

Chapter 1

Introduction:

The Arts of Remembrance

Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist

Remembrance Rediscovered

In his best-selling manual of practical piety *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying* (1651), Jeremy Taylor describes the ministrations necessary to lead the dying subject to repentance of his sins: 'Let this be done by prudent insinuation', he writes, 'by arts of remembrance, and secret notices'.¹ Taylor's instructions are mediated through structured experiences of remembering which combine examination of conscience with a wider set of cultural referents typical of contemporary deathbed scenes. In our appropriation of Taylor's phrase to headline this volume, we seek to describe the diverse spectrum of remembrance practices at work within early modern England. It is the contention of this volume that 'arts of remembrance' were omnipresent in early modern culture: manifest in tombs, statues and churches, but also in the décor of houses and arrangement of manuscripts, as well as in the literary construction of poetry and the performance practices of the theatre. In their material diversity these works testify to a habit within cultural production of the period that sees in the created object the enactment of remembrance. It is the habit of creating not on the basis of memory, but as *remembrance*, that the 'arts of remembrance' denote.

In recent scholarship, memory has been a key axis of development. Forms of artificial memory in the Renaissance have attracted considerable interest with the influence of the classical arts of memory explored in conjunction with the formative impact of humanist rhetorical training.² Yet Garrett Sullivan jr, has criticized a critical overemphasis on artificial memory in his incisive study of how cultural discourses of both memory and forgetting shaped Shakespearean drama. In the process, Sullivan draws important distinctions between *memoria* (the faculty and site of storage in the brain), *recollection* (the process of memory retrieval)

¹ Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying* (London, 1651), p. 260.

² See in particular Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966); *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Douglas Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: CRRS, 2009); Andrew Hiscock, *Reading Memory in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

and *remembering*, which denotes not cognitive acts but social performances.³ Investigation of social forms of remembering has drawn on the work of Aby Warburg and Maurice Halbwachs to attempt the theorization of collective memory, most influentially in Jan Assman's differentiation of *communicative memory* – a living memory transmitted and rehearsed in direct forms of social interaction – from *cultural memory*, denoting the objectification of memory in a wide range of materials, sites and performances.⁴ While a number of studies have privileged the latter, with a work such as Pierra Nora's monumental *Les Lieux de la Memoire* predicated upon the suppression of living memory in twentieth century France, the early modern period emerges as a complex moment of memorial transformation and encounter. The development of systems of archival memory, the spread of habits and materials of recording, were aspects of an expansion in memorial resources that overlapped with ongoing local investment in collective rites and practices of memorial inscription.⁵ Such productive tensions in the memorial fabric of a culture have been traced elsewhere. Gerdien Jonker's *The Topography of Remembrance*, challenged Assman's dissociation of communicative and cultural memory with her resonant study of Mesopotamian culture, where the threat of memorial crisis revealed a deeply-felt need to remember, rehearsed through a wide range of ritual and material engagements with the dead.⁶ The ruptures of Reformation brought the prospect of memorial crisis to early modern Europe,

³ Garrett Sullivan, jr, *Memory and Forgetting in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 6–12. On issues of memory in early modern drama see also William E. Engel, *Death and Drama in Renaissance England: Shades of Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); *Forgetting in Early Modern English Literature and Culture: Lethe's Legacies*, ed. by Christopher Ivic and Grant Williams (London: Routledge, 2004) and Thomas Rist, *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration in Reforming England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. by Lewis A. Coser (Berkeley: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Jan Assman, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), 125–33; Kurt W. Forster, 'Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images', *Daedalus*, 105: 1 (1976), 169–76.

⁵ See M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1993); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013); Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, 'Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (2004), 379–419; Andy Wood, 'Custom and the Social Organisation of Writing in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 9 (1999), 257–69; Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁶ Gerdien Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

provoking intense reflection on the social functions of memory and the terrifying spectre of oblivion. Remembering, as Sullivan notes, comprises both ‘the claim made on the subject that he or she remember’ and ‘the act of remembering’ itself, and the contemporary inscription of both practice and duty with religious meaning ensured that remembrance was the dominant memorial figure of the period.⁷ Thus the arts of remembrance do not look inward to the mind, but outward to the culture. As the essays gathered together here demonstrate, the arts of remembrance were tangible, legible and visible everywhere in the early modern surrounds.

A key to understanding the arts of remembrance is the matter of ‘remembrance’ itself. Christ’s command at the Last Supper to do this ‘in remembrance of me’ (Luke 22:19; 1 Cor. 11–25; King James Bible) announces the Christian preoccupation with remembrance, and its central place within liturgy since the early church. But the Reformation highlights the different forms which such remembrance might take, in view of the claim of the Latin mass ‘*hoc est corpus meum*’ (this is my body). ‘How many weighty strifes and important quarrels’, Montaigne would ask, ‘hath the doubt of this one silable, *Hoc*, brought forth in the world?’⁸ The challenge to the real presence by reformers produced a contest between the Eucharist as real presence and the linguistic sign, discovering a rich field of imaginative practice in arts as well as polemic.⁹ The significance of remembrance is by no means confined to the liturgical or theological. Christ’s injunction to the disciples entails a command to perform actions – to *do* remembrance – meaning that remembrance is inextricable from the wider society in which its actions are performed. Christ’s body is itself a dominant image for social identity sustained through a long heritage of communal practices.¹⁰ In the Jewish festival of Passover at which Christ would celebrate the Eucharist, the action of eating and drinking is itself constitutive, ‘making memory part of your own body even as your own body is part of the community engaged in the ritual of eating’.¹¹ This sense of eating as communal participation remained central to the celebration of the Eucharist, defining the body of Christendom. The importance we attach to the Eucharist as a touchstone for the arts of remembrance is reflected in the structure of our collection, which opens with Lucy Wooding’s exploration of the relation between the Eucharist and other contemporary forms of remembrance.

⁷ Sullivan, *Memory and Forgetting*, p. 9.

⁸ Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, trans. by John Florio (London, 1613), Book II, Chapter 12, p. 295.

⁹ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), p.8. See also Thomas M. Greene, ‘Ritual and Text in the Renaissance’, *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 15 (1991), 177–97.

¹⁰ Sarah Beckwith, *Christ’s Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 21–42.

¹¹ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 139.

Those forms notably include the remembrance of the dead. Christ's anticipation of His crucifixion is directed towards posterity and therefore concerns the transformations in ritual and belief surrounding the commemoration of the dead that have come lately to preoccupy historians of the early modern. Peter Marshall has noted that contemporary religious beliefs about the dead associated with the Eucharist enjoyed 'real cultural autonomy, and exercised a genuine causal power'.¹² Though thanatologists and other early modern historians have kept their focus more or less strictly on the dead and the rituals and beliefs surrounding them, the larger cultural consequences of remembrance remain to be explored. Just as Marshall could look back on 'the social history of death' within living memory as 'an undiscovered country' so now with the place of the dead more firmly established, the attendant cultures of remembrance represent a new horizon, encompassing the material means through which this cultural imagination found expression.¹³

One aim of the present project, then, is to voice again the neglected power of the dead in all its cultural richness: to demonstrate the causal role of remembrance in material arts and creativity as a whole; and to suggest that these arts were remembrances made manifest. Beyond the demonstration of this inter-connection between remembrance and cultural production, however, a second aim of the collection is to address an implicit question. As we have seen, remembrance was not a neutral activity in the period. In highlighting the multiple ways in which the contemporary arts were rooted in remembrance, the essays in this volume provide different perspectives upon the extent of religious engagement involved. The studies explore how far a portrait, a bed, or a carefully compiled manuscript might relay the theological and devotional contests of the day, measuring the intensity with which objects of remembrance relayed their devotional messages and the strategies they deployed. These artefacts, then, hold politico-religious meanings which when taken together reveal the extent to which theology, so often seen as an abstraction, found material expression in remembrance.

Contemplating remembrance in terms of materialized theological engagement requires us to scrutinize the place of the secular in early modern society. In allowing different positions on the question to be heard, the volume acknowledges that one of the effects of the Protestant Reformation was, paradoxically, to distance some people from religion. As Patrick Collinson observed, the conflict of the Reformation 'was sufficiently deep-seated and complex to shatter the unity of Western Christendom irreparably because it concerned matters of belief that either were fundamental or were perceived to be fundamental'. The result was the emergence of early modern subjects who, by the later sixteenth century, 'did not know what to believe or, if they did, could not tell when they might be called on

¹² See Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 3, 149.

¹³ Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 1.

to believe contrary things'.¹⁴ Enclosing the phrase 'Protestant Nation' in quotation marks, Ethan Shagan shows how troubled modern understandings of early modern, religious sensibilities have become.¹⁵

Behind the examples of individuals unfastened from the embrace of their religious identities by rapidly changing demands in devotion, lurks the larger question of Weberian *Entzauberung*, variously rendered in English as 'disenchantment' or 'demystification'. Weber's thesis now gets mixed reviews. Many historians today reject or ignore its totalizing aspect, seeking what Shagan calls the Reformations 'on the ground'.¹⁶ Yet for Alexandra Walsham the 'routinisation of charisma' retains its prominence within explanations of the emergence and development of Protestantism. She cites 'the growing systematisation of theology and doctrine, the formalisation of worship, the emergence of a professional trained ministry, and the crystallisation of an ecclesiastical hierarchy', as symptoms of this process, alongside the transition from outdoor prayer and preaching to indoor sermon and service.¹⁷ Her recent *Reformation of the Landscape* represents a major response to Weber's depiction of Protestantism as engine in the historical process of disenchantment. Walsham's study sees the emergence of Protestant folklore rooted in the beliefs and practices of the English countryside 'as one of the keys to its [central theological tenets'] ability to put down deep and permanent roots'.¹⁸ Brad Gregory answers Walsham's appeal for assessments of Weber's thesis that are free both of 'retrospective, mythologizing rhetoric' and associations of 'Protestantism with "progress"', proposing a 'genealogical history' that avoids 'assumptions about historical periodization that ... hamper an adequate understanding of change over time'.¹⁹ In Gregory's sweeping study, demystification is an 'unintended'

¹⁴ Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), p. 219.

¹⁵ *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Ethan Shagan (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005).

¹⁶ Shagan, 'English Catholic History in Context', in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'*, p. 6. Keith Thomas has acknowledged that his groundbreaking study of popular belief, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) was an attempt to illustrate the Weberian thesis of disenchantment. Thomas, 'An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, II', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6:1 (1975), 91–109.

¹⁷ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 313. See also Walsham, 'The Reformation and the Disenchantment of the World Reassessed', *Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), 497–528.

¹⁸ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, & Memory in Early Modern Britain & Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 337.

¹⁹ See Brad S. Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularised Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 3 and (quoting Walsham's 'The Reformation and the 'Disenchantment of the World'), p. 366.

result of the Reformation, the same forces that established a rooted Protestantism producing modern secularity through a series of historical bifurcations. For the history of remembrance, whose symptoms fall within this paradigm of Protestant transformation, the Weberian concept of ‘demystification’ deserves consideration.

Deriving from an Elizabethan book of discipline by the Puritan Walter Travers, the 1644 *Directory for the Public Worship of God* has proved a remarkable document for historians delineating the era’s transformations in burial customs and beliefs about the dead. The second paragraph of the order ‘Concerning Burial of the Dead’ presents a recognizably Protestant rationalization of commemorative burial:

And because the customs of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead Corps, and other usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to Buriall, are Superstitious: and for that, praying, reading, and singing, both in going to, and at the Grave have been grosly abused [and] are in no way beneficiall to the dead ... let all such things be laid aside.²⁰

The passage echoes generations of Protestant attacks on popish ‘superstition’ in general, exemplifying the reformed trend of reclassifying aspects of the sacred – in this case the Catholic belief that prayer for the dead might benefit them – as erroneous. This demystifying statement is framed by the following prescription:

When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of Buriall, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for publike Buriall, and there immediately interred, without any Ceremony.

[...]

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the Christian friends which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for publike Buriall, doe apply themselves to meditations, and conferences suitable to the occasion: and, that the Minister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their Duty.

That this shall not extend to deny any civill respects or differences at the Buriall, suitable to the ranke and condition of the party deceased whiles he was living.²¹

The legal prescription requires ritual practices during funerals: the dead are to be ‘decently attended’ from home to grave and there shall be ‘differences’ at the burial ‘suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased, while he was living’. How far this ritual can be thought of as religious will depend on what one expects of ‘religion’ and, particularly, on how much mystery one expects within it.

²⁰ *A Directory for the Publike Worship of God* (London, 1644), p.73.

²¹ *Directory for Publike Worship*, pp. 73–4.

The *Directory*'s demand that burial take place 'without any ceremony' seems to suggest a fundamental distinction between ritual and ceremony, where ritual, as it is understood here, entails deferential behaviour dependent on 'rank and condition' and the remembrance of 'duty', its basis seeming primarily social. With a formal representative of the faith optional, Geoffrey Rowell therefore called it an 'entirely secular' rite.²² Yet later commentators have been more equivocal. According to Claire Gittings's more cautious reading, the rite is only 'tantamount to secular', indicating that its apparent secularism may spell out not the truth regarding the rite, but rather the relativity of the terms 'religion' and 'secular'.²³ In the *Directory* remembrance has lost the mystique of benefiting the dead: a Eucharistic, as well as Purgatorial, interpretation in view of Christianity's claim to be one living body in Christ, replacing that meaning with the less mystical 'remembrance of ... Duty.' By this definition, religion depends on duty rather than mystery, and in this respect the social emphasis of the *Directory* evidences Protestant transformation rather than secularity. Unsurprisingly, since we are dealing with a historical process, the distinction between continuity and change is not clear even in an example as striking as this: the boundary between 'the religious' and 'the secular' remembrance remains ambiguous.

The textual origin of the *Directory* in Elizabethan Puritanism suggests that the ambiguity over secularity may have emerged as a matter of outlook much earlier than 1644. The present editors therefore maintain that the nature of divergence from religious remembrance may only be decidable on a case-by-case basis. Cases, therefore, form the bedrock of this volume. In the move from grand narratives to specifics we begin with the case of Duke Humfrey, and the imaginative rites that grew up around his tomb: here we find the layered resonances to which ambiguities in remembrance gave birth.

Duke Humfrey's Tomb: Transformations in Remembrance

In the striking title page to Thomas Fuller's *Abel Redevivus, or the Dead Yet Speaking* depicting a monumental tomb constructed out of books, we find an exemplary visual intersection of devotional site, monumental structure, and textual memorial. The image amply illustrates the multiple substitutions and appropriations characteristic of early modern remembrance. The case of Humfrey,

²² Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites*, Alcuin Club Collections, 59 (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1977), p. 83.

²³ Claire Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular: 1558–1660', in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 147–73 (p. 153). For a fascinating treatment of how supposedly unitary early modern religions could in fact be deeply relativistic – albeit primarily focused on Catholic rather than Protestant religion – see Shagan, 'Confronting Compromise: The Schism and Its Legacy in Mid-Tudor England', in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'*, pp. 49–68.

Duke of Gloucester provides us with an opportunity to trace these transformations in remembrance through the discourse and practice of early modern England. Fuller, the reformed historian and biographer, had himself described the Duke's 1447 death while under arrest as having left 'his memory pendulous betwixt *Malefactor* and *Martyr*'.²⁴ In these words Fuller described a space of contestation that marks out the cultural terrain of remembrance in early modern England. His conception of the dead man's memory hovering in the balance in death's immediate aftermath is indebted to the long legacy of remembrance as an instrumental rite.

A little over half a century earlier, Shakespeare took the Duke's death as the event that split apart a troubled commonweal in *Henry VI part 2*, characterizing the divisions of the realm through divergent practices of remembrance. When Warwick reads murder in the body of the deceased, his challenge to Suffolk is: 'I'll cope with thee / And do some service to Duke Humphrey's ghost'.²⁵ The restlessness of Warwick finds its corollary in the dissatisfaction of Gloucester's spirit and Warwick fights under a banner of remembrance in which duty to the dead hangs uncertainly between instrumental service to his soul and defence of his name. Earlier in the scene, Queen Margaret had polarized understanding of remembrance practice. Defending the earl against the accusation of insufficient grief she proclaims the observant conformity of Suffolk who 'most Christian-like laments his death' (3.2.58). Suffolk's modest mourning is placed in opposition to Henry's inappropriate lamentations:

Is all thy comfort shut in Gloucester's tomb?
 Why then Queen Margaret was ne'er thy joy.
 Erect his statue and worship it,
 And make my image but an alehouse sign. (3.2.78–81)

The King, who neglects his living wife to practice an extravagant remembrance of the dead is presented as an idolater. Henry's tomb-side devotions threaten a double error, simultaneously suggesting both the veneration of the saints and the proscribed act of prayer for the dead. But the critique is also aesthetic, extending the contrast in commemorative habits to the richness of memorial art: the 'embodied image of Gloucester' placed in contrast to 'the flat artificiality of the signboard'.²⁶ Shakespeare's staging of division in the body politic thus exploits contemporary anxieties over remembrance to highlight both the affective power invested in the arts of remembrance and their susceptibility to appropriation.

There is a further sense in which Duke Humfrey evokes rites of remembrance. For most early modern Londoners, the memory of Duke Humfrey had a material referent in the tomb situated in that aisle of St Pauls' referred to as Duke Humphrey's Walk.

²⁴ Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain* (London, 1655), p. 185.

²⁵ Shakespeare, *King Henry VI Part II*, ed. by Ronald Knowles (London: Thomson, 1999), 3.2.230–31.

²⁶ Gordon, "'If my sign could speak": The Signboard and the Visual Culture of Early Modern London', *Early Theatre*, 8:1 (2005), 35–51 (p. 44).

From the nostalgic association of the 'Good Duke' with the virtues of hospitality, the monument depicting an armour-clad knight at prayer became a marker to identify the friendless and supper-less left excluded from the city's culture of sociability.²⁷ Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* found himself amongst their number when 'like a careless malcontent that knew not which way to turn' he 'retired me to Paul's to seek my dinner with Duke Humphrey'.²⁸ Pierce's appointment with the old knight so 'long arising' sees him waiting on supper and resurrection in a playful appropriation of remembrance, at the moment when 'dining with Duke Humfrey' becomes common currency. Sir John Harrington goes further in his epigram of a woman who found herself 'by *Duke Humfrey's* Guests so boldly hanted'. In this example the engagement in remembrance of the dead Duke is transformed into an ironic commentary. Duty to the dead and social duty meld in the representation of the hungry gallants who pester the lady, with Harrington using a strategic change in devotional practice to dissuade these 'spirits' from lingering: 'the surest way such Sprites out-casting, / Was to leaue Prayer a while, and fall to Fasting'.²⁹

The meanings accruing to Duke Humfrey provide counterpoint to more earnest duties to the dead. John Stow performs another comic turn in noting that the tomb in question was built to commemorate Sir John Beauchamp so that Duke Humfrey's followers performed a rite of the imagination: 'and therefore such as merily professe themselues to serue Duke Humphrey in Powles, are to bee punished here, and sent to Saint Albons, there to be punished againe, for theyr absence from theyr Maister, as they call him'.³⁰ Stow's comic correction is twofold. It is part of his wider commitment to constructing a written record that might stand in for a material fabric of remembrance under threat from iconoclasm.³¹ It also redirects these duties to the dead towards their rightful place.

Re-shaping London in his expanded edition of the *Survey*, Anthony Munday vastly extended the compass of the text as remembrance and where Stow wrote in a marginalizing vein of Duke Humfrey's servants, his successor's commentary on the 'mis-tearmed' tomb incorporates the extraordinary Mayday rites that evolved at the site.

²⁷ On the emergent culture of sociability see Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

²⁸ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil in The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, ed. by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 58.

²⁹ *Alcilia Philoparthen's louing folly. To which is added Pigmaliions image. With the loue of Amos and Laura. And also epigrammes by Sir I.H. and others* (London, 1613), sig. M3^r.

³⁰ Stow, *Survey of London* (London, 1598), p. 272.

³¹ See Ian Archer, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576–1649*, ed. by D. Smith, R. Strier & D. Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 17–34; Manley 'Of Sites and Rites', in Smith et al., *The Theatrical City*, pp. 35–54 and Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, pp. 110–54.

Tankard-bearers, Watermen, and some other of the like qualitie beside, would use to come to the same Tombe early in the morning, and (according as the other) haue deliuered seruiceable presentation at the same Monument, by strewing hearbes, and sprinkling faire water on it, as in the dutie of seruants, and according to their degrees and charges in Office.³²

The ceremony, in conjunction with a ceremonial breakfast ‘upon Saint Andrewes day’, creates a rite of fellowship out of exclusion. In doing so Munday deploys the language of service and so plays down any association with discarded religious practice. The contrast with Shakespeare here is striking. Where Warwick’s offer of ‘some service to Duke Humfrey’s ghost’ speaks to a popular sense that revenge might perform duty to the dead, Munday re-describes the tomb-side antics to construe service as a feature of social relations.³³ Nevertheless, in the ritualized vexing of the dead Duke Humfrey, remembrance remains inescapable.

Thus the case of Duke Humfrey illustrates the richly layered resonances of the culture of remembrance in early modern England. Drawing upon a contested monumental artefact located within an over-determined site, itself inscribed with the patterns and vestiges of adjustment in remembrance, it speaks to the prominence of the materials of remembrance within early modern culture. From Harrington’s wit to Stow’s imagined translation of ritual to St Albans, we witness the rehearsal of remembrance in textual rites. In the Mayday and St Andrew’s Day festivities, we glimpse the potential of remembrance as performance. These three fields – Material, Textual, and Performative – correspond to the tripartite organization of the essays that follow.

The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England begins with a section devoted to the Materials of Remembrance. Lucy Wooding’s opening chapter on remembrance in the materials of the Eucharist addresses theological history directly. Defying the absoluteness of categories such as ‘medieval’ and ‘Renaissance’ (and even ‘post-Reformation’) which have impeded full discussions of religion’s role in early modern creativity, Wooding’s ‘Remembrance in the Eucharist’ observes the integral relationship between remembrance of the dead and in the Eucharist as early modern rites of fellowship. She shows that although remembrance of the dead fragmented in the sixteenth century, and the meaning of the materials of the Eucharist changed, the rites of friendship could not disappear. ‘Charity ... sounded an important note of continuity with the past’ (p. 33). Although the marks of demystification brought forward in this Introduction are also present in Wooding in the rejection of priests at funerals of the ‘Admonition to the Parliament’ of 1572; in transformation of people’s ‘prayers for their deliverance’ to ‘prayers of gratitude’ (p. 28); and in the removal of the benefits of the Eucharist not only from

³² Stow, revised Munday, *The Survey of London* (London, 1618), p. 642.

³³ For discussion of feuding as ‘the principal framework for all social relationships’ see Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 106. For discussion of this point in relation to remembrance see Thomas Rist, *Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration*, p. 41.

the dead but also from many of the living, the post-Reformation church 'had still to deal with the longing of ordinary people to remember their dead' (p. 36).

The need to remember their dead through contrasting strategies forms the subject of the three other essays in the section. Robert Tittler examines an art which flourished as a form of commemoration well beyond the aristocracy in the wake of dwindling opportunities for remembrance in a sacred setting. Tittler shows the casual impact of reform upon portraiture among Protestant and Catholic alike whose portraits 'did not necessarily differ from each other in content, but [...] generally addressed more secular concerns than earlier' (p. 47). Tittler stresses the importance of a portrait's placement to its meaning and capacity to attract viewers, an idea developed in Tara Hamling's essay. Her study of domestic interiors finds in the use of decoration, the commission of monumental items of furniture and the detailed prescriptions for the situating of such items in perpetuity, that early modern householders 'ensured the continued social presence of deceased ancestors within the very spaces they once occupied' (p. 74). In the wake of Reformation, the expanding investment in domestic remembrance 'may express a sense of insecurity surrounding inheritance; an attempt to concretize in bulky material form a fragile social reality' (p. 70). In the domestic setting items of furniture might themselves be invested with a significance deriving from 'the function of the object in accommodating rites of passage' (p. 78) and in this way both the objects and 'a building [...] itself' can be 'understood as a figure for a family line' (p. 83).

Familial 'Lines of Descent' are the focus of Oliver Harris's essay, but in such an extravagant case as Lord Lumley's it becomes clear that 'genealogical obsessions were shaped in part by his Catholicism' (p. 91). Recalling Hamling's discussion of recusancy and unenthusiastic Protestantism in the family of Edward Norris (p. 74), however, Harris observes that an interest in monumental displays of lineage was not confined to any one confessional grouping. Tittler, Hamling, and Harris thus draw their examples from a range of religious identities, finding continuities as well as disjunctions in the modes of material remembrance. The under-explored vehicles of material remembrance studied by these three scholars demonstrate the care and creativity invested in surroundings not confined to the precincts of the parish church.

The second section of the collection is devoted to 'Textual Rites', and commences with Thomas Rist's essay investigating the 'poetic materials' of George Herbert. The focus on architectural features such as the church porch, the altar, church monuments, and a remarkable array of other materials of churchly remembrance, makes Herbert a poet uniting religious remembrances with literary creativity *par excellence*. But Herbert does not just exemplify the arts of remembrance in intimate relation. Rist shows that Herbert's preoccupation with churchly remembrance is also a response to the religious differences such materials elicited in the period. Herbert's work exemplifies the claim that the arts of remembrance expressed the contemporary religious contests and reveals Herbert as a poet who documents those contests with affecting precision.

The focus upon textualization of church materials in Rist's piece is balanced by an emphasis on the materiality of manuscripts as objects of remembrance in Marie-Louise Coolahan's essay. Coolahan shows how the material remembrance of four female writers was constructed by their widowers. The labour of these men in curating the literary remains of their spouses, is licensed by a strong sense of the devotional roles to which both the lives and the texts of these women should conform. The collaboration of writer and widower in constructing these posthumous memories provides a striking illustration of remembrance as a series of ongoing practices, part of a present goal within daily life. By contrast, the textual rites explored in Tom Healy's essay see John Foxe's monumental history not as a reflector of contemporary material debates as in Herbert, nor as the creative interplay of author and curator, but as the instigator of a Protestant view of history understood as *historia*: 'an unfolding narrative that corresponds to the binary division displayed in the frontispiece: true believers – the godly elect – will be saved; false ones will be damned' (p. 125). This broad brush Protestant remembrance that Healy aligns with the devotional direction of the *Book of Common Prayer*, also expresses the Ciceronian view of history as a branch of rhetoric. In this view history depends 'as much on its presentational language as on its [...] content' (pp. 129–30), suggesting that Renaissance humanism was another transformative influence upon religious acts of remembrance. A contrasting martyrology invested with rival politico-religious agendas can be found in Gerard Kilroy's study of Edmund Campion's contested memory. The execution of Campion and its aftermath provide the 'supreme example' (p. 141) of remembrance of the dead in the form of political contest. Harnessing the technologies of print and plate, the Elizabethan regime and its Catholic opponents do battle over the legitimacy of Campion's execution for treason, in a piece of 'state theatre' incurring the 'silent resentment of an audience' (p. 146) that extended across confessional lines.

Our third and final section turns to 'Theatres of Remembrance'. Philip Schwyer's essay opens the section with a study of the 'radical re-enactments' in Shakespeare's drama which exemplify a desire to recover and re-embodiment the past that is 'quintessentially early modern' (p. 193). He examines the conjunction of memorial modes in stagings of *Richard III* and *All is True* in which 'the active commemoration of the past through performance' plays against 'the passive memory imagined to be latent in the land itself' (p. 180). The overlaying of memorial meaning in theatrical performance is also the focus of Janette Dillon's essay, which traces the visual referencing of theatrical scenes across the playhouse repertoire. She charts the relationships between Jonson's *Volpone*, Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and the figure of Avarice of the medieval moralities, before considering the awakening scene of *The Winter's Tale* and its seeming parody in Jonson's *The Alchemist*. As Dillon observes, such early modern theatrical iconicity could not avoid the conflicts over imagery – especially the imagery that was religiously suggestive – of the era: 'For an audience that has moved from a unitary Christianity to become part of a church bitterly divided against itself, the icon no longer speaks with a single voice' and the collective

memory of theatre 'shares an understanding of what the image stands for, at the same time as splintering in response to it' (p. 199). Thus theatre is deeply responsive to the contemporary conflicts over remembrance, Dillon drawing to a close with the note that the 'chapel' and the theatre of *The Winter's Tale* are one and the same. Rory Loughnane's contribution uses the material construction of Webster's dumb-show in *The Duchess of Malfi* to explore the 'practice of remembrance as representation' (p. 217) that provoked such theological controversy in the period. His essay highlights Webster's strikingly self-conscious act of representation, where the audience realize it has been duped into accepting counterfeit bodies of remembrance, unleashing a confusion of dramatic modes. Concluding the section and the collection as a whole, Andrew Gordon's essay sets out to plot the 'shifting comic coordinates of the afterlife within early modern theatrical culture' (p. 230). Examining comic strategies for the representation of Purgatory and its erstwhile inhabitants, he traces the negotiation of orthodox and popular beliefs about the dead. In the process Gordon reveals the rich accretion of meaning in the figure of the comic ghost, whose liminality beyond the grave is re-inscribed with the theatrical liminality of the clown figure. Tracing transformations in the culture of clowning from Tarlton's Queen's Men through to the children's companies at the turn of the seventeenth century, Gordon showcases the material investments of comedy in the representation of the dead, reaffirming the central contention of this collection: that the contested cultural inheritance of the early modern period found no more powerful expression than in the rich flowering of the arts of remembrance.