

world. So we move from the unrealised possibility, swaddled in the darkness of *Gerontion* to the light shining in darkness of the Fourth Gospel and *Ash Wednesday*; and in this dialogue and movement from the 'wilderness of mirrors' to the 'still centre', Andrewes is throughout Eliot's hidden interlocutor, and the same passage from his sermon scores both the 'thoughts of a dry brain in a dry season' and the 'lost heart' rejoicing in *Ash Wednesday*.

This vision of the Word within and for the world, redeeming time and memory, is, as we have already seen, a major theme in the *Four Quartets*. There are only a few direct echoes of Andrewes in the *Four Quartets*, but the theology of memory which emerges from them is very much Andrewes's own, as I have argued in subsection b) above. The real debt, therefore, is deeper and less visible than any individual allusion might suggest; nevertheless, interesting individual echoes which are worth noting 'inhabit the garden' of this poem.

Andrewes delighted in striking, compact and memorable *conchetti predicabili* whose purpose, as I have shown, was to form the striking sometimes grotesque *imagines* of an interior memory system, so that the image could later be retrieved at leisure to form the subject of a more extended meditation, in which all the matter from the sermon which had been compacted into the single image could be re-evoked and ruminated upon. One such *conchetto* occurs in the seventh Nativity sermon of 1612, which introduces the traditional figure of Christ the physician in expounding the metaphor of *purgation*, of Christ's purging our sins, and then turns the familiar physician image into an almost grotesque *conchetto* by linking it to the Communion: Christ is the physician, and his flesh and blood are the *only* medicine the only food and drink by which the patient will recover. Christ must both make the medicine and be the medicine:

And how or of what? Spots will out with water; some will not with anything but with blood; 'without shedding of blood there is no taking away of sin'. And not every blood will serve but it must be lamb's blood; and 'a Lamb without spot' and not every lamb either but 'the Lamb of God' or, to speak plainly, a Lamb that is God. His Blood, and nothing else, will serve to do this.

And seventhly, not any Blood of His; not of a vein - one may live still for all that - but His best most precious, His heart-blood, which bringeth certain death with it. With that Blood He was to make the medicine. Die He must, and His side be opened, that there might issue both the Water and the Blood that was to be the ingredients of it. By Himself, His Ownself, and by Himself slain; by His death and by His Blood-shedding, and by no other means; *quis audivit talia?* The Physician slain, and of His Flesh and Blood a receipt made, that the patient might recover. (*Works I*, pp.112-113.)

This meditation packed into the *conchetto* of that audacious concluding sentence was lodged in Eliot's memory, to be taken out and worked over in an extension of the the metaphor with new and more personal material, just as Andrewes had intended. So Eliot uses the startling image which opens the lyric in which he develops this metaphor:

The wounded surgeon plies the steel
That questions the distempered part;
Beneath the bleeding hands we feel
The sharp compassion of the healer's art.
(*East Coker*, Section IV, lines 1-4, p.201.)

Eliot goes on to echo Andrewes in his own more modern development of the same paradox of the wounded surgeon, the 'slain physician's' sharp

compassion, extending Andrewes's compact metaphor to include the hospital with its endowment, the constant care of the dying nurse, the fever chart, and so on, but he ends by returning again to the emphasis and almost the wording of the passage in Andrewes which sparked his meditative lyric:

The dripping blood our only drink,
The bloody flesh our only food:
In spite of which we like to think
That we are sound, substantial flesh and blood -
Again, in spite of that, we call this Friday good. (Section IV,
lines 21-25, p.202.)

Sometimes it is not so much the common susceptibility to a particular paradox or image as a common affinity for order and accuracy in the craft of writing which suddenly evokes and forges fast some verbal link between the two writers.

The sections in each quartet which deal with language and the ordering of words indicate a passion for precision, order, relevant intensity in words, which Eliot and Andrewes shared and perhaps the last of these (Section V of *Little Gidding*), is the one that most directly echoes Andrewes. In the Nativity sermon of 1618 which Eliot used so widely, Andrewes had meditated on the symbolic congruence of Christ's beginning and his end in the 'cross and the cratch', saying that these things were ordered so 'that His beginning and His end may suit well'. (*Works I*, p.202). And in a Lent sermon on repentance he praises a sentence in his text saying:

Of which words there is not any one waste or to spare. Every one of them is *verbum vigilans*, as St. Augustine speaks, 'awake all' never an one asleep among them. Each hath his weight. Nor never an one out of his place, but, as Solomon speaks 'upon his right wheel', standing just where it should. (*Works I*, p.420.)

Both these passages seem to be echoed in the opening words of Section V of *Little Gidding*:

What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make a beginning.
The end is where we start from. And every phrase
And sentence that is right (where every word is at home,
Taking its place to support the others,
...the complete consort dancing together)
Every phrase and every sentence is an end and a beginning,
Every poem an epitaph... (Section V, lines 1-5 and 10-12,
p.221.)

Conclusion

These direct echoes and allusions, found from *Gerontion* through to the *Four Quartets*, are only the tell-tale ripples on the surface, the outer signs of a much deeper affinity and understanding between Eliot and Andrewes in their approach to time and memory, which it has been part of the purpose of this thesis to explore. Both of them were deeply conscious of, and deeply horrified by, the continual alienation of ourselves from ourselves which is the experience of being in time; the wilderness of mirrors, the contrived corridors and whispering deceptions

of history in *Gerontion*, the 'enchainment of past and future woven in the weakness of the changing body' the continual self-loss Andrewes pointed to: 'For it is many times too true which the philosopher saith...Nothing is so far from us as we ourselves; for naturally as saith the Apostle we do leak and run out, and when we have looked in the glass we straight forget our fashion again'. (*Works* II, p.64.)

Yet both of them won through to a theology of time in which redemption is a possibility, in which the servitude of history may become freedom. For both of them it was the use of memory, the discernment of pattern, and the creation of order in an art of memory, reflected in the art of their writing, which actually 'redeemed the time'. Andrewes himself might have written the words in which Eliot sums up all he has gained from the past and is celebrating in his poetry:

...This is the use of memory:

For liberation - not less of love but expanding
Of love beyond desire and so liberation
From the future as well as the past..

...History may be servitude,
History may be freedom. See, now they vanish,
The faces and places, with the self which, as it could, loved
them,

To become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern.

(*Little Gidding*, Section III, lines 7-10 and 13-16, p.219.)

Notes

(1) See below, pp.258-60, for an account of the controversy about whether and how far Donne was directly influenced by the Ignatian exercises.

(2) Louis Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, second edition, Yale, 1962. Hereafter, in the text or in notes, this edition will be referred to as Martz.

(3) Bishop Joseph Hall, *Works*, edited by J.Pratt, 10 volumes, London, 1808. Volume VII: p.45. Hereafter this edition will be referred to, in the text or in notes, as Hall, followed by volume and page number.

(4) See above, Chapter Three, pp.143-45 and Chapter Four, pp.188-90.

(5) See Chapter Four, note 8, and Chapter One, note 6, for further details of these editions.

(6) John Booty, 'Joseph Hall, *The Arte of divine Meditation*, and Anglican Spirituality' in *The Roots of the Modern Christian Tradition*, edited by E. Rozanne Elder, Kalamazoo, 1984, p.209. The quotation from Hall is from Hall VII, p.52.

(7) *The Sermons and Devotional Writings of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, edited by Christopher Devlin, Oxford, 1959, p.174. Quoted in Martz, p.xxv.

(8) See below pp.258-73.

(9) See above, Chapter Four, p.207.

(10) *The Preces Privatae of Lancelot Andrewes Bishop of Winchester*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by F. E. Brightman, Methuen, 1903, p.xiii. Hereafter, whether in the text or in notes, references to this edition will be to Brightman, followed by a page number.

(11) See below, p.298-300.

(12) The structure analysed in detail here is part of a much larger structure for all the daily prayers given in a table on page xix, taken from Brightman's edition.

(13) See above, Chapter Four, pp.236-41.

(14) John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, edited by Anthony Raspa, Oxford, 1987. Hereafter, references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to *Devotions*, followed by a page number.

(15) See Martz p.38, and T.F. Van Laan 'John Donne's devotions and the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises', *Studies in Philology*, LX, pp. 191-202.

(16) See above, Chapter Four, p.233.

(17) See *Devotions* p.xiv, for a full discussion of modern surmise about the nature and circumstances of his illness.

(18) I am not here working on Grierson's assumption that all the divine poems are late, for I find Helen Gardner's early dating of the *Holy Sonnets* very illuminating in understanding Donne. See, below, note 19.

(19) John Donne, *The Divine Poems*, edited with an Introduction and Commentary by Helen Gardner, Oxford, 1952. Hereafter, references to this edition, in the text or in notes, will be to Gardner, followed by a page number.

(20) In John Hayward's edition of *The Complete Poetry*, (see Chapter Four, note 31), this sonnet is on p.282.

(21) Letters (1651), p.174, quoted in *Sermons II*, p.31.

(22) For a fuller discussion of the relations between the manuscripts and the folio, see E.M. Simpson in *Donne's Sermon of Valediction*, Nonesuch Press, 1932, and *Sermons II*, p. 34.

(23) Helen Gardner dates the poem after the sermon, since she says that the sermon 'strikingly anticipates the words of the hymn'; in fact I think it better to say that the hymn provides us with an example of the way in which the sermonic emblem lodged in memory, and was thus available to the imagination for further development. See Gardner, p.106.

(24) See Chapter Three, note 13, for details of this collection.

(25) For details of *Collected Poems*, see Chapter Three, note 36. All further quotations of Eliot's poetry will give reference to sections of poems, and line numbers within those sections, followed by a page reference in *Collected Poems*.

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