The Antiquarian Mode:
English Literature & The Tropics of Antiquarianism, 1600-1660

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INTRODUCTION

There is a delicate form of the empirical which identifies itself so intimately with its object that it thereby becomes theory.[1]

— Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

…genre is much less of a pigeonhole than a pigeon.[2]

— Alastair Fowler

This dissertation advances a new interpretation of antiquarian writing in seventeenth-century England. More precisely, it finds in early modern antiquarianism a mode of literary expression that is analogical, imaginative, and rhetorically varied. I arrange the dissertation in three parts, with each part describing a form, trope, or feature that recurs in antiquarian writing of the period (*fragment*, Chapter 1; *facsimile*, Chapter 2; *symptom/sign*, Chapter 3). This list of figures (by no means exhaustive) adumbrates a category and posture of literary imagination endemic, if not unique to the seventeenth century: 'the antiquarian mode'.

I make two primary arguments. First, that seventeenth-century antiquaries were the first to treat their discipline as a definable field of inquiry complete with instruments of thought, writerly tools, and appointed objects. My second and related argument

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[1] "Es gibt eine zarte Empirie, die sich mit dem Gegenstand innigst identisch macht und dadurch zur eigentlichen Theorie wird." From *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, Chapter 43. See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, The Essential Goethe (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 1002. Translation from John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 28.
[2] Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 36.

concerns the product of this disciplinary consolidation: by the end of the seventeenth century, antiquarianism formed a branch of learning with a discrete toolkit of writerly figures, forms, and tropes; these are the objects my project studies.

Scholars have lingered over the antiquaries' methodological innovations at the expense of the texts they produced. Peter N. Miller, Angus Vine, and Graham Parry, for instance, have described the techniques of observation, gathering, and historiography that informed antiquarianism in the early modern period.[3] In doing so, most of these scholars situate antiquarianism on an evolutionary line or disciplinary arc that ends with modern archaeology and artifactual methods familiar to modern historians. This approach sustains a way of looking at antiquarian writing that begins with Arnaldo Momigliano's article, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian" (1950). In Momigliano's view, "the Age of the Antiquaries meant a revolution in historical method" that privileged realia and unlettered evidence.[4] Miller (2007, 2015), Ann Blair (2011), Parry (1995), Anthony Grafton (2004, 2011), and Noah Herringman (2013) have nuanced and extended Momigliano's thesis, marking antiquarianism as a necessary thread in cultural studies and demonstrating what Momigliano only posited: antiquarianism gradually supplanted history, furcating and splintering into a disciplinary patchwork of cultural and material studies: anthropology, philology, archaeology, and art history. The work of these scholars

[3] For an excellent and thorough overview of recent work on early modern antiquarianism see Percy Jackson Williams, "Antiquarianism: A Reinterpretation," *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 2, no. 1 (December 10, 2017): 56–96, https://doi.org/10.1163/24055069-00201002.
[4] This antiquarian evidence includes, according to Momigliano, "eye-witnesses, documents, and other material remains […] contemporary with the events which they attest." Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 286.

exempts mine from rehearsing what's already known; antiquarianism finally needs no apology.

For all its strengths, though, this account is incomplete: it disregards individual expressions of antiquarian thought in search of a disciplinary teleology. As one scholar remarked recently, the seventeenth century witnessed "antiquarianism's transformation into the discipline of history,"[5] while Peter Burke has claimed that "it is impossible and indeed undesirable to disentangle the history of the early modern antiquarian movement from the history of archaeology."[6] This is not a misreading as such, but more accurately an under-reading. I want to discern and unpack the discipline of antiquarianism in its moment of vibrancy and to describe its generic markers, tropes, and strategies. Where these scholars—largely historians—see epistemic history and the emergence of modern historiography, I see thingy emblems, allegory, and unmilled literary grist. There is much to be gained by looking at antiquarian texts through the crown glass of literary and rhetorical analysis. My dissertation therefore proposes a return to three points of a familiar triangle: author, object, text. It seeks to reclaim writings often viewed as exclusively historical, empiricist, or 'merely' antiquarian as literary and imaginative.

While early modern antiquarianism did create a methodological leap in historical scholarship, its inbuilt craft has been left veiled; its *ars* or *techne*—terms denoting the skills, practices, and technologies unique to a field—remains unexamined. Elizabeth Yale and Richard Yeo have recently attended to the material and collaborative contexts in

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[5] William Engel, Rory Loughnane, Grant Williams, eds., *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 13.
[6] Peter Burke, "Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 274.

which antiquaries worked. While Yeo focuses on empirical literature, Yale is more willing to cross disciplinary bounds, observing that antiquaries attempted to meet the Baconian standards of their scientific peers by adhering to "matters of fact."[7] While Yale's case studies are far reaching, they nevertheless seem to conflate antiquarianism and empiricism, exchanging Peter Burke's archaeological 'entanglement' for a hybrid of another kind. My work interrogates the terms of this account and presses on its conclusions: how can inscrutable fragments of history—potsherds, rusted coins, false etymologies, and customs—qualify as empirical 'matters of fact' if their origin and meaning are indeterminate and subject to dispute? Apart from their weighty presence and facticity, if antiquarian objects are treated as 'factual'—that is, solid and obdurate in meaning—their interpretation inevitably falters, vacillates, and resolves in doubt. Empiricism seems entirely indifferent to the aims of antiquarian writing, which is more attuned to uncertainty, speculation, and metonymy. So, while antiquaries no doubt acknowledged, borrowed, and modified the methods and commitments of their empiricist peers, I argue that antiquarianism's rhetorical exploration of multiple meanings simultaneously, not its claim for fact or truth, makes it compelling and rich.

Scholars have similarly attended to the imaginative dimensions of the kind of artifactual encounter that guided the antiquaries' writing. Angus Vine has echoed one of my premises, writing that "antiquarian writing [is] inventive and in its own terms imaginative."[8] Addressing the work of later antiquaries, Rosemary Sweet discerns the

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[7] Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 15.
[8] Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 16.

influence of antiquarian writing on the eighteenth-century literary imagination, and more recently, Crystal B. Lake proposes that artifacts and antiquities convey a special rhetorical force and suggests that artifacts be "reconsidered not for their failures to disclose matters of fact or convincing interpretations, but for their affordances."[9] Lake argues further that "artifacts' materiality afforded multiple and competing interpretations", which prompt a kind of creative work.[10] In seeking to attend to tropes, figures, and objects instead of historiographical methods, this dissertation not only joins in the work of these scholars but also calls upon recent work by thing theorists: "The object is a dark crystal veiled in a private vacuum," Graham Harman writes.[11]

As Lake and Harman both suggest, objects require a collaborative engagement with humans to resonate. As objects are encountered, they recede, leaving their qualities to be performed by human interlocutors in a compelling summons that is neither reducible to the object's effects nor its molecular composition. Like the antiquarian encounter depicted in the 1567 emblem titled "studium antiquitates" (the study of antiquity), the antiquaries' quarry frequently offered only a blank stare. What strikes me most about this image is the enthralling gaze of the dismembered head—the antiquity itself—and the discoverer's fixed stance of inspection. He is caught mid-step by the

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[9] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004); Crystal B. Lake, *Artifacts: How We Think and Write about Found Objects* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), 68.
[10] Lake, *Artifacts: How We Think and Write about Found Objects*, 69.
[11] Graham Harman, *The Quadruple Object* (New York: Zero Books), 47.

artifact's affect; antiquity and antiquary are bound in a dialogue between present and past.[12]

Figure 1. "Studium Antiquitates." Courtesy of the *Emblematica Online Digital Collection* and The University of Glasgow.

My dissertation examines these kinds of encounter and tests Lake's and Harman's ideas by asking, 'what if some of the qualities of a given object are uncertainty, opacity, vagueness?'—much like, for example, antique objects and anthropological curios: urns, potsherds, ruins, rusting blades. I also ask, 'how is absence, disintegration, and material aporia performed?' What antiquarian prose does, I suggest, is to perform the opacity of these objects, to make sense of their silence, and thereby recover—at least in part—something of the past in the light of the present.

My claim for this affinity between object-oriented ontology and early modern antiquarianism arises from a basic observation: antiquaries and antiquarian texts are

[12] Printed in Joannes Sambucus, *Les emblemes* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1567). "Antiquitatis studium," *Emblematica Online* http://hdl.handle.net/10111/EmblemRegistry:E028812.

uniquely attentive to the agency of artifacts—as Ben Jonson had it, antiquaries evince a remarkable 'faith in things.'[13] Antiquities and objects alike—urns, books, chairs, shoes, artworks—bear witness to moments that prove obstinately inaccessible. Objects become collaborators of last resort, *aides-memoire* void of memory, that nevertheless assisted my dissertation's subjects in penning their works. I examine how early moderns adapted and adopted specific tropes and descriptive genres to write about these objects in order to evoke the past, to curb material absence, and to fill in history's troubling erasures.

MODE & MOOD

I use the word *mode* to describe my project because it is more expansive than *genre* and more precise than *method*; while antiquarianism could be said to form a distinct *genre*, or kind of writing, *mode* charts a field that stubbornly eludes generic labelling. Antiquarian writings, then (diverse in genre, discipline, and tone), share a modal repertory: *fragment, synecdoche, facsimile, sign*. It is this repertory of figures, tropes, themes, and forms, that my dissertation seeks to restore to view. My use of the word *mode* also communicates a cultural ambiance that pervaded England's most antiquarian century: modes are always in the air before they condense into visibility.

To speak of literary history in terms of modes and moods is not new: Earl Miner found in seventeenth-century English poetry evidence of three distinct modes;[14] modal

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[13] See Ben Jonson, "To William Camden," and "An Epistle to Master John Selden," in *The Complete Poems*, ed. George Parfitt (New York: Penguin, 1996), 39, 147.
[14] Earl Miner, *The Metaphysical Mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), *The Cavalier Mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), and *The Restoration Mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

analysis informs Daniel Shore's recent writing on early modern linguistic forms;[15] Claire Preston has characterized early modern scientific investigation as a literary mode with its own poetics;[16] and the work of Alastair Fowler and Barbara Lewalski continues to animate scholarly consensus on the importance of genre in Renaissance literary history.[17] In the mold of these writers, I argue that the antiquarian mode offers features and generic markers that can be named and studied; and by doing so I seek to both refine our understanding of early modern England's literary engagement with the past and to offer up new templates and vocabularies with which to discern antiquarian themes and images across disciplines: from art history to the history of science, the antiquarian mode manifests broadly in the early modern period.

Despite their desultory tendencies, there is nothing hazy about modes. And yet 'mode,' cognate with 'mood', nevertheless evokes a kind of haziness involving affect, feeling, and idiosyncrasy: the antiquarian mode can modulate into different keys. The antiquarian mode, for instance, might be said to be nostalgic in mood, though this should not (as I argue below) imply a kind of doting affect among antiquaries. While not of primary importance to this dissertation, the affective dimensions of antiquarian writing in the period link my project with recent work studying the emotional worlds of Renaissance literature. David Carroll Simon, for instance, recently recasts early modern

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[15] Daniel Shore, *Cyberformalism: Histories of Linguistic Forms in the Digital Archive* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018).
[16] Claire Preston, *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[17] Barbara Lewalski, ed. *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1986); Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

science under the heading of affect and 'mood', finding in early modern scientific culture not a set of investigational methods, objects, and empirical tools, but an attitude, feeling, or stance that "signals an absence of eager expectancy."[18] The same kind of imaginative and empirical lassitude arguably informs works by the authors I study here. As Alastair Fowler reminds us, though, literary modes "are more than vague intimations of 'mood.'" Instead, "a mode announces itself by distinct signals, even if these are abbreviated, unobtrusive, or below the threshold of modern attention." These furtive 'signals', Fowler adds, "may be of a wide variety: a characteristic motif, perhaps; a formula; a rhetorical proportion or quality."[19] Modes, in other words, are always repertorial and rhetorically abundant: their attributes work singly or in unison to signal the mode to which a particular work belongs. It is the aim of this dissertation to detect some of these features and signals characteristic of what I call the antiquarian mode.[20]

This dissertation is divided into three parts, with each part comprising a study of one of the antiquarian mode's forms or tropes: fragment, facsimile, symptom. This project therefore reduces antiquarianism into a modal repertory, comprising an object (fragment), a tool (facsimile), and a method (symptom reading, or semiology). My first chapter charts the concept of *fragment* in the period and traces its contingent careers

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[18] David Carroll Simon, *Light without Heat: The Observational Mood from Bacon to Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 1-2; Lorrain Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, "Introduction: Observation Observed," in *Histories of Scientific Observation,* ed. Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); "The Passions of Inquiry," in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 303-28.

[19] Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature,* 107.

[20] My invention of a new seventeenth-century mode is excused, in part, by Alastair Fowler's observation that "[n]ot all modes, in fact, have been named or even recognized." See *Kinds of Literature*, 109.

(relic, ruin, remains) across the seventeenth century. This chapter proposes a new reading of Francis Bacon's often-quoted definition of 'antiquities' in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605). In particular, I argue that fragments were for early moderns more evocative than entire objects: a complete artifact is encased in its own totality, mute to inquiry and inspection. Fragments on the other hand offer blanks to fill and opportunities for thingy dialogue. This was synecdoche in the antiquarian mode, a process (and rhetorical device) by which the fragmented past was made to imply, enliven, or evoke an absent whole. This synecdochic view of antiquarian practice works against recent scholarship that equates antiquarianism with historical reconstruction—a collaborative enterprise designed "to put it all back together again," Peter N. Miller writes.[21] Fragments (potsherds, aphorisms, etymologies, rusted coins), rather than signaling epistemological failure or prompting benighted attempts at material reassembly, invited antiquaries to infer and invent. From gathered parts, antiquaries inferred the whole, more like a Rorschach than a jigsaw. This chapter is premised on the idea that fragments are somehow more effective, more evocative in writing about the past. As Erin L. Thompson has recently observed, "antiquity can be more useful as a fragment than as a whole"—antiquarianism is therefore history, but with some assembly required.[22]

Though often material and embodied, fragments might also be formless and furtive—barely perceptible, though everywhere apparent. Customs, for instance, fascinated antiquaries in the period. While customs are self-evident, they function like

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[21] Peter N. Miller, *History and Its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 9.
[22] Erin Thompson, *Possession: The Curious History of Private Collectors from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 26.

fragments in being broken off from their origins. Graham Parry writes that "custom preserved the shriveled remains of ancient beliefs, and was a clue to the habits of mind of long-vanished generations."[23] I use the term *fragment*, then, as both a concept noun and concrete noun: etymologies, artifacts, memories, physiognomies are all kinds of fragment in the antiquarian mode. Finally, I argue that in writing about fragments, antiquaries frequently wrote *in* fragments, resorting to aphorism, notes, and brief observational genres to describe the fragmented remains they gathered and examined. Seventeenth-century England's best example of this formal tic is likely William Camden's *Remains*, a hodgepodge of antiquarian evidence whose piecemeal format reflects the fragmentary status of its contents. My first chapter ends with a revisionary account of Camden's vernacular treatment of fragmented antiquities and proposes a newly expansive view of its influence.

My second chapter turns from fragments, artifacts, and aphorisms to antiquarian images. In the antiquaries' propensity to record, represent, and reproduce historical artifacts in print, I find the origin of scholarly facsimiles: exact copies of artifacts intended to remediate and preserve tenuous historical evidence. The antiquaries' impulse to preserve often relied on printed reproductions; in consequence, accuracy in typographic representation became fundamental to the antiquarian mode, and the facsimile its defining visual form. This chapter is based on an extended examination of two documents: the first, William Camden's unpublished treatise *On Printing*—extant in a single copy at the British Library—theorizes the preservative function of the press ('As

[23] Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12.

gunnes were invented to destruction so shortly after was the Arte of printinge found to [...] conservation,' Camden writes);[24] the second, John Selden's printed collection of epigraphic facsimiles, *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628), provides a fascinating case study in how and why antiquarian facsimiles were made, used, and shared in the period.

My third chapter examines the antiquarian mode's debt to early modern medical practice and symptom theory. In 1658, sorting through a pile of ancient ash and bone, Sir Thomas Browne demonstrated the disciplinary hybridity of antiquarian writing in the period: "But from exility of bones, thinnesse of skulls, smallnesse of teeth, ribbes, and thigh-bones," Browne writes, "not improbably that many thereof were persons of minor age, or women." Browne performs an autoptic *post*-postmortem, weighing and scrutinizing artifacts, residua, effluents, and symptomatic objects long hidden under turf and within ceramic tombs. This passage, from Browne's antiquarian threnody in the form of a treatise, *Urne-Buriall,* moves from the medical and anatomical to the curatorial and archaeological: artifactual things gradually replace bodies and bones in Browne's empirical attentions. Fifty years before, in his *Britannia*, William Camden observed that the antiquary's reliance on conjecture resembled the physician's reliance on symptoms in making a diagnosis. A physician-antiquary, Browne no doubt appreciated this similarity in medical and antiquarian practice and, in *Urne-Buriall,* exploits it to summon long-dead individuals for whom ashen scraps metonymically stand-in. In effecting a kind of forensic ecphrasis, Browne adopts the genre of anatomy and the language and habits of semiology—the interpretation of symptoms and signs—to speculate about his evidence.

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[24] British Library, Cotton MS Julius F. XI, ff. 306v-7r; see Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450-1700 *CmW 101.

This final chapter builds on writing by Carlo Ginzburg and Peter Burke, who have observed that the seventeenth century witnessed the formation of a new 'semiotic or presumptive' paradigm.[25] As Ian Mclean further relates, this early modern interest in semiotics owed as much to the period's reformation of medical practice and training as it did to classical sign theory. Aristotle introduced the term 'sēmeion' in *Prior analytics,* defining it as "[t]hat which coexists with something else, or before or after whose happening something else has happened."[26] For Browne and his antiquarian contemporaries, then, symptoms could be more than medical data. To the contrary, early modern antiquaries drew on a roster of classical authorities who proposed that signs and symptoms operated in other evidentiary contexts, too. Closing the dissertation's circle, the third chapter observes that symptoms and signs come to resemble the conjecture-inducing fragments I examine in my first chapter. As Aristotle suggested, "a sign may produce either opinion or full knowledge; the best kind of sign is one that produces knowledge, but one that causes an extremely probable opinion is the second-best kind."[27]

One final comment to head off any misapprehensions: this dissertation is not intended to be a survey of antiquarian writing in seventeenth-century England—a task ably done by David C. Douglas in *English Scholars* (1939) and, more recently, Graham Parry in *The Trophies of Time* (2007). Rather, my project is procedurally selective.

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[25] See Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in *Myths, Emblems, Clues* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 87-113; and Peter Burke, "Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 273–96.

[26] Quoted in Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 149.

[27] From Aristotle, *Rhetoric to Alexander*, xii (1430 b 30ff.) Quoted in Maclean, 152.

Whereas a survey might argue that antiquarianism constitutes a genre or class of literature populated by individual authors and works, I instead let fall exploratory plumb-lines into individual texts to discern a new literary mode and world. This approach is aimed at making the features of the antiquarian mode newly discernible and legible across disciplinary and generic bounds.

CHAPTER 1
Fragments: Synecdoche and the Antiquarian Mode

In Book Two of *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) Francis Bacon defines 'antiquities' with a catalog of broken objects and fractured records:

> ANTIQVITIES, or Remnants of History, are, as was said, *tanquam Tabula Naufragii* [like planks from a shipwreck], when industrious persons by an exact and scrupulous diligence and obseruation, out of Monuments, Names, Wordes, Prouerbes, Traditions, Priuate Recordes, and Euidences, Fragments of stories, Passages of Bookes, that concerne not storie, and the like, doe saue and recouer somewhat from the deluge of time.[28]

According to Bacon, passages, words, proverbs, names, and monuments (all fragments of a kind) constitute antiquity and guide the strategies of its study. In nominating the fragment as the antiquary's proper emblem and object, Bacon articulates antiquity's affiliation with brokenness in the period and sets the antiquarian mode on its wending way, both across the seventeenth century and through this dissertation. The most striking feature of Bacon's antiquarian inventory is perhaps its interest in word-bearing and legible things; where we might expect obscure artifacts and stony monuments, we find worded missives sent to us from the past: 'recordes', 'wordes', and 'stories' all convey written evidence of different lengths and genres. Bacon also suggests that to 'read'

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[28] *The Oxford Francis Bacon (OFB) IV: The Advancement of Learning,* Michael Kiernan, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 66 [2C3^{r}]. The source of Bacon's metaphor for antiquarian research (gathering flotsam scattered by shipwreck) was identified recently by Riccardo Fubini as Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata.* See Riccardo Fubini, *Storiografia dell'Umanesimo in Italia da Leonardo Bruno ad Annio da Viterbo* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2003), 47-8. See also Anthony Grafton, *Worlds Made by Words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 137.

antiquities is an act akin to reading a text, though one often ciphered in material hieroglyphs and artifactual characters.

This chapter argues that Bacon's list of antiquities demarcates a material corpus upon which antiquaries worked their distinctive hermeneutic, and that this list invites us in turn to view antiquarianism as literary. From 'out' of fragments, Bacon suggests, antiquaries spun and read a partially remediated past. But I begin with Bacon's plural noun 'antiquities' because its inclusion in *The Advancement of Learning* (a work Bacon likened to a 'small Globe of the Intellectuall world') demonstrates antiquarianism's place in the period; certainly, its role as a discrete discipline in Bacon's encyclopedia lends it an unlooked-for status and even suggests that "Antiquities, or Remnants of History" assisted in Bacon's touted "progression and proficience" of knowledge. Bacon's program of empiric enlightenment, I argue, seems to enlist rather than belittle antiquaries and their recuperative methods.[29] This favorable reading of Bacon's definition of antiquities is at odds with its reception, however: Bacon's words are usually interpreted as polemic, pitting antiquaries against empiricists, and 'antiquities' against natural phenomena and "Matters Mechanicall."[30] But Bacon's effusive catalog of antiquarian objects—requiring

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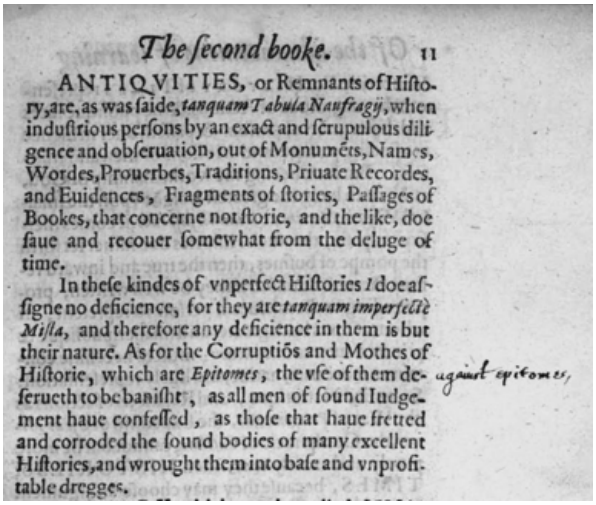
[29] *OFB IV*, 56 [2A2^{r}]. This follows a line of argument first articulated by Stan A.E. Mendyk in *'Speculum Britanniae': Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), xii-xiii: "Baconianism, as a philosophy of science, if not as a science in its own right, had a pronounced effect on many British scholars before 1700, who recognized its contribution to human knowledge as a whole, and, arguably, to the scientific branch of that knowledge…Although Bacon envisioned one all-inclusive indivisible sphere of knowledge, paradoxically his followers, while easily passing from one field of interest to another, began to lay the basis for the subdivisions of scientific subject matter that evolved into our own."

[30] *OFB IV*, 64 [2C1^{v}]. Bacon's epistemology links the more conventional 'natural history' with 'history of nature wrought, or mechanicall,' an obscure designation perhaps best understood by its nearest modern analog: technology. Like Nature, Bacon believed technology had a history of its own, yet to be written.

"exact," "scrupulous," "diligent," and "industrious" work—smacks more of praise than of blame. This reading is endorsed marginally by at least one of Bacon's early readers (fig. 1.1): Bacon is "against epitomes", this reader records, but the bearer of the same pen apparently did not interpret Bacon's 'antiquities' as a moment of censure 'against antiquaries.'[31]


The ſecond booke. 11

ANTIQVITIES, or Remnants of Hiſtory, are, as was ſaide, *tanquam Tabula Naufragij*, when induſtrious perſons by an exact and ſcrupulous diligence and obſeruation, out of Monumẽts, Names, Wordes, Prouerbes, Traditions, Priuate Recordes, and Euidences, Fragments of ſtories, Paſſages of Bookes, that concerne not ſtorie, and the like, doe ſaue and recouer ſomewhat from the deluge of time.

In theſe kindes of vnperfect Hiſtories I doe aſſigne no deficience, for they are *tanquam imperfectè miſſa*, and therefore any deficience in them is but their nature. As for the Corruptiõs and Mothes of Hiſtorie, which are *Epitomes*, the vſe of them deſerueth to be baniſht, as all men of ſound Iudgement haue confeſſed, as thoſe that haue fretted and corroded the ſound bodies of many excellent Hiſtories, and wrought them into baſe and vnprofitable dregges.

against epitomes,

Figure 1.1. "Against epitomes." Courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10776285

[31] *The Advancement of Learning* is an early version of Bacon's first part of his six-part *Instauration*, described first in 1620 in the *Distributio Operis* printed with the preliminaries of the *Novum Organon*. This encyclopedic first part, "displays the sum or universal description of the knowledge or learning which the human race at present possesses. For it seemed to me that I should spend some time too on received ideas, with the intention of more readily perfecting the old and more easily gaining access to the new. For I am almost as keen to improve on the old as to acquire the new…I will undertake not only to survey these territories in my mind as seers do when consulting the omens, but enter them as generals do when bent on annexing them." *OFB* XI, 27-28 [B2^{r-v}]. Bacon attempted a more capacious 'survey' in the *Descriptio globi intellectualis,* itself a revision and expansion of the *Advancement's* 1623 Latin translation, *De Augmentis Scientiarum,* but failed to complete it. It was published in fragments after his death. Besides the redundancy in content among these three works, their shared purpose is revealed in Bacon's terminal description of the *Advancement of Learning,* "Thus haue I made as it were a small Globe of the Intellectuall world" *OFB* XI, 192 [3H1^{r}].

This should not surprise us: Bacon's 'Remnants' reflect a form of inductive, digressive and *de*gressive gathering of minor evidence that he advocates and belabors elsewhere: "meane and small things discouer great, better than great can discouer small."[32] The collection and observation of particulars, Bacon often argued, is the empirical hook from which theory and conclusions depend: *Maxima è Minimis suspendens.* Later, in contrasting 'perfect' or narrative histories with 'defaced' histories (a category that includes antiquities according to Bacon's synoptic and emanating table of knowledge), Bacon chides historians for their tendency to overlook minor but essential detail: they "passeth ouer in silence the smaller passages and Motions of men and Matters" and thus obscure when they should instruct.[33] Bacon evidently found value in small, ostensibly inconsequential detail, and his censure of aggrandizing, large-scale historiography implies an endorsement of the antiquaries' regard for obscure signs and fragments. Surprisingly, Daniel Woolf reads Bacon's critique of narrative historiography as an endorsement, and finds positive valences in Bacon's 'perfect': "Bacon […] depicted the antiquary as a lesser servant of Clio," Woolf writes, "whose main function was to gather materials for the true historian to synthesize."[34] Woolf further suggests that Bacon's adjective 'perfect' is synonymous with the value-laden 'true'. Apart from Woolf's etymological error, I argue that this reading obscures the complexity of Bacon's—and for that matter his period's—view of antiquarianism and reduces it to a kind of disciplinary rival of 'true' history.

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[32] *OFB IV,* 64 [2C1^{v}].
[33] *OFB IV*, 66 [2C3^{r}]. See Mendyck, *Speculum Britanniae,* xiii.
[34] Daniel Woolf, "Images of the Antiquary", in Susan M. Pearce, ed., *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 16.

Bacon's suggestion that history's 'remnants' invite or even compel 'observation' further links antiquities with what Gianna Pomata has called "epistemic genres," an association that troubles any distinction or hierarchy between antiquarianism and empiricisms of a more conventional kind. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the word *observation/observatio* was often paired with *experimentum,* while its Latinate plural (*observationes)* marked "a distinctive and autonomous form of writing," often made up of the carefully disposed and confirmed results of an experiment or meticulous investigation—a topic I revisit in my third chapter.[35] Lorraine Daston further relates 'observation' to an abiding interest in particulars and the credibility of direct witness: "characteristic of the emergent epistemic genre of the *observationes* was, first, an emphasis on singular events, witnessed firsthand."[36] As we shall see, antiquaries were similarly invested in cultivating their own reputation for careful looking and empiric objectivity. Consequently, Bacon's use of the word *observation* in defining antiquarianism places 'antiquities' within a budding lexis that described practices and theories of fact finding in the early modern period. I argue that Bacon found little if any contradiction in

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[35] See Lorraine Daston, "The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800" in Daston and Lunbeck, eds., *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 81-106. Daston does not cite Bacon's use of 'observation' and focuses exclusively on astronomical, chemical, and natural historical observations.

[36] Gianna Pomata offers a concise and illuminating reading of the mutability of the term 'observation' in the period, ca. 1530-1570: "a major change took place in the core meaning of the word *observatio*, which shifted from observance to empirical observation. Since antiquity, the words denoting observation, the Greek *tērēsis* and its Latin equivalent, *observatio*, had a double meaning. They could mean either *observance* (in the sense of obedience to a rule), or *observation* in the sense of attentive watching of objects and events […] [straddling] the prescriptive and the descriptive." Gianna Pomata, "Observation Rising: Birth of an Epistemic Genre, 1500-1650," in Daston and Lunbeck, eds., *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 47.

discussing 'antiquities' in a work equally attuned to more orthodox empiric (or epistemic) genres: natural history, etc.[37]

Often, though—as Woolf's assessment makes clear—readings of Bacon's antiquities end with his list of antiquarian 'evidences,' a textual and material congeries that in isolation is made to imply that the antiquaries' piecemeal scrutiny of the past commits them to the interminable labor of material and historical reassembly. As Peter N. Miller puts it, the antiquary's world is often one defined by a plaintive mandate to reconstruct, to "put it all back together again"; Peter Burke similarly describes the antiquaries' object as so many 'fragments' that antiquaries the "tried to fit together," while Angus Vine has argued that, "restoration is in some ways synonymous with the entire antiquarian enterprise."[38] In "A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism," Miller elaborates: "If we could single out one characteristic that has typified the antiquarian endeavor since its beginnings in the Renaissance, it would be *reconstruction* […] antiquarian scholarship found its calling in the reassembly of a lost whole." Miller later ascribes the absence of this type of language (Miller's keywords are *reconstruct* and

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[37] Stuart Piggott locates this sort of cross-disciplinary borrowing in the later seventeenth century and argues that, "the most significant advances in the comprehension of antiquity, leading to what we distinguish as archaeology, were made as a result of the Intellectual Revolution of the later seventeenth century, when as a part of a more widespread inductive approach to natural and artificial phenomena characterized by the early Royal Society, the material evidence of early man, such as field monuments like stone circles or small artifacts like flint implements came to be described and classified in terms which would now be called archaeological." *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989), 7.

[38] Peter N. Miller, *History and Its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 9; Peter Burke, "Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe," Journal of the History of Ideas 64, no. 2 (2003): 275; Angus Vine, "Copiousness, Conjecture and Collaboration in William Camden's Britannia: William Camden's Britannia," Renaissance Studies 28, no. 2 (April 2014): 226, https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12051.

reassemble) in works by early modern antiquaries to basic omission: "Rarely was [reconstruction] defended as a practice, however, suggesting that it was simply understood."[39] Arguably, Miller fills the gap left by antiquaries' silence with an assumption: namely, that antiquaries were actively engaged in practices their critics derided—that is, historical reconstruction, remediation, and reenactment. I do not suggest that Miller is wrong. Far from it; certainly, the antiquaries' collective ambition was a seamless remaking of history's sundered mosaic. Reflecting Andrew Hui's recent characterization of humanism's philological ambitions—to "stitch back together the mutilated parts of […] ancient texts"—antiquaries were similarly eager to reconstitute and reassemble. [40] I do suggest, however, that Miller's chosen metaphor of reassembly only gets us so far and only partially accounts for the imaginative dimension and rhetorical complexity of antiquarian practice in the period.[41] My assumption, modifying Miller's own, is that antiquaries did not defend 'reconstruction' or claim to 'reassemble' anything, because this was not, after all, their primary calling, or at least not one that they viewed as attainable and worthwhile. Rather, antiquaries treated history's fragments not

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[39] Peter N. Miller, "A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism, 1500-2000," in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, Alain Schnapp et al., eds. (Los Angeles, California: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 69.

[40] Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 41.

[41] Angus Vine has recently proposed William Camden's term "restoration" and finds an example of this reconstructive impulse in the copiousness of Camden's *Britannia:* "If these instances suggest that the association between antiquarianism and restoration was strong, what that restoration actually entailed was less straight-forward." I think *restoration* is nearer the mark; but I challenge the idea that the *Britannia* is truly copious. Judging by Camden's own description of the work, it amounts to a selection of facts Camden has gathered in his researches. Furthermore, Camden often seems to bridle at the validity and desirability of *copia*, in general. See Angus Vine, "Copiousness, Conjecture and Collaboration in William Camden's Britannia: William Camden's Britannia," Renaissance Studies 28, no. 2 (April 2014): 225–41, https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12051.

as pieces of some unknown puzzle awaiting reassembly, but rather as voluble interlocutors that could *imply* the past by way of synecdoche, both as a figure of speech and figure of thought.

When early-modern antiquaries in England did assign a name to their collective project it was in terms more equivocal and tentative than 'reconstruction.' In preface to the *Britannia* William Camden described his work as an attempt to "enlighten [the] obscurity" of the past "by way of recovery" and to "sift out the Truth."[42] Camden is one example of many; writing in 1605, Richard Verstegan characterized his idiosyncratic antiquarianism as a 'restitution,' but a restitution that only succeeded in yielding and preserving 'decayed intelligence.' Both of these examples imply gradual and tentative conjecture rather than successful and monolithic reconstruction.[43] The effect of this proposed shift in emphasis from reconstruction to synecdoche, and from reassembly to a sort of imaginative 'sifting' is twofold: for one, by replacing a material metaphoric (reconstruction, reassembly) with a rhetorical figure (synecdoche), antiquarianism becomes newly legible, and antiquarian texts are made to yield up new evidence for analysis.[44] Similarly, by attending to its synecdochic rhetoric, antiquarianism becomes

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[42] William Camden, "The Author to the Reader", in William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Illands Adioyning*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop, 1610), ∏4[r].

[43] See Richard Verstegan, *A Restitvtion of Decayed Intelligence: In Antiquities* (Antwerp: Robert Bruney, 1605) [ESTC S116255].

[44] This view did not originate with English antiquaries, of course. Christine Smith locates a similarly synecdochic response to classical architecture and ruins in quattrocento Italy, noting that humanists learned "to read the remnant as signifying an ideal whole." *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 200-202. Manuel Chrysoloras described this form of synecdochic recovery in Rome in the first decade of the 15th century: "even […] ruins and heaps of stones show what great things once existed." Quoted in Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 75.

freshly imaginative, invested as much in persuasion and tropic conceits as it is in historical fact finding. In other words, I seek to frame antiquarianism as kind of creative empiricism with a paradoxical doctrine at its core, one of uncertainty and a dogged 'faith in things.'[45] Of course such an argument requires that we remediate the reputation of Bacon's 'Remnants.'

Most recent writing on Bacon's 'antiquities', led by Miller's example, interpret Bacon's fractured metaphors and evasive modifier 'somewhat' as pejoratives, underscoring Bacon's general "tone of disparagement."[46] Despite Miller's observation that Bacon's catalogue reveals an "intimate familiarity" with antiquarian methods, he ultimately finds that Bacon's view of antiquaries (such as it is) is dismissive.[47] Advancing a similar

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[45] This phrase is borrowed from Ben Jonson's encomium addressed to John Selden; the phrase also appears in Jonson's encomium to William Camden, suggesting that this characteristic was unique to antiquaries. See Ben Jonson, "To William Camden," and "An Epistle to Master John Selden," in *The Complete Poems*, ed. George Parfitt (New York: Penguin, 1996), 39, 147.

[46] Peter N. Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism, Petrarch to Peiresc" in José Rabasa, Masayuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo, and Daniel Woolf, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400-1800* (Oxford University Press, 2012). See also, Peter N. Miller, *History and Its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 246.

[47] Anthony Grafton's *Defenders of the Text* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) has proved influential in establishing Bacon's antipathy toward antiquaries. While I do not challenge later 'scientific' and Baconian antipathy toward antiquarianism, there is little evidence to suggest that Bacon shared this view. See "Introduction: The Humanists Reassessed," 1-22. Grafton quotes Bacon's third aphorism on 'primary history' from the *Novum Organum* to support his claim: "'Down with antiquities,' wrote Bacon, 'and citations or supporting testimonies from texts; down with debates and controversies and divergent opinions; down with everything philological." (2). Bacon's Aphorism III is in *Novum Organum, Parasceve ad historiam naturalem et experimentalem.* As I explain below, I seek to footnote Grafton rather than challenge him outright. For instance, Grafton rightly discards the anachronistic separation of science (such as it was) and the humanities in the period: "The scientist could not perform his function without being enough of a scholar to decode the classical texts that still contained his richest sets of data. The scholar could not read his poems without having recourse to scientific concepts and methods"; indeed, in some cases, traditional textual "scholarship and science were necessarily fused into a single pursuit not identifiable with any modern discipline." Grafton, *Defenders of the Text,* 203. I believe that antiquaries operated within this interdisciplinary dynamic, and perhaps straddled it in now forgotten or misunderstood ways.

argument, Anthony Grafton cites Bacon's third Aphorism from the *Novum Organum* (1620), "for compiling a Just History of Nature and Art," as evidence that Bacon was against antiquaries (and antiquities) full-stop. The aphorism reads, "The first Particular is, that all Antiquities, Quotations, and Authorities of Authors, be laid aside." In Grafton's more emphatic translation, Bacon announces the rejection of antiquities with an indignant exclamation: "away with antiquities!" But what Grafton's translation elides is that Bacon's carefully placed aphorism addresses *natural* history, a branch of learning that Bacon's emanating epistemology always treated as separate and distinct from *civil* history, the category within which Bacon placed 'antiquities' (fig. 1.2). Tellingly, in characterizing these two categories of history, Bacon locates their primary difference in the evidence each seeks and deploys.[48] "Civile History" relies on evidence of human making: records, annals, inscriptions, and artifacts. "Naturall History," in contrast, is afforded its own epistemological class and relies on different evidence and correspondingly different modes of inquiry. Consequently, Bacon's two 'sorts' of History ('Naturall' and 'Civile') are always distinct and likely mutually exclusive.

[48] Peter Shaw, Bacon's eighteenth-century editor and translator, understood this: "The Business is not now to gain upon Men's Affections, or win them over to *Philosophy*, by Eloquence, Similitudes, or the Art of Writing; which the Author practised in the *De Augmentis*; but carefully to enqire into, and justly to copy, and describe, Nature, as she is in herself." *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Volume 3* (London: J.J. and P. Knapton, 1733), 9. Lisa Jardine's edition clarifies Bacon's language in a series of helpful appositives: "First, then, they must do without antiquities and citations of authors and authorities; also disputes, controversies and dissenting opinions—in a word, philology." *Francis Bacon: The New Organon* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 225.

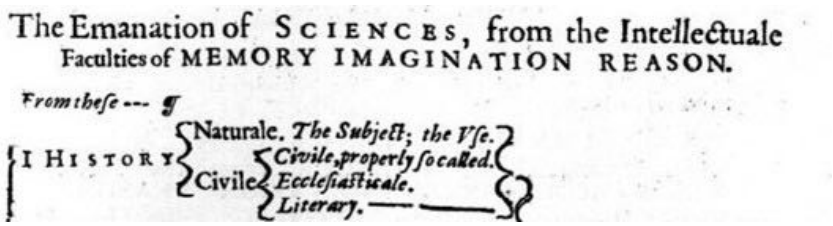

Figure 1.2. "The Emanation of Sciences, from the Intellectuale Faculties of Memory Imagination Reason." Oxford: Leon. Lochfield for Rob. Young & Ed. Forrest, 1640.

When Bacon says "away with antiquities!", then, he articulates a valid separation of evidence in the practice of distinct disciplines. 'Antiquities,' or antiquated accounts of natural phenomena are useless in an attempt to describe and understand natural phenomena and specimens, which constitute their own evidence. Notably, in early-modern English, *antiquities* (and Bacon's Latin *antiquitates*) could also mean particularist and irrelevant textual minutiae or scholastic nit-picking, and did not usually mean 'antiquarianism' as a field of inquiry. To claim, then, (as Bacon does) that antiquities have no place in the compilation and study of natural history is merely to claim that distinct disciplines require distinct tools and forms of evidence.[49] Antiquaries relied on the fragmentary products of human making in seeking historical knowledge, while *natural* historians could resort to natural specimens and nature itself—the teeming and fecund pages of the *Codex naturae.* This epistemological distinction was made manifest in the bicameral (sometimes literally two-roomed) taxonomies of seventeenth-century

[49] Claire Preston, writing about misconceptions of Bacon's view of rhetoric and imagination, observes that, "various remarks by Francis Bacon […] if read in isolation from the rest of his opinions, sound inimical to the effects of the imagination, particularly to rhetorical tropes and figures, but also to literary genres and fictive domains. His pronouncements are undeniably beset by apparent (though not actual) contradiction and inconsistency." This inaccurate view of Bacon was taken up and "enunciated by some scientific practitioners and their associates in the seventeenth century." See Claire Preston, *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 9.

museums, which employed a system of classification that subdivided things into *artificialia* (antiquities, artworks, automata, and instruments) and *naturalia* (zoological and botanical specimens, shells, stones). Though often occupying the same architectural space, these two classes were always distinct, even if sometimes uncannily similar (e.g., a naturally occurring stone shadowing the form of a human face).[50] This division between natural and artificial persisted in the period; Robert Plot's avowedly Baconian *Natural Histories of Oxfordshire* (1677) and *Strattfordshire* (1686), for example, both contain chapters on "Of Antiquities." This proved to be a generic intrusion so strange that Plot was forced to explain the resulting hybrid in an apology "for the Satisfaction of the Reader, upon what terms I add this *Chapter of Antiquities* to my *Natural History,* it seeming to some altogether forraigne to the purpose."[51]

More recently, Grafton has found evidence of a more sympathetic (even tentatively antiquarian) Bacon, writing that in the "experimental, innovative research" of the antiquaries Bacon found a method "very much to his taste." However, Grafton ultimately returns to a more unfavorable reading and suggests that Bacon viewed this research, though "radically modern in method," "eternally melancholy in its pursuit of endless,

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[50] For this distinction and its origins in sixteenth-century museology, see Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2016); see also Lorraine J. Daston, and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (Boston*:* Zone Books, 2001); and also, Anthony Alan Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World, in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 181-182.

[51] Quoted in Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons,* 26; Robert Plot, *Natural History of Staffordshire* (Oxford: At the Theater, 1686), 392.

elusive fragments."[52] Advancing a similar argument, Daniel Woolf suggests that antiquaries prompted "Bacon's scorn."[53] Antiquaries are consequently made to stand at one end of a disciplinary spectrum ostensibly promulgated in England by Bacon and his disciplinary reforms. This spectrum was purportedly intended in the first instance to separate "silver-tongued historians and club-footed antiquaries" and, in the second, to separate antiquaries from the real practitioners of an ascendant empirical science.[54] Bacon is thus characterized as the antiquary's first enemy in a culture war that would ultimately give rise to the Royal Society's anti-philological and anti-humanist rhetoric of *nullius in verba:* take no-one's word for it.

I suggest that placing Bacon in this position is to read his words retrospectively, through Baconianism's Enlightenment reception and through the distorting lenses of his self-appointed heirs at the Royal Society. In doing so, our understanding of antiquarianism is hindered, given that one of its most eloquent theorists is made out to be its most forceful critic. Bacon's 'antiquities' should instead prompt us to seek a new metaphor to describe the antiquaries' project of historical remediation, one that acknowledges the ontology of fragments as valid, even when disassembled, singular, and

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[52] See Grafton's review of the *Villa I Tatti* series, "Rediscovering a Lost Continent," *New York Review of Books* (5 October 2006): http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2006/10/05/rediscovering-a-lost-continent/

[53] Daniel Woolf, "Images of the Antiquary in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707–2007, Being Volume 111 of Archaeologia,* Susan Pearce, ed. (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007).

[54] Peter Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism, Petrarch to Peiresc," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3, 1400–1800*, ed. Jose Rabasa et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 246

frustratingly isolated or scattered. For antiquaries, material loss was a premise, not a problem to be overcome.

The accepted pejorative reading of Bacon's 'antiquities' is troubled in three significant ways. First (as I suggest above), the elevated status of fragments in Bacon's definition echoes the dominant role that particulars and parts play in Bacon's epistemological reforms across disciplines. Baconian induction is, after all, a gradual process that relies on a collaborative and at-first-glance interminable accumulation of minor evidences and piecemeal facts. With the aim of generating new ideas and theories, this gradual empiricism was likewise championed by Bacon's antiquarian contemporaries, including William Camden. There is, I argue, an unrecognized affinity between Bacon's advancement of learning and the antiquarian mode: piecemeal evidence runs like a leitmotif across Bacon's philosophical writings, and this fragmented evidence was not exclusively natural or properly 'philosophical.' In *Novum organum*—itself a work in aphoristic fragments—Bacon observes: "rare and strange works of nature stir and raise the intellect to investigate and discover forms capable of encompassing them, so too do the splendid and wonderful works of art."[55] Both natural and artificial curiosities—instruments, artworks, artifacts, inscriptions, and fragmented fabricated things—were equally eligible for categorization and empiric examination. In this sense, Bacon's 'antiquities' are consistent with his epistemological reforms: fragmentary particulars were the primary material through which knowledge of any kind was to be gained, largely by 'stirring and raising the intellect.'

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[55] *OFB* XI, 301 [2E4^{r}].

Second, the language with which Bacon defines 'antiquities' was by 1605 conventional, even commonplace in characterizing antiquarian research. Bacon's choice of words thus seems to reveal a sympathetic and nuanced understanding of antiquarian practice in the period. Specifically, in its emphasis on speculative recovery ('save and recover somewhat'), diligent study, and material, evidentiary capaciousness (ranging from 'traditions' to vaguely defined 'evidences'), Bacon's 'antiquities' marks a discourse frequently repeated and rarely altered in seventeenth-century efforts to explain what antiquaries in fact did. Bacon's modifier 'somewhat,' for instance, cannot be an unambiguous critique of antiquarianism, given the frequency with which Bacon's antiquarian contemporaries aver and even defend the conjectural status of their findings.[56] No antiquary worth his salt claimed an untroubled restitution of the past; even Bacon's early source for the metaphor of antiquity-as-shipwreck, Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata* (ca. 1485), promises little in the way of reconstruction from gathered flotsam: "I would propose," Biondo writes, "that I be thanked for having hauled ashore some planks from so vast a shipwreck, planks which were floating on the surface of the water or nearly lost

[56] Angus Vine has recently attended to the central importance of *conjecture* in Camden's *Britannia,* see Angus Vine, "Copiousness, conjecture and collaboration in William Camden's *Britannia*." *Renaissance Studies*, 28 (2014): 225-241. doi:10.1111/rest.12051. Besides Vine, few have noted the epistemological radicalism in Camden's defense of conjecture: "if they proceed on to reiect all coniectures, I feare me a great part of liberall learning and humane knowledge will be utterly out-cast into banishment. […] In Physick [symptoms] which are nothing else but coniectures, have their place […] And whereas coniectures are certain detections of things unknowne, and as Fabius tearmeth them, directions of reason to verity, I have always thought that they were to be accounted among the skuppers wherewith Time worketh and draweth Veritie out of Democritus his deepe dungeon [well]." William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Illands Adioyning*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop, 1610), *fl.*4^{v}. See also, William H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2007), 202: "'conjecture' is a critical term in Camden's methodology."

to view, rather than be required to account for the entire lost ship."[57] Antiquaries, in the absence of clarity, cleared room for conjectural imagining and historical speculation.

Another way in which the language of Bacon's 'antiquities' reflects the antiquaries' own resides in its tentativeness; specifically, Bacon's 'somewhat' recalls William Camden's reliance on conjecture in his *Britannia* (1586), a work that operated (and operates still) as a kind of capacious and omnivorous flagship for antiquarianism in England in the late-Elizabethan and Stuart periods. According to Camden, any recovery of historical knowledge was always only partial, tentative, and provisional—a point of view expressed in Camden's habitual litotes and qualifying locution: "what to adjoyne of such things as the revolution of so many ages past," Camden asks, "hath altogether overcast with darknesse"? "To professe plainely, I see not: and your selfe, when you shall read these slender ghesses of mine, will avouch with me, that I walke in a mirke and mistie night of ignorance."[58] Similarly, in preface to the *Britannia*, Camden explains that he has set out to "renew the memory of what was old, illustrate what was obscure, settle what was doubtful, and recover some certainty *(as much as possible)*" in all things 'British' (emphasis added). Elsewhere, in a brilliant (if obscure) image, Camden approvingly likens conjectures to "the skuppers wherewith Time worketh and draweth Veritie out of Democritus his deepe dungeon," further allying antiquarian practice with gradual,

[57] "Nec tamen Ipsam omnem nominum mutationem temeraria et inani arrogantia indicare spoponderim; sed gratias mihi potius de perductis ad litus e tanto naufragio supernatantibus, parum autem apparentibus, tabulis haberi, quam de tota navi desiderata rationem a me exposci debere contenderim", Flavio Biondo, *Italy Illuminated*, ed. Jeffrey A. White, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 4-5.
[58] William Camden, *Britain* (1610), 97.

provisional fact-finding.[59] Evidently, historical 'truth' is delivered in small conjectural pailsful. As Wyman H. Herendeen observes, "in its denial of preconceived truths and its reservations about how much empirical data can tell us […], Camden's skepticism is as far-reaching as Francis Bacon's was."[60] It was also as enduring; Camden habitually foregrounded the provisional status of his work, describing it as timid ("timerous") in its claims and always in progress—"for who can particulate all?" Camden asks.[61] Both men, divided by discipline though united in practice, viewed fact-finding with profound, almost procedural tentativeness.

Camden also offers his own catalog of antiquities that echoes Bacon's in a later edition of the *Britannia* (1607) and synonymously comments on the diligence and 'travail' employed in their gathering:

> I have travailed over all England for the most part, I have conferred with most skillfull observers in each country, I have studiously read over our owne countrie writers, old and new […] I have looked into most Libraries, Registers, and memorials of Churches, Cities, and Corporations, I have poored upon many an old Rowle, and Evidence: and produced their testimonie (as beyond all exception) when the cause required.[62]

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[59] Camden, *Britain* (1610), *fl.*4^{v}.
[60] Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context,* 203. Camden's writing on conjecture anticipates the provisional nature of modern archaeological practice. As *Archaeology: A Discipline of Things,* written by a team of practicing archaeologists, makes clear, "most archaeologists would recognize that fieldwork and archaeological practice constantly return to assumptions, premises, and orthodox explanations in new cycles of research […] Doing archaeology is part of our own self-construction. To conduct successful research, archaeologists become involved in heterogeneous engineering of *past, present, and future."* Bjørnar Olsen et al., *Archaeology: The Discipline of Things* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 72.
[61] Camden, *Britain* (1610), *fl.*4^{r}.
[62] Camden, *Britain* (1610), *fl.*4$^{r\text{-}v}$. In Latin, "vetustis novitatem, obscuris lucem, dubiis fidem adderem, & ut veritatem in rebus nostris, quam vel scriptorum securitas, vel vulgi credulitas proscripserunt, quoad fieri posset, postliminio revocarem." William Camden, *Britannia, Sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum Adiacentium Ex Intima Antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio* (London: George Bishop, 1607), A2$^{r\text{-}v}$. This kind of prefatory, enumerative boasting has a long history. The fist self-avowed antiquary (he called

Libraries, registers, memorials, rolls, and evidence: this kind of copious justification by way of list-making reaches ubiquity in antiquarian literature of the period. In the same same year in which Camden's English translation of *Britannia* appeared (1610), John Selden, a younger contemporary and Camden's eventual successor as "arch-antiquary" of England, deployed this kind of language in preface to his *History of Tithes.*[63] There, he observes, only by way of "Curious Diligences and Watchfull Industrie" is the antiquary successful in his pursuit of historical truth (xix). These terms—*curious, diligence, industry, observation*—recur to the point of becoming key words in the antiquaries' lexis. In 1622, 'diligence', 'observation, and 'industrie' resurface when Selden improvises on a familiar theme in his prefatory epistle to Augustine Vincent's *A Discoverie of Errours* (itself a defense of Camden):

> Your guides appeare to haue bin exceeding Industry in Reading, and curious Diligence in Obseruing not onely the published Authors which conduce to your purpose, but withall, the more abstruse parts of History, which ly hid either in priuat Manuscripts, or in the publique Records of the Kingdome. In your helpes taken from published Authors, you shew both a full Store of them, and a iudicious Choice in the vse of them.[64]

The inquirer into antiquities, Selden suggests (echoing Camden and Bacon), seeks liveliness in the otherwise inert inscrutability of historical fragmentation, contradictory testimony, and decay. The primary means of constructively confronting this fragmentation is the defining practice of the antiquarian mode: the gathering of various

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himself 'antiquarius') in England, John Leland, also described his lifelong project in similarly copious and labored terms.

[63] See Robert Herrick's verse encomium, "To the Most Learned, Wise, and Arch-Antiquary, M. John Selden."

[64] Augustine Vincent, *A Discoverie of Errours in the First Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility* (London: William Jaggard, 1622), a1^{r}.

and "abstruse" parts to infer some lost whole by "a iudicious Choice in the vse of them." With sufficient work, then, and with the aid of Selden's 'two Hand-maids, Curious Diligence and Watchful Industrie', antiquaries affirm the adage, *ex ungue Leonem*: the claw can yield the lion—or, at least, a somewhat lion.[65]

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, in reprinting Bacon's list of 'antiquities' without elaboration (as many studies of antiquarianism do) we lose Bacon's subsequent apologia in which he explains not only *what* antiquities are but rather *how* they might function in an innovative and thoroughgoing historical scholarship.[66] Following his enumerative definition in both the English and Latin texts is Bacon's pivotal qualification: "in these kinds of unperfect histories I do assign no deficiencie, for they are *tanquam imperfecte mista,* and therefore any deficience in them is but their nature." The extent to which this sentence is ignored is probably due in part to its obscurity; Bacon's characteristically aphoristic phrasing requires a good deal of interpretive unpacking. The Latin *tanquam imperfecte mista* [only imperfectly mixed] elsewhere evoked for Bacon natural solids that carry in their makeup the inevitability of decay. In *A Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland,* Bacon elaborates on these solids: "those bodies [snow, froth] which they call *imperfecte mista* last not but are

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[65] Bacon's reception among antiquaries also suggests an absence of interdisciplinary ill will. Notably when *The Advancement of Learning* was published on the continent in Latin in 1623 as *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, the French antiquary and polymath Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc eagerly ushered it to press, overseeing the 1624 Paris edition apparently without contradicting his own explicitly antiquarian leanings. See *OFB* XI, xxiii and *OFB* XIII, xlix-lxx. See also Marta Fattori, *Linguaggio e filosofia nel seicento europeao* (Olschki: Florence, 2000), 385-411.

[66] After reading Bacon's 'antiquities', Peter Miller suggests that he gives no "indication as to how one actually might write history" from such fragments. Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 23.

speedily dissolved."[67] Antiquities, strangely like ice or foam, are destabilized by time and rendered materially volatile, tending toward dissolution and dispersal. With this in mind, Bacon's enumerative precís of antiquarianism, instead of conveying a rejection or even critique of 'antiquities' seems to do the opposite. Antiquities, though fragmentary, can inform; and it is the antiquaries, whose firsthand and tactile engagement with a past embodied in artifacts, who are tasked with rendering antiquities voluble—to make them, in Camden's memorable phrase, give up "their testimonie."[68]

But this favorable view of fragments invites the challenge: how can antiquities—Bacon's 'remnants'—be broken, imperfect, and disordered but not deficient? How are fragments palliative in an advancement of learning? And how can *fragment* avoid mindskip to its visual ryhmeword, *figment*: a thing fraudulent, idiosyncratic, and misleading. After all, Bacon opines, fragments can "save and recover somewhat," but not restore, reconstitute, or complete. In the pages that follow I take Bacon's words at face value, examining how fragments were sufficient and even fruitful in the antiquarian mode, not in spite of, but rather due to their fragmentary and indeterminate nature. But first, as antiquaries themselves might do, we must name our object.

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[67] Francis Bacon, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon Including All His Occasional Works*, ed. James Spedding (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 94.
[68] Camden, *Britain* (1610), ∏4^{r-v}.

Defining 'Fragment'

The link between Bacon's 'antiquities' and generative fragments could be said to find its mythical complement in Ovid's account of Deucalion and Phyrra. Survivors of a divine and retributive flood, the mythic couple repopulate a newly barren Earth by means of litho-genesis: scattered fragments of clodded dirt and rock generate human beings. Gazing on a desolate, depopulated landscape ("so deadly silent, and so desolate," in George Sandys' 1621 translation), Deucalion bemoans the destruction of a now unfamiliar world.[69] Just then, when all hope is lost, the titan Themis delivers a solution in a characteristically opaque ('oraculous') pronouncement: "Go from my Temple: both your faces hide; / Let Garments all unbraced loosely flow; / And your Great-Parents bones behinde you throw."[70] As the myth begins to resolve, we learn that these ancestral bones are the stones of the earth, which Deucalion and Phyrra proceed to gather and throw behind them as bidden, in veiled cortege: "with heads vail'd, and clothes unbrac't, / Commanded stones they o're their shoulders cast." Gradually, the stones soften, become flesh and assume humanlike shape ("the unflexible and solid, turn to bones: / The veins remain, that were when they were stones")—a lapidary metamorphosis that Sandys' translation likens to rough-hewn marble giving way to soft and portrait-like counterfeits: "like rough-hewn rude marble Statues stand, / That want the Workmans last life-giving hand." Like so many Deucalions and Phyrras, with veiled views straining to see a hidden

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[69] Ovid, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures*, trans. George Sandys (London: Andrew Hebb, 1640), 4.
[70] Ovid, *Ovid: Metamorphoses, Volume 1*, Frank Justus Miller and G.P. Goold, eds., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), 411-3: "Depart you hence, and with veiled heads and loosened robes throw behind you as you go the bones of your great mother."

and broken past, Bacon and his antiquarian contemporaries suggest that *fragment* need not imply loss; rather, piecemeal historical remains can serve as afflatus for scholarly invention. Like to an Ovidean metamorphosis, antiquaries effected their own form of fragmentary reawakening; where Ovid's mythmaking reports "bodies changed to other shapes," antiquaries sought to transform strange shapes to embodied pasts.[71] In dissecting and exploiting the generative quality inhering in fragments, antiquaries pioneered an archaeology that foregrounds or at least permits the legibility of fragmentary objects and the significance of imperfect things.

Figure 1.3. Deucalion and Phyrra cast stones over their veiled heads. The scattered clods and rocks assume human faces behind them. From the 1640 edition of Sandys' translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses (first published 1632), A2^{r}. Courtesy of the Warburg Institute Library.

In a similarly mythic (if also comic) way, the antiquary's regard for fragments is registered in a number of unflattering depictions in the period that uniformly cast

[71] Sandys' translation of book 1 begins, "Of bodies chang'd to other shapes, I sing." Ovid, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures*, trans. George Sandys (London: Andrew Hebb, 1640), 1.

antiquaries as bumbling curiosos eager to fondle broken artifacts and remnants of the distant past. Camden likely had these satiric sketches in mind when he observed that, "some there are which wholy contemne and avile this study of Antiquity as a back-looking curiosity."[72] But what Theophrastan wits saw as the antiquaries' defining folly, I see as fundamental to how antiquarianism operated in early modern England—an example of Freud's truth shrouded in a satiric smile, perhaps.[73] Donne's epigram *On an Antiquary,* for one, warns an antiquary's wife of her spouse's artifactual affections displacing those of a more conjugal kind. Even more biting, Donne warns, she risks becoming an item amongst his collection of 'old, strange things.'[74] That the 'things' the antiquary collects are old and 'strange' implies their decontextualized status: they are freaks of time, unknowable because partial, without explanatory paraphernalia, form, or context. This tropic figure of the antiquary—stooped, graying, asexual, always male—proved influential, and is still evoked (with an aftertaste of mustiness) by the word *antiquary*.[75]

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[72] Britannia, *fl.*4[v]

[73] Reading some of the same examples of antiquary-ridicule in the period, Stuart Piggott observes, "ridicule of an individual or a group indicates recognition within a society, and to be a target for wit acknowledges a common subject in everyday conversation sufficiently familiar to ensure that the point of the jest is seen." Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination* (London: Thames & Hudson, Ltd., 1989), 14. Antiquaries, it seems, were a known punchline.

[74] Sir Thomas Browne similarly dismisses particularistic virtuosi—those "men of most supposed abilities", who study "Pieces onely fit to be placed in *Pantagruels* Library, or bound up with *Tartaretus de Modo Cacandi*." *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne: Volume 1*, Geoffrey Keynes, ed. (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1963), 32. See Robin Robbins, ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 16.

[75] See Daniel Woolf, "Images of the Antiquary in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007,* Susan Pearce, ed., 11-43: "The early modern antiquary was the counterpart of today's computer 'geek,' an intelligent social oddity whose erudition was simultaneously envied and mocked," 13. See also, Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 156-61.

John Earle's character of an antiquary is even more acerbic in ridiculing its subject's fragment fetish: instead of preferring a whole object, Earle jokes, the antiquary will focus on an object's patina of rust and its carapace of age, evidently content to ignore its form and function: "A great admirer hee is of the rust of old Monuments, and reades onely those Characters, where time hath eaten out the letters." Meanwhile, "a broken statue would almost make him an Idolater," with the punning implication that it is only the partialness of the statue that saves the artless antiquary from heresy. He is an almost-idolator, for a statue is no idol if worshipped piecemeal.[76] Depictions of this type and timbre appear with enough frequency and consistency from the late-sixteenth century as to be classed as a mytheme in the satiric literature of the period.[77] Elsewhere, the pejorative valence of the word *fragment* is used to mark social degeneracy and baseness, underscoring the satiric bite latent in these depictions: when Martius in *Coriolanus* commands restive citizens, "Go get you home, you fragments," Shakespeare associates the lower classes with crumbs swept from a high table (I.1.230).

These fictional episodes and character sketches prompt us to undertake a philological excavation into the vibrancy and semantic weight and reach of the word in the period: in its various meanings, *fragment* seems to promise a paradoxical abundance in spite of the fact that it often denotes a single piece of some fractured whole. Under this heading, Bacon's *fragments* operate as metaphors for time's fracture and decay, but clearly the metaphor's vehicle carries associations beyond its intended tenor. "Fragment" is a

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[76] John Earle, *Microcosmography,* Alfred S. West, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 57.
[77] See A.D. Nuttall, *Dead from the Waist Down: Scholars and Scholarship in Literature and the Popular Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

term whose ambiguity fittingly reflects the thing(s) it describes: it means many things simultaneously. For one, a fragment conventionally refers to a material object—a potsherd, a broken pipe-bowl, a dismembered marble hand. After all, artifactual fragments are the past made manifest and manipulable; they are things. But the word's referent could be also something immaterial, yet similarly incomplete: a tradition, a superstition, a name, a memory, a juridical custom or precedent. The *OED* defines *fragment* as "a part broken off or otherwise detached from a whole; a broken piece," but *fragment* in early modern English seems to carry a sense that goes beyond synonymy with *piece* or *part*. For one, though *fragment* today functions as both noun and verb, the word was exclusively nominative in the seventeenth century, emphasizing its material and emblematic qualities in the Renaissance. Meanwhile, tracing the word *fragment* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century wordlists, dictionaries, and *abecedaria* reveals not only its itinerant signification, but also hints at the range of concepts the word evoked in early modern English. Richard Mulcaster's guide to English orthography, titled A*n Elementarie*, attests to *fragment's* vernacular trappings in 1582. Even earlier, Richard Huloet's enigmatic phrase in place of the headword *fragment,* "Fragment gatherer," suggests an early and inhering link between fragments and exhaustive collecting (fig. 1.4).[78] Thomas Eliot's *Librarie* (1542) defines a fragment as "a piece or gobet of a thynge broken," while Robert Cawdrey's definition in his *Table Alphabetical* (1604) complicates matters, adding a thorny synonym, "reliques", to the conventional "broken meates, peeces

[78] Richard Huloet, *Abcedarium Anglico Latinum* (London: [S. Mierdman] ex officina Gulielmi Riddel, Anno. M.D.LII.), M6^{v}.

broken of[f]."[79] Both Eliot and Cawdrey ('gobet' and 'broken meates') relate *fragment* to ingestion, implying a nutritive function and the possibility of digestive transmutation. Seeking clarification and consulting Cawdrey's entry for *reliques* merely serves to underscore *fragment's* semantic range in the period: reliques, "*the remainder*" (H2^{v}).[80] This ranging tendency in the word crossed oceans and centuries: Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Quaker commonplacer and founder of Germantown, Pennsylvania, recorded an entry for 'fragment' in his list of topics and indexed the word with 'rest' and 'remainder.' Pastorius's handwritten entry forms a litany of synonyms, each more suggestive than the last: "Rest residue. remainders […] the ruins of a building […] scantling. scraps, fragments *or?* leavings. relicks remains. shavings. *strashens.* sweepings. winnowings."[81]

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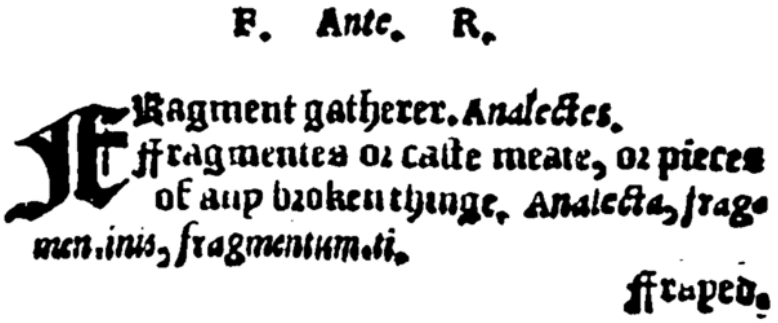
[79] Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabetical* has long been recognized as the first monolingual English dictionary. A recent analysis by John Simpson notes the religious overtones that seem to guide Cawdrey's selections and glossing. Here, *fragment* and its synonym *broken meates* evoke a moment of potential anti-Catholic sentiment, particularly concerning the Eucharist. Cawdrey's long title indicates that he has selected those 'hard usuall' words 'whereby [his readers] may the more easilie and better understand many hard English wordes, which they shall heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elswhere, and also be made able to use the same aptly themselves." Robert Cawdrey and John Simpson, *The First English Dictionary 1604: Robert Cawdrey's a Table Alphabeticall* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2015), 37. The emphasis that Cawdrey places in his introduction on plain style serves to corroborate the idea that 'fragment' was not obscure, but rather 'usuall', even if it was considered (by Cawdrey, at least) 'hard'.

[80] *Fragment* reappears in Thomas Blount's 1661 dictionary: "Fragment (fragmentum) a peece or gobbet of a thing broken." Thomas Blount, *Glossographia, or, A Dictionary Interpreting All Such Hard Words of Whatsoever Language Now Used in Our Refined English Tongue with Etymologies, Definitions and Historical Observations on the Same* (London: Printed by Tho. Newcombe for George Sawbridge, 1661), R8^{v}.

[81] University of Pennsylvania Library, *MS Codex 726:* Pastorius, Francis Daniel, 1651-1719 - Francis Daniel Pastorius, *His Hive, Melliotrophium Alvear or, Rusca Apium, Begun Anno Do[mi]ni or, in the year of Christian Account 1696*,. p. 598 (V. 2) n. 716: http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_9924875473503681&fullview=true&currentpage=636&rotation=0&size=0


F. Ante. R.

Fragment gatherer. Analectes.
ffragmentes or caste meate, or pieces
of any broken thynge. Analecta, frage
men.inis, fragmentum.ti.

ffraped.

Figure 1.4. Richard Huloet, "Fragment gatherer", Abcedarium anglico latinum, pro tyrunculis Richardo Huloeto exscriptore (London: [S. Mierdman] ex officina Gulielmi Riddel, Anno. M.D.LII [1552]), M6^{v}

Glenn Most links the word fragment with recovery and restoration in the Renaissance. However, what may have begun in fourteenth-century Italy as an optimistic view of recovery and reconstitution evolved in later centuries to a muted acknowledgement of a failure to realize the humanists' early aims: the reconstitution of the classical past by way of a reassembly of its fragments was bound to be partial and always in progress. With this realization, the word *fragment* took on its modern connotations of material loss, partial historical erasure, and rupture, in part explaining its mid- to late-sixteenth century appearance in English vernacular. It was this period more than any other that confronted the material reality of an intentionally and accidentally fragmented heritage. The antiquaries, re-positioning the fragment as an object accessible to their inquiries, sought a means of material ventriloquy rather than reconstruction, and thus proposed a more capacious, if less satisfying alternative to a seamless resuscitation of the past.

Petrarch was probably the first to deploy the Latin word *fragmentum* to connote humanism's interest in excavation, recovery, and the attenuation of decay—connotations

notably absent from *fragment's* imperfect modern synonyms: *piece, bit, part, scrap, segment,* and *fraction*.[82] These alternative terms displace the pathos of *fragment* with something more benign; *pieces* are not remnants, but instead components awaiting reassembly. Put differently, naming disassembled and gathered pieces *fragments* seems appropriate only if the entire object is beyond recovery and reconstruction.[83] 'Pieces' of a puzzle imply a board game that promises a terminal point of completion—a final piece fit into a corresponding void. Conversely, *fragments* of a puzzle might instead be found littered among a child's playthings, useless and awaiting donation or discard. *Fragment's* suffix -*ment* further suggests that the word's nominative status is the product of some destructive action set in the past. In this sense, the OED's synonymous phrase for *fragment*, "a broken piece" is strangely revealing: 'broken fragment' is a tautology in a way that 'broken piece' is not. It seems, then, that fracture, breakage and consequent loss are more essential to *fragment's* meaning than piece, part, or particle. *Fragment,* in other words, is a noun with a verb at its core, a lexical fossil recalling the occasion of its own dissolution.

Strangely, too, even though a fragment presumably has many fractured peers, it is more often found in the singular than the plural: although *a* fragment belongs to some lost assemblage of others, it does not lose its fragmentary status when it stands alone. Fragments are ontologically complete but materially incomplete in isolation;

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[82] See Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past.* (New Haven: Yale University Press,1996), 75: "Although Petrarch's own approach was more textual than visual, no longer was the classical artifact to be regarded as simply a commodity to be exploited or a treasure to be collected (although it remained both of these). From now on it was also a historical document to be recorded and described."

[83] See Jacqueline Lichtenstein, "The Fragment: Elements of a Definition," in *Fragment: And Incomplete History* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), 116.

paradoxically, though, fragments remain incomplete when gathered. Fragments do not (cannot) embody the whole they once formed.[84] Fragments, then, are pieces with a difference: always the product of breakage, decay, or collapse, they therefore tend toward the symbolic rather than the purely material or denotative. Fragments can tell us perhaps not more than lost wholes, but they can tell us different things, or at least prompt different questions. As Leonard Barkan observes in writing about broken classical statuary, "To declare of a fragment […] that it has a value independent of any potential for being made whole again is to engage in a category shift."[85] Antiquaries, I argue, were the first to treat fragments as a category and accordingly perfected the shift Barkan finds in High-Renaissance art. Barkan continues: "From this perspective, the fragment, far from containing a diminished immanence, points to a greater wholeness than would any complete work."[86]

Glenn Most also observes that the primary meaning of *fragment* suggests parts of material objects, not texts: "Texts," he suggests, "can be fragments, but only metaphorically."[87] But as antiquaries were uniquely aware, a textual fragment becomes so only because there exists some fragmented object that carried that text: the leaves or quires on which an author wrote might be scattered, fragmenting the composite text, while bindings, scrolls, and parchments crumble, crack, and curl. In reifying the metaphor of a textual fragment—as their evidence required them to do—antiquaries

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[84] See Glenn W. Most, "On Fragments" in *Fragment: An Incomplete History* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010).
[85] Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Have: Yale University Press, 1999), 122.
[86] Barkan, 122.
[87] Most, "On Fragments," 371.

anticipated the modern textual scholar collating every copy of a text, however incomplete and damaged. Robert Cotton famously dedicated a large part of his vast library to manuscript fragments, diverse in genre, date, and provenance, but similar in form: all incomplete or 'imperfect' in some way, their fragmentary state simultaneously frustrated and guided their classification and preservation.[88] Likewise, epigraphy, the discipline that studies inscribed texts, is if nothing else, a type of material examination that acknowledges and even relies on *textual* fracture and loss by way of material fragmentation.

Another feature of the antiquarian fragment that has little to do with its hardened materiality or fractured form is its temporal reach. As antiquaries were uniquely aware, artifacts were indeed 'remnants' of lived experience and thus carried a ciphered record of history—a phenomenon that archaeologist Michael Shanks has likened to a "past-in-things that remains alive in the present."[89] In these terms, antiquarian fragments are akin to what George Kubler termed "fossil actions": ossified, contemporary evidence of a human act of fabrication, creativity, and cultural encoding.[90] Of course the idea of the evocative simultaneity of artifacts was not coined by Kubler. John Selden adopted 'synchronisme', or the simultaneity of evidence, as a methodological tool: it was, he

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[88] The Cotton manuscripts were first catalogued in 1696: see Thomas Smith, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1696). Facsimile edition: C. G. C. Tite, ed. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, 1696* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984).

[89] Quoted in Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 7. See also Michael Shanks, *The Archaeological Imagination* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2012).

[90] George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 50. Kubler also warns of antiquarian overreach: "The temptation to interpret social processes from potsherds and broken stones has also been irresistible…", 51.

argued, "the best Touch-stone in this kind of Triall."[91] Selden also lends us an authoritative assessment of the fragment's role in knowledge-making. For Selden, fragments were the minimum evidentiary requirement of objective historical argument. Challenging the conjectural fabrications of earlier scholars, Selden says as much: "How then are they, which pretend Chronologies of that Age without any Fragment of Authors before Gildas, Taliessin and Nennius...to be credited?" Show me a fragment, Selden suggests, and I'll begin to credit your 'pretended Chronologies'.[92]

Fragments, then, are broken, but also broken off from their original context; they suffer from a double remove. The Latin frangō means 'to break,' again implying some single physical object rendered multiple and imperfect by an act of violence that nevertheless leaves behind clues of the fracture object's existence prior to its destruction. The antiquaries' commitment to fragments seems to stem from an optimistic view that this violence can be rescinded, annulled, or counteracted. Fragments, even while only suggestive of an absent whole, can be instructive, regardless of the state, extent, or extremity of their dissolution.

Of course, our typology of the fragment need not imply brokenness, or even material minuteness, two qualifications that often accompany the word. Traces or *vestigia* of a more monumental kind also qualify. Famously insoluble and endlessly fascinating to

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[91] John Selden, "From the Author of the Illustrations," in Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London: Printed for M. Lewnes, I. Browne, I. Helme, I. Pushe, 1612), A2^{r}. Selden credits his methods to his "instructing friend," William Camden.

[92] Selden, "From the Author of the Illustrations," A2^{v}. See Graham Parry, "Ancient Britons and Early Stuarts," in *Neo-Historicism: Studies in Renaissance Literature, History, and Politics*, eds. Robin Headlam Wells, Glenn Burgess and Rowland Wymer (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 155-178.

seventeenth-century antiquaries and savants, earthworks and burial mounds were the object of sustained speculation and proto-archaeological investigation. Ditches, hills, and burrows were mystifying, if seemingly indelible evidence of human influence on the landscape.[93] Sir John Oglander, inaugurating an enduring antiquarian practice, advised in his memoirs, "Wheresoever you see a burie […] digge and you shall find theyre bones."[94] Nearly a century later, Sir Thomas Browne penned a learned and uncharacteristically succinct treatise, "Of artificial hills, mounts or burrows […] what they are, to what end raised, and by what nations," wherein he suggests that burrows present an antiquarian conundrum, providing little in the way of legible evidence ("neither admitting Ornament, Epitaph or Inscription"). These illegible mounds nevertheless provide indications of their use. Acting the part of proto-archaeologist, Browne delineates two possibilities and describes the evidence the inquirer should look for to determine the use and date of a burrow: "if they were raised for remarkable and eminent Boundaries, then about their bottom will be found the lasting substances of burnt Bones of Beasts, of Ashes, Bricks, Lime or Coals. If Urns be found, they might be erected by the Romans before the term of Urn-burying or custom of burning the dead expired: but if raised by the Romans after that period: Inscriptions, Swords, Shields and Arms after the Roman mode, may afford a good distinction." Browne teaches us how to decode burrows; but having played the antiquary, Browne can't help but offer a final, gnomic observation: "Obelisks have their term, and Pyramids will tumble, but these mountainous Monuments may stand, and are

[93] Piggott, *Ancient Britons,* 118-19.
[94] Quoted in Piggott, *Ancient Britons,* 117.

like to have the same period with the Earth."[95]

Often accompanying or incorporating ditches and burrows, architectural ruins—vast fragments, of a kind—similarly fascinate and perplex, inspiring imaginative literature in the period.[96] One of the earliest poems extant in English, conventionally titled "*The Ruin,"* details what remains of Roman Bath in an evocative *ecphrasis*: Wrætlic is þes wealstan, wyrde gebræcon; / burgstede burston, brosnað enta geweorc. / Hrofas sind gehrorene, hreorge torras, / hrungeat berofen, hrim on lime [Wondrous is this wall-stone —events broke it, battlements burst; the work of giants decays. Roofs are fallen, towers wrecked, doorways destroyed, rime on the lime […].[97] But the antiquarian mode, I argue, viewed these larger parts (architectural ruins, earthworks, and burial mounds) as one type of 'antiquity' in an expansive lexicon classifying all artificial things that descend to the present without contextualizing detail or form: ruins are structural fragments, fragments are piecemeal ruins.

The synonymy of *fragment* and *relic* seems particularly resonant when understood in its pejorative (post-Reformation) sense—that is, crumbling rubbish or idolatrous fetish. Like fragments (figments), relics can be viewed as potentially fraudulent devices meant to rope in credulous onlookers. Tellingly, Donne distinguished the English Church from the Catholic by noting that Catholicism was like "an Antiquaries Cabinet, full of rags and fragments of antiquity, but nothing fit for that use for which it was first

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[95] Keynes, ed., IV, 305

[96] See Margaret W. Ferguson, "'The Afflatus of Ruin': Meditations on Rome by Du Bellay, Spenser, and Stevens," in *Roman Images: Selected Papers from the English Institute*, ed. Annabel Patterson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984), 30; see also, Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017).

[97] W.S. Mackie, ed., *The Exeter Book,* part ii (London: Early English Text Society, 1934), 199.

made."[98] Under this heading, Bacon's painterly metaphors that precede his catalog of antiquities acquire new meaning:

> For civil history, it is of three kinds; not unfitly to be compared with the three kinds of pictures or images. For of pictures or images we see some are unfinished, some are perfect, and some are defaced. So of histories we may find three kinds: memorials, perfect histories, and antiquities; for memorials are history unfinished, or the first or rough drafts of history; and antiquities are history defaced, or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time.

Bacon's three-part analogy is not one of mere convenience; it renders Bacon's nonce conception of history more material and consequently clearer. What seems to have gone unrecognized in Bacon's imagery, however, is that its metaphor's tripartite vehicle evokes specific artistic techniques current in the seventeenth century. Bacon's 'three kinds' of history are likened to three 'kinds' or known genres of visual art. The first, 'unfinished paintings,' are more than that: a form of painterly boast demonstrating nonchalance or painterly *sprezzatura* that hints at the fact that the artist *could* finish the composition, but won't. These so-called *non-finito* paintings developed early on in Italian Renaissance art, but they remained influential throughout the seventeenth century. The *non-finito* was adopted, for example, with newfound effect in Rembrandt's etchings, many of which are dominated by voids of untouched white space.[99] We know that unfinished things interested Bacon; and as we shall see, Bacon described aphorisms as similarly unpolished but consequently more evocative, prompting the reader or viewer to fill in the gaps left by

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[98] "Sermon CXLVII: A Sermon preached to Queen Anne, at Denmark-House, December 14, 1617," in *The Works of John Donne, Vol. 6,* ed. Henry Alford (London: John Parker, 1839), 12.
[99] See Leonard Barkan, "The Fragment," in *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 206. A recent exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York brought attention to the *non-finito* in a survey of unfinished works from the Renaissance to the twenty-first century.

art.

The second 'kind'—Bacon's 'perfect paintings'—are plainly those that are finished, but with the dual and opposed meanings of *perfect* in the period at play. *Perfect* meant both "finished" but also somehow unnaturally contrived. Sir Thomas Browne adopted a similar metaphor in characterizing the nature of visible reality: "as in a pourtract, things are not truely, but in equivocall shapes, and as they counterfeit some more reall substance in that invisible fabric." In other words, the fact of an image's making obscures its claim to accuracy. These 'perfect' images, like the 'perfect histories' Bacon later upbraids, amount to made-up or counterfeit depictions of a scene or event; they have been 'perfected,' literally *per-ficere,* completely or thoroughly fabricated. But Bacon's final category or kind of painting is altogether more obscure and thus suggestive: *Defaced paintings* recall images either intentionally or accidentally damaged. This, in turn, inevitably recalls relics, icons, or hagiographic imagery, especially on account of the fact that the most common means of eliminating the devotional force of a reliquary image was to literally 'de-face' and thus expunge the identity of the depicted figure. But what Bacon's striking characterization of antiquities as 'defaced history' most clearly suggests is that the methods of interpreting 'historical remnants' share something of the devotional practices employed when interacting with holy remnants.

These relic-like metaphors used to describe textual and bodily remains have endured in archaeological and editorial terminology. Archaeological fragments are still referred to as 'members', signifying the scattered limbs of a lost edifice, while a collected anthology of an author's works comprises a *corpus*, frequently anatomized in the renaissance as various 'limbes'. Perhaps the most famous use of this trope is in the preface

of the first folio edition of Shakespeare's works (published 1623). There, Heminges and Condell claim to have preserved Shakespeare's "owne writings," and "offer'd" these "to [the reader's] view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes."[100] Much earlier, Petrarch advanced a similar conflation, linking "the body of the text and the human body."[101] And beyond the classicizing of Petrarch and early humanism, this imagery could claim biblical authority in the early modern period: in allegorizing the body of Christ as a multi-partite community, 12 Corinthians observes, "For the body is not one member, but many."[102] Here, the ontological (and lexicographical) link between fragments and relics reemerges. Bacon seems to evoke relics in his description of antiquities as 'defaced' art; and as we've seen, this link was not unrecognized in the period: Robert Cawdrey's definition, contemporary with Bacon's writing (1604), gives *reliques* as an evocative synonym for *fragments*. Sir Thomas Browne, for his part, also yokes antiquities to relics when he explains that the "reason I tender so little devotion unto reliques is, I think, the slender and doubtfull respect I have alwayes held unto Antiquities." Browne explicitly equates fragmented bodies with fragmented things.[103] These things are, if nothing else, the past 'bodied forth,' albeit in imperfect form.

It seems strange to suggest that antiquarian fragments ascend in post-reformation scholarly practice to replace relics as secular (and consequently safe) stand-ins for

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[100] Quoted in Roger Chartier and Peter Stallybrass, "What is a Book," in Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013),
[101] Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 42.
[102] Corinthians 12:12-27 KJV: "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ."
[103] Sir Thomas Browne. *Religio Medici and Hydriotaphia, or Urne-Buriall* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2012), 34.

proscribed devotional objects; and yet, to borrow again from Thomas Browne, "though misplaced in circumstance, there is something in it of devotion."[104] Viewing antiquities as a kind of relic and comparing the study of fragmented artifacts to the ways, means, and expectations of reliquary devotion clarifies the antiquaries' view of their task. It is no doubt true that the period's interest in antiquity was in many ways framed and informed by pre-reformation views of religious iconography.[105] As Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood recount in their study of Renaissance icons, the sacredness of an object almost always went hand-in-hand with its antiquity; these two attributes were not only mutually supportive but mutually constitutive, albeit usually in one direction only: a sacred thing was necessarily old, while an old thing was not necessarily sacred. Nagel and Wood describe this phenomenon in the reception of late medieval saints' icons, objects routinely "invested with hoary provenances" even if they were of a relatively recent date. Such archaizing addenda and backdatings merely underscored the divinity inhering in saintly parts and association objects: their antiquity brought new emphasis to their sacredness. Arguably, antiquarian fragments, or rather fragmentary antiquities, work in an analogous but inverted way: while Christian relics and icons were viewed as ancient because sacred, fragmentary antiquities are viewed as sacred because ancient.

This approach—viewing antiquities as a form of object susceptible to a kind of relic hermeneutic—is one way of isolating the antiquarian mode in its early modern

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[104] Keynes, ed., I, 13.

[105] Alexander Nagel, "The Afterlife of the Reliquary," in *Treasures of Heaven: Beyond the Middle Ages*, Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann, and James Robinson, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 215: "Curiosities, natural marvels, antiquities, works of art—all of these in some sense substituted for the relic in the new world of the curiosity cabinets and proto-museums, attracting similar kinds of awed attention."

context, allowing us to view it as more than a mere methodological forebear of modern historiography and artifact-informed archaeology. In other words, by retaining the semantic link between fragment and relic—a link present, noted, and pervasive in the seventeenth century—, we might more accurately describe the imaginative and conjectural (faith-based) gymnastics antiquaries performed with fractured things: like relics, in the early modern period antiquarian fragments invited (and often rewarded) close looking and imaginative gap-filling. While the desiccated and blackened finger of a saint set on a silk pillow beneath a crystal monstrance prompts thoughts of human frailty and evokes the absent presence of a contiguous arm, elbow, body, and being, a potsherd prompts thoughts of an absent pot, its evaporated or drained contents, and the culture, actions, and situation of its use and making.

Further cementing this link between remnants and relics in the early modern imagination, descriptions of artifactual antiquities and relics were often paired in travelers' narratives—a genre that functioned as a reformed and secular reimagining of the pilgrimage narrative.[106] Invariably, descriptions of relics and antiquities in such accounts linger on their partialness and evocative qualities and are expressed in terms calibrated to the confessional identity of the observer. The fragmentary quality of relics was also emphasized by the reliquaries and monstrances in which they were held and displayed. In his rollicking account of his own continental journey, Thomas Coryat

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[106] Paula Findlen locates a similar trend among natural historians, for whom travel was instrumental in collecting specimens of their objects of study: "Through actual and imaginary voyages, naturalists made observation and exploration increasingly meaningful activities." As Findlen further observes, this activity was often likened to a kind of pilgrimage. The collector, like a pilgrim, "patiently accumulat[ed] mementos to mark the progress of his voyage," *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy,* 163.

described the severed head of the Martyred St. Denis seen at Paris in 1608: the head, Coryat relates, was "inclosed in a wonderful rich helmet, beset with exceeding abundance of pretious stones." Despite the grandeur of the relic's enclosure, Coryat's view of the saint's skull was limited to the space of a small crystal window: "the skull it selfe I saw not plainly, only the forepart of it I beheld through a pretty crystall glasse by the light of a waxen candle."[107] A pen-and-ink drawing of this helmet-like monstrance contemporary with Coryat's description survives in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. Indicating the reliquary's apparatus, a small line indicates the window through which the saint's skull was viewed (see fig. 1.5). On the reverse of the leaf bearing this image are a number of epigraphic antiquities, transcribed and copied in faithful detail. The anonymous author of these images, shadowing Coryat's itinerary, evidently viewed antiquities and relics as categorically related and equally worthy of record. In line with this, and demonstrating what Angus Vine has identified as Coryate's "antiquarian interests," Coryat is also careful to record and seek out pre-Christian monumental inscriptions, making his travel journal "a kind of elaborate epigraphic collection."[108] The dual interest in relics and antiquities shared by Coryat and his anonymous and ably-penned contemporary is due, at least in part, to the ambiguity and imaginative potential both categories of artifact hold. Like antiquities, relics are viewed and interpreted from a position of inadequate knowledge and circumscribed view-finding (they are always

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[107] Thomas Coryat, *Coryant's Crudities Hastily gobled up in five Moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grison country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany and the Netherlands* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, Publishers to the University, 1905), 185.
[108] Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 160; 162.

viewed "not plainly" and only reveal themselves in parts). And like relics, antique fragments, whether textual or material, offer up small windows onto a dimly-lit past through which antiquaries gazed in an attempt at a clearer view.[109]

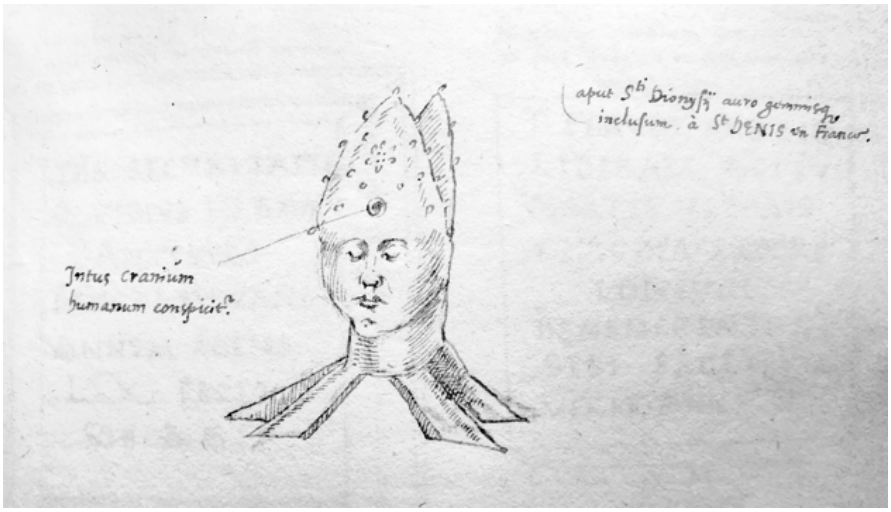

Figure 1.5. Houghton MS Typ 368, a ca. 1600 traveler's sketchbook in which drawings of antiquities appear alongside depictions of relics. This anonymous drawing illustrates the gem-studded and voyeuristic reliquary Thomas Coryat described at the Abbey of St. Denis in Paris, 1608. Just visible through the leaf are a number of Roman epigraphic artifacts and inscriptions the journalist drew and transcribed. The text accompanying the indicating line reads, "view the human skull in/through this" [*Intus cranium humanum conspicit.*].
Courtesy of Harvard University Library.

Put differently, antiquarian fragments harbor synecdochic potential; they offer blanks to fill and opportunities for thingy dialogue. This is synecdoche in the antiquarian mode, a process (and writerly device) by which the fragmented past can imply, enliven, or evoke an absent whole. John Aubrey relates something akin to this imaginative and persuasive conjuration in describing Stonehenge, then (as now) England's most famous monumental fragment (or fragmentary monument): "the eie and mind is no lesse affected

[109] Susan Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1999), 115-16.

with these stately ruines than they would have been when standing and entire. They breed in generous mindes a kind of pittie; and sett the thoughts a worke to make out their magnificence as they were when in perfection."[110] Fragments have their own rhetoric and perlocutionary effect no less forceful than that of a thing unbroken and entire, moving attentive witnesses to a "kind of pittie" and thus prompting them to "make out" what they had been. Mixing pathos and erudition, antiquaries devised a new kind of synecdochic archaeology that required both historiographic and imaginative implements and tools.

[110] John Aubrey, *Wiltshire: The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey, F.R.S., A.D. 1659-70,* ed. John Edward Jackson (Devizes: Printed and sold for the Society by Henry Bull, Saint John Street, 1862), 4.

Camden's Remains *(1605-14)*

In the final third of this chapter, I turn to consider William Camden's printed collection of fractured evidence, *Remains concerning Britain* (1605).[111] In doing so, I find a relatively unstudied text. Existing scholarship on Camden has justifiably lingered on his latinate *Britannia,* a massy and learned excavation of Britain's Roman past intended to, "restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britain to his antiquity."[112] Published first in 1586, reprinted in five successively larger editions (1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607), and eventually issued in an idiosyncratic and collaborative English translation by Philemon Holland in 1610, the *Britannia's* dilating scope and eye-watering particularism reflect the meticulous (and self-avowedly interminable) nature of Camden's task: each new edition, incorporating recently discovered or more accurate source material, augmented but also bloated Camden's text. As Camden's posthumous editor, Edmund Gibson, wryly observed in 1695, "if Mr. Camden had liv'd to this day, he had been still adding and altering."[113] Even when 'finished', the *Britannia* wasn't.

Adopting Camden's motto—*pondere, non numero*—however, I exchange copia for a more ponderous aim. Often overlooked, the *Remains* (Camden's only work written in

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[111] *Full title:* REMAINES | OF | A GREATER | WORKE, | Concerning | Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, | *their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise speeches, Poësies, and* | *Epitaphes.* | [device] | AT LONDON | Printed by G[eorge].E[ld]. for *Simon Waterson* | 1605. In the second and subsequent editions, the reference to Camden's *Britannia* was removed and is now widely referred to by the generic title, *Remains Concerning Britain*; hereafter, *Remains.*

[112] Camden adopts this description from Abraham Ortelius, who proposed the project to Camden on a trip to England in 1573. The *Britannia* began as a relatively straightforward chorography intended to recover the Roman place names and historic boundaries of Britain's constituent counties and countries. But by its final authorial edition (1607), it had evolved to be much more besides.

[113] Edmund Gibson, ed., *Camden's Britannia, Newly Translated into English: with Large Additions and Improvements* (London: Printed by F. Collins, for A. Swalle [etc.], 1695), A2^{v}.

English) constitutes a sophisticated demonstration of antiquarian practice in the period and makes visible the dynamic that binds antiquarianism to fragments and fragments to imaginative synecdoche as an interpretive instrument. Further, I argue that the *Remains* not only shares the enumerative arrangement of Bacon's 'antiquities', but provided Bacon with his gathered materials: Bacon evidently borrowed from Camden directly in deciding what constituted 'antiquities.' When considered in tandem, Bacon's 'antiquities' and Camden's *Remains* indicate that antiquarianism was by 1605 less amorphous a discipline than has been suggested, and in consequence the two works prompt us to consider how fragmentary, imperfect, and unconventional evidence was useful in the antiquarian mode.

First published in 1605, four months before the *Advancement of Learning,* and compiled, drafted, and gathered between 1583 and 1603, Camden's *Remains* arrays its subject in loosely related chapters and material categories.[114] In this, it resembles the conditions of its composition, arising from the informal lecture-like tracts and research-heavy treatises delivered by Camden and his antiquarian peers at meetings of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries. In its first edition, the *Remaines* embraced thirteen topics, each introduced in brief expository essays. In the first edition, Camden's chapters include, *Britaine, inhabitants*, *languages*, *names, surnames, allusions*, *rebus or name devises*, *anagrammes*, *imprese, wise speeches, poems, epigrammes, epitaphs;* the second edition (1614) adds six more: *armories [heraldic devices], money, apparell, artillarie, proverbs, and rythmes*.

In structure, the *Remains* resembles a synoptic grammar or primer, sectioning off

[114] R.D. Dunn, working with Camden's manuscripts, dates the bulk of the work to 1597. Camden's dedicatory epistle to Robert Cotton is dated 12 June 1603. See William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R.D. Dunn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), xvi.

its subject into a catalog of instructive and essential elements. A lifelong educator and the author of one of early modern England's most successful Greek grammars, Camden knew well that any educative program, particularly one advancing an erudite or unfamiliar subject, must be partitioned into digestible and palatable crumbs.[115] By viewing the *Remaines* in these terms, I argue, its purpose and genre—a question Camden leaves open to doubt, calling the work the "rude and outcast rubbish […] of a greater and more serious worke"—become clearer: namely, it introduces, delineates, and explains the fundamental objects and principles of antiquarian research and not only advocates for new and unconventional kinds of historical 'evidences' but hints at how these evidences might be productively interpreted.[116] The *Remains'* modern editor, R.D. Dunn, suggests something similar when he observes that, "Camden clearly intended the *Remains* to serve as a convenient guide, a congenial handbook to British antiquity rather than an exhaustive study of any one subject." But beyond this, I think the educative tropes

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[115] See ESTC S108166, *Institutio Graecae grammatices compendiaria, in vsum Regiæ Scholæ Westmonasteriensis. Scientiarum ianitrix grammatica* (London: Simon Waterson, 1595). Significantly, the *Remains* was published and sold by Simon Waterston, the same bookseller responsible for Camden's *Institutio Graecae grammatices.* Probably Camden's most enduring work, his Greek grammar was excerpted and reprinted well into the eighteenth century. As R.C. Richardson observes, Camden worked "first as an assistant master and then as Headmaster of Westminster School […] He was bound up with the great phase of educational expansion which Lawrence Stone and others have termed the 'Educational Revolution', one key feature of which was the rapid proliferation of grammar schools. Camden himself had been trained in Classics and since this subject was the principal ingredient of the grammar-school curriculum of the day, he spent much of his time teaching it. His own most widely used publication at the time was a Greek grammar." R. C. Richardson, *Social History, Local History, and Historiography: Collected Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 112. Angus Vine makes a similar point in examining the *Britannia's* rhetorical style: "We should not be surprised that a one-time schoolmaster recognized the importance of variation or indeed of rhetoric more generally." See Angus Vine, "Copiousness, Conjecture and Collaboration in William Camden's Britannia: William Camden's Britannia," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 2 (April 2014): 231.

[116] The *Remains* is rude because it is in English, and outcast because it resists accrual to the larger *Britannia*.

deployed in *Remains*—its reliance on illustrative specimens, and its ludic engagement with its readers, for example—transcend congeniality and suggest a carefully taxonomized discipline.[117] Many of Camden's topics were well examined by 1605. His etymological and etiological chapters, in particular, retread common ground (names, languages, Britain); and his heraldic chapters (armories and, to a lesser extent rebuses) were informed by Camden's exposure to genealogical terminology and research as Clarenceux King of Arms in the College of Heralds.[118] But many of Camden's fragmentary categories were new to seventeenth century historiography, especially in the vernacular: poems, clothing, rebuses, and anagrams.

Here, though, we should recall Bacon's 'antiquities' as they appeared in the first edition of the *Advancement of Learning*: "Monuments, Names, Wordes, Prouerbes, Traditions, Priuate Recordes, and Euidences, Fragments of stories, Passages of Bookes, that concerne not storie, and the like." Bacon's list echoes Camden's, sometimes verbatim (proverbs, names) and sometimes implicitly (poems, epigrams, languages, i.e., 'Fragments of stories, passages of Bookes, that concerne not storie'). Significantly, too, Bacon's 'antiquities' were not without an evolving taxonomy of their own: like Camden's *Remains,* the *Advancement of Learning's* catalog of the 'remnants of history' becomes even more capacious in its second edition. In its 1623 Latin translation, *De Augmentis Scientiarum,* to monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, records, evidences, and fragments of

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[117] See Dunn, ed., xxv. See also ESTC S106596; the title of John Brinsley's popular *Ludus literarius: or, the grammar schoole* (1612) makes this link between elementary education and play explicit.

[118] After rising to the position of headmaster at Westminster School in 1593, Camden was appointed Clarenceux King of Arms in 1597.

story are added genealogies, inscriptions, and coins.[119] Bacon's late additions are striking, particularly as the section of the text to which this passage of the *De Augmentis* belongs is otherwise a faithful translation and rendering of the 1605 text with no obvious evidence of revision. But Bacon's 1623 additions are also striking in that they reproduce two categories that Camden added to the *Remains* in 1614: *money,* and *armories* [i.e., arms: heraldic devices and genealogies]. While Michael Kiernan detects these resemblances in Bacon's antiquities and Camden's *Remains*, he does not suggest textual indebtedness, nor does he note the additions made to Bacon's list between it first and second editions. I think the relationship is more direct and intentional, revealing that Bacon was not only aware of Camden's *Remains* but used it in devising his list of antiquities.[120]

The textual history of the *Remains* fits. Many of the materials it prints were in manuscript circulation long before 1605. Camden's chapter on epitaphs, for instance, originated in a lecture he read to the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries on 3 November 1600. This lecture survives in a clearly-written manuscript at the British Library, which bears minor variants in its text, likely a fair copy prepared for reading. Additionally, at various points in the *Remains*, Camden describes the prolonged process of gathering that

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[119] The 1640 translation of this passage reads: "Genealogies, Calendars, Inscriptions, Monuments, Coyns, Proper Names and Styles; Etymologies of words, Proverbs, Traditions, Archives and Instruments, as well publick as private; Fragments of stories, scattered passages of Books that concern not History; out of all these, I say, or some of them, they recover and save somewhat from the Deluge of Time. Certainly a painful work, but acceptable to all sorts of Men, and attended with a kind of Reverence, and indeed worthy (all Fabulous Originals of Nations defac'd, and extinguisht) to be substituted in the room of such counterfeit stuff." Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning of the Partitions of Sciences IX Bookes* (Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, 1640), II, 59.

[120] Kiernan, ed., *Advancement of Learning*, 265 [2C3^{r}]. Kiernan fails to note the additions made to the list in the *De Augmentis.*

preceded publication: "Twenty years since," Camden writes in introduction to his chapter on 'Wise Speeches', "while *I[ohn]. Bishop* […] and my selfe turned over all our Historians wee could then finde, for diverse endes, wee beganne to note aparte the Apothegms or Speeches […] of our nation."[121] The time separating the printing of Bacon's *Advancement* and Camden's *Remains* is equally suggestive: Bacon's *Advancement* was entered into the Stationer's register on 19 August 1605, nine months after Camden's *Remains* was entered on 10 November 1604. The *Remain's* prefatory dedication to Robert Cotton, dated 12 June 1603, predates the *Advancement* by two years, and an earlier dedicatory epistle, dated 31 October 1596, to Robert Cecil survives at Hatfield house, suggesting that the work was substantively complete by then.[122] Judging by a letter from Richard Carew to Sir Robert Cotton, dated 7 April 1605, we know the *Remains* had been published and made available before that date; namely, four months before Bacon's work had been entered for printing.[123]

In the intervening months, Bacon may have consulted Camden's *Remains* and integrated its taxonomy into his definition of 'antiquities' well before the *Advancement* went to press. The evidence in the works' verbatim echoes is tantalizing if ultimately only suggestive, and we're left to infer an exchange, either direct or vicarious. Ultimately,

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[121] Dunn, ed., 205.

[122] This letter apparently enclosed copies of Camden's studies of anagrams, names, and surnames. From Camden's letter, quoted in Dunn: "I submitte this enclosed to your honorable censure oute of a chapiter off Anagrammes incidentally to be handled after a discourse of English names and Surnames," xxxvi. See Dunn, ed., "Textual Introduction": Camden's first attempt to find a patron for the book was addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burghley to whom, ten years earlier, he had dedicated the *Britannia*. His letter […] signed and dated 31 October 1596 is preserved in the library of Hatfield House," xxxv.

[123] See Dunn, ed., xxxvii.

though, the question of cribbing or appropriation in either direction is in some sense irrelevant: the crucial point is that both works treat antiquities in almost identical terms, and both enumerate the fragmentary evidence on which antiquaries relied to more fully define what antiquaries *did*. What's more, by treating antiquarian evidences as formally fractured, both works illuminate early modern conceptions of fragments and remains as parts expressive of a lost whole. This suggests more besides: the repetition of Camden's *Remains* in Bacon's 'antiquities' exposes an unrecognized affinity between Camden and Bacon (and therefore between empiricism and antiquarianism) in the period, particularly in their views of historical scholarship.[124] While Bacon was not himself an antiquary, even if (as I have argued) his writing helped constitute the antiquarian mode, the 1623 additions to Bacon's *De Augmentis* indicate a sympathetic awareness of contemporary antiquarian method, and specifically those illustrated in the *Remains* in both its first and second editions.[125] And yet, in spite of their rhetorical resemblances and shared commitments, in pairing these works, we discover odd bedfellows. As my discussion above makes clear, Bacon—the modernizing empiricist—is rarely linked with Camden, Edmund Spenser's "nourice of antiquitity." But what the above makes clear is that Bacon

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[124] That Bacon and Camden inhabited the same intellectual and political network—a fact now modeled and demonstrated statistically by the *Six Degrees of Francis Bacon* project—is similarly suggestive. Camden was a protege of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (Bacon's Uncle); and Burghley's son, Robert Cecil, served as the dedicatee and patron of the *Britannia.* See "William Camden & Francis Bacon Network [all_connections, 1552-1626, 61-100%]." Six Degrees of Francis Bacon. http://www.sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com/?ids=10000473,10001962&min_confidence=60&type=network, 2/18/2020.

[125] The 1640 English edition of the *De Augmentis* translates Bacon's Latin *antiquitates* to "*Antiquities* or the *Remains of Histories*," Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning of the Partitions of Sciences IX Bookes* (Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, 1640), II, 59.

and Camden both comment on the inadequacy of the methods of historiography available to them in similar terms; likewise, both display an analogous commitment to spinning conjectures from piecemeal evidence. For Bacon, the challenge was to fashion history anew, dictating new forms and epistemological categories; Camden, on the other hand—with a narrower focus and professional license—does so in practice. Both Camden and Bacon seem to have been genuinely uncomfortable with the idea that a curated collection of historical facts could recover the past; in other words, Camden and Bacon both believed that history and knowledge of the past could not be 'perfected'.[126]

[126] See Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2007), 203: "Camden stood with genuine humility before the fragments of empirical evidence; he stood in silence, however, and with frank distrust, before the monumental figure of History […] the data of human experience are for him more eloquent witnesses of the work of Time, although they do not automatically open up the portals of understanding. Realizing that knowledge and faith are inseparable companions […] Camden sees a fluid process and circumnavigates the concept of disciplinary 'methods' that either elude fact or presume to make knowledge absolute. His disclaimer that the *Britannia* is not a history, then, is not a rhetorical trope but an important assertion driven by a well-conceived theory. […] A gatherer and recorder, he […] stops short of assuming the role of justicer or interpreter, and pretends to nothing."

Pondere, Non Numero: Fragmentary Affect in Camden's Remains

A fragment is more than an object for antiquarian inspection. The written forms and genres that constitute the literary output of the seventeenth century's antiquarian mode are conspicuously fragmentary, too: collections of *opuscula, notes, tables, topics, lexica, aphorisms, pandectae, compendia, apothegms, 'choice pieces',* and *essays* abound.[127] Fractured texts and discontinuous scholarly practices similarly defined the research that preceded these fragmentary genres. Ann Blair has recently unearthed the scattered, but ornately organized note-taking practices employed in early modern Europe across disciplines, practices that included the design and implementation of complex filing cabinets (*arca studiorum)* made up of hinged armatures onto which fragments of paper bearing excerpts, commonplaces, and memoranda could be pinned. There these jotted slips would remain until consulted, reorganized, or published.[128] Among William Camden's papers at the British Library are hundreds of small slips of paper bearing careful manuscript copies of far-flung epigraphic inscriptions, some sent to Camden through a virtual community of antiquarian correspondents and others collected by Camden himself. Another example of this interest in generic and formal fragmentation is found in John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*—famously conceived in the bowl of a pipe.[129] Aubrey, his own breed of rummaging

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[127] On some of these genres, see Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[128] Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 93-102. Elizabeth Yale has recently attended to the research, correspondence, and archival practices of early-modern natural historians. See Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: U. Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[129] In a letter sent to his collaborator Anthony Wood on 15 February 1680, Aubrey remarks that while smoking a pipe, "it came into my mind to scribble a sheet of paper close, which I shall enlarge (much) viz: the Lives of the worthy and ingeniose Knight Sir William Petty from his

antiquary, titled his scrapbook of biographical data with the Greek *Schediasmata (*Σχεδιασματα*):* freaks, whims, caprices, fragments—a formal congeries that Kate Bennet's recent scholarly edition makes newly visible.[130] Aubrey's motto reflects the attitude that yielded the *Lives*: SEMPER EXCERPE—always select. Bacon, for his part, went so far as to envision a language comprised entirely of two letters, a fragmentary 'bi-literal' alphabet in which any message could be reduced to ciphered strings of As and Bs. Offering an astonishing precursor to binary code, Bacon's system reduces all thought to two lettered fragments, infinitely meaningful if visually spare; as Hannah Marcus and Paula Findlen recently observe, the period was enamored of enigmatic communication, with Italian intelligentsia producing a rich genre of works dedicated to ciphers and coded methods of writing.[131]

This stylistic and formal shift in the direction of cryptic, abbreviated writing reflects the antiquaries' interest in abstruse pieces and parts, and antiquaries proved eager participants in the condensing and distilling that defined this new style. With striking regularity, seventeenth-century antiquaries averred their interest in weighty *res* over adorned *verba.* As Camden's personal motto has it: *Pondere, non numero* (weight, not

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cradle; Sir Christopher Wren the like. as also Mr Robert Hooke." Kate Bennett, "The Making of Brief Lives," in Kate Bennett, ed., *John Aubrey: Brief Lives with an Apparatus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), cix. Here, in Aubrey's hurried epistolary account of the project's earliest stages, the digressive and expanding scope of *Brief Lives* is made clear.

[130] For a discussion of Aubrey's scribal practices, see Kate Bennett "The Making of Brief Lives," in Kate Bennett, ed., *John Aubrey: Brief Lives with an Apparatus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). In the early modern period, the tendency to slice up texts into notes or excerpts that fit under rubrics or topical headings in commonplace books was widespread.

[131] Bill Sherman has recently brought renewed attention to Bacon's bi-literal alphabet. See "How to Make Anything Signify Anything," *Cabinet Magazine,* Winter 2010-11. http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/40/sherman.php. See also Hannah Marcus and Paula Findlen, "Deciphering Galileo: Communication and Secrecy before and after the Trial," *Renaissance Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (Fall 2019), 953-995.

number), a phrase that merely encodes and inverts Bacon's own censure of Ciceronian embellishment, whose "inclination," Bacon observed, is "rather towards *copie than weight*." In nearly identical terms, then, Camden and Bacon objected to their contemporaries' tendency to hunt "more after words than matter."

Expressing the same thought discursively, Camden offers a characteristically penetrating assessment of his own style in the preface to his *Britannia.* Excusing "the silly web of my stile, and rough hewed forme of my writing," Camden heads off critics eager to censure his lack of rhetorical polish and enlists their idol Cicero in apposite counterpoint: "but why should they object this, when as Cicero the father of Eloquence denieth that this kinde of argument can […] be flourished out, and as Pomponius Mela said, is incapable of all Eloquent speech."[132] Camden turns a familiar and classical critique of antiquarianism—that the field is ill-suited to rhetoric—into an asset. Eschewing the fine marble of the Ciceronians and Euphuists, Camden aims to cut his prose from rough granite. This trope vindicating homespun elocution is perhaps most evident in the *Remains*, a work written and published in a vernacular that runs "rough with cragged consonants."[133]

At the level of historiographical practice, this formal drift toward brevity,

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[132] William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Illands Adioyning*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop, 1610), *fl.*4^{v}. While most scholars of antiquarianism have preferred Edmund Gibson's 1695 translation, Angus Vine observes that Camden's role in the 1610 translation has been inaccurately minimized. Citing Holland and Camden's correspondence, Vine finds evidence of Camden's participation throughout the project. Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 80.

[133] William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R.D. Dunn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 145.

laconicism, and brokenness amounted to a kind of stylistic riposte to what Hayden White termed 'emplotment': antiquarian writing, including Camden's *Remains,* elides even the most basic structure of story and telos. Inhering in the anti-Ciceronianism of Camden and Bacon is the belief that rhetoric gets in the way of communication and belies the ambiguous and conjectural status of historical knowledge. In describing Ciceronianism's opposing style (conventionally termed the 'Attic' or 'pointed' style) Erasmus observed that it speaks "more genuine, more concise, more forceful."[134] Nearly a century later, Ben Jonson—a pupil of Camden's at Westminster—provides us with a characteristically fleshy metaphor: this new style (a style Jonson almost stands in for metonymically), lends "nourishing and sound meates of the world" rather than "a few Italian herbs, pick'd vp, and made into a sallade." Relying on weighty meaning and forthright prose, the antiquary's focus on fragments and fragmented style permitted the antiquary to skirt the historian's predisposition to suture a narrative from a splintered past, and instead presents his evidence as it was found.

In addition to providing a lucid writerly medium, however, a terse, paratactic, and itemizing style also mirrored the antiquaries' puzzling objects: laconicism, however 'meaty' and 'genuine, precludes discursive elucidation and thus frequently culminates in doubt. On the one hand, this is Bacon's 'imperfect' or 'defaced' histories at work, displacing the perceived deceptions of 'perfect' histories with a more fragmented, and ostensibly more accurate alternative. But the effect of these fractured writings is also one of difficulty and ontological obscurity—the antiquaries' written accounts of their evidence

[134] Quoted in George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble: A Study in Prose Form from Bacon to Collier* (Faber & Faber, 1951), 19.

raise questions at least as frequently as they resolve them.

Far from prompting epistemological skepticism or anxiety, however, "difficulty" in style and matter was seen as an asset in the period and indicated that mental work was required of the reader. As Anthony Bacon observed in describing the experience of reading a newly Englished Tacitus, "hee hath writen the most matter with best conceyt in fewst wordes of anie Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is harde. *Difficilia quae pulchra*." Beautiful things are difficult; or, saying the same thing by commutation: difficult things are beautiful. Significantly, Camden uses the same Erasmian adage to describe anagrams, remarking that these and similar conceits of language function as "a whetstone of patience to them that shall practise it."[135] This language similarly recalls the often-expressed requirement of 'diligence' and 'industry' in antiquarian research—studying the remnants of the past was no task for the weak willed.

There is a certain empirical practicality to this, too: fragments, like facts, are absolute and often made up of hardened, weighty material, irrefutable even if decontextualized, broken, and vague. As this chapter has so far aimed to argue, this premise sits at the heart of antiquarian practice in the period: not only did antiquaries like Camden seek to combat the historian's ostensible penchant to gloss, epitomize, and 'pass

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[135] See "A.B. To the Reader," in Cornelius Tacitus, *The End of Nero and Beginning of Galba: Foure Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus*, ed. Anthony Bacon (London: s.n., 1612), ¶3^{r}. This is one of Erasmus's *Adagia* (2.1.12) and was deployed frequently in the period. *Adagia in Latine and English: Containing Five Hundred Proverbs* (London: Bernard Alsop, 1621), 3. Camden uses the same adage in his description of Anagrams: see Dunne, ed., 143: "They will also afford it some commendations in respect of the difficultie, (Difficilia quae pulchra,) as also that it is a whetstone of patience to them that shall practise it. For some have beene seene to bite their penne, scratch their head, bend their browes, bite their lips, beate the boord, teare the paper when they were faire for somewhat, and caught nothing heerin."

ouer' essential detail, they also sought new forms that more accurately reflected the tentative and 'broken' nature of their researches. In writing about fragments, antiquaries often wrote in fragments.[136] George Williamson, in his study of the stylistic tropes of seventeenth-century prose, characterized this as "brevity pushed to the verge of obscurity."[137]

Claire Preston has eloquently traced this formal and epistemological tendency to write in fragments through the seventeenth century and into the scientific discourse of the Royal Society: "latent in this vision is the idea of parts or fragments still to be convened in a coherent order, an image of the fractured state of knowledge."[138] But the history of this 'vision' is longer still: Reid Barbour locates an early declaration in defense of a fractured style in Bacon's interest in aphorisms, a form Bacon likens evocatively to 'knowledge broken': "For English writers in the aftermath of Sir Francis Bacon's Great Instauration," Barbour writes, "[…] it was precisely the brokenness of discourse that afforded the greatest opportunity for the discovery and ingestion of truth."[139] Barbour also observes that Bacon argued for aphorisms early in his career and continued to proselytize their unique affordances: "already in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon had

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[136] As Richard Helgerson observed, antiquaries increasingly found evidence of historical, political, and cultural discontinuity rather than continuity in their research. As such, there is a certain congruity in antiquaries writing in broken parts and piecemeal conjecture: history itself was more fragmented than the period's narratives suggest. See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 120: "the more antiquaries learned, the less easily they could say that their histories told the story of a single British people or of a single governing dynasty stretching back to Brut and his Trojan warriors."
[137] George Williamson, "Senecan Style in the Seventeenth Century" in *Seventeenth Century Prose,* Stanley E. Fish, ed. (New York, 1971), 114.
[138] Claire Preston, *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation*, 169.
[139] Reid Barbour, "The Power of the Broken: Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici and Aphoristic Writing," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (2016): 592.

insisted that knowledge will grow only if it is disseminated by way of broken aphorisms and observations, as against exact methods or systems; the latter allow for the polishing of knowledge but not for further search and growth."[140] Put differently, aphorisms, in their partialness and semantic abruptness, more accurately reflect the way in which we encounter and interact with unfamiliar objects: namely, with doubt rather than certainty.

By his own admission, Bacon was not innovative in his adherence to aphorism, nor does he suggest that aphorisms are exclusive to one field or discipline of knowledge. In defining the form in the *Novum Organum*, Bacon finds a long and itinerant tradition: "The first and most ancient investigators of truth were wont […] with more honest and success, to throw all knowledge they wished to gather from contemplation, and to lay up for use, into aphorisms, or short scattered sentences unconnected by any method, and without pretending or professing to comprehend any entire art." Aphorisms, Bacon intimates, are commendable because they are diffident; they neither 'pretend' nor 'profess' a coherent knowledge or system (what Bacon terms 'method'). Aphorisms resist conclusiveness and instead hint at what remains unexamined or unknown, and thus prompt their readers to undertake a sort of archaeology of meaning. In this same vein, Bacon further justifies his use of aphorisms in the *Novum Organum,* characterizing the form as one best suited to instigate further thought:

> Whereas I could have digested these rules into a certain method or order, which, I know, would have been more admired, as that which would have made every particular rule, through coherence and relation unto other rules, seem more cunning and deep; yet I have avoided so to do, because this delivering of knowledge in distinct and disjoined aphorisms doth leave the wit of man more free to turn and toss, and to make use of that which

[140] Barbour, "The Power of the Broken," 596.

is so delivered to more several purposes and applications.[141]

Bacon's Aphorisms offer an implicit enticement to their readers to fill-in and contrive. As Michael Hattaway observes, "an aphorism implicitly contains a 'yes, but,' an invitation to carry the discussion further, to qualify, refute, or falsify the proposition."[142]

George Williamson's *Senecan Amble* recasts Bacon's argument: "Methods present knowledge as it may be best believed, and Aphorisms as it may be best examined, with a view to future inquiry."[143] Revealingly, Camden often described his writing in similar terms, namely as conditional and subject to dialogic fact-checking: every claim Camden makes is intended to operate as a conjectural stopgap until disproved or modified by better evidence or better minds. Camden demonstrates this in abruptly (and habitually) departing from his line of thought, excusing the jarring effect by deferring to those "others that haue written, or will write hereafter in this argument, least I should seeme to gleane from the one or preuent the other."[144] This process of degressive, dialogic knowledge formation could (and did) span generations, and there is a sense in which the conjectural status of antiquarianism invited the kind of collaborative, resistant, and

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[141] *OFB* XIII, 140.
[142] Michael Hattaway, "Bacon and 'Knowledge Broken': Limits for Scientific Method," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39, no. 2 (1978): 196. Bacon expresses a similar commitment to aphorism in the *Advancement of Learning:* "For first, [aphorisms] tryeth the Writer, whether hee be superficiall or solide: For Aphorismes, except they should bee ridiculous, cannot bee made but of the pyth and heart of Sciences: for discourse of illustration is cut off, Recitalles of Examples are cut off: Discourse of Connexion, and order is cut off; Descriptions of Practize, are cutte off; So there remayneth nothinge to fill the Aphorismes, but some good quantitie of Obseruation: And therefore no man can suffice, nor in reason will attempt to write Aphorismes, but hee that is sound and grounded," *OFB* IV, 124. See also Kate Aughterson, "Redefining the Plain Style: Francis Bacon, Linguistic Extension, and Semantic Change in *The Advancement of Learning,*" *Studies in Philology* 97.1 (2000): 96-143.
[143] Williamson, *Senecan Amble,* 157.
[144] Dunn, ed., 164.

critical hermeneutic that Bacon saw as the province of aphoristic writing more broadly.[145]

William Camden's *Remains* is a product of this pointed and aphoristic style and a demonstration of its unique effect. Its nineteen chapters display the same attentiveness and commitment to brevity and the meaningful obscurity of fractured parts, suggesting that pieces of the past can tell us more than their spare form suggests. In particular, the structure of the *Remains*—its species of evidence and Camden's trope of occasional, essayistic examination—puts Camden's apothegmatic injunction (*pondere, non numero*) into legible practice. Some "would […] discourse at large," Camden says near the beginning of his book, "which I will tell you in a word."[146] Camden is precise in honoring this commitment and habitually passes over more discursive (and commonplace) treatments of his subjects as too general or overwrought. In his chapter on epitaphs, for example, Camden suggests, "it were needless to set downe heere the Lawes of Plato"; similarly, Camden's etiological chapters on the origins of *Britain* and its *Inhabitants* avoid excursive mythologizing and instead succinctly report the evidence (such as it is), excerpting illustrative and 'antient' records that Camden usually reduces to a mere "few lines."[147] At another point, in discussing the etymology of surnames, Camden demonstrates the same aversion to rulebound methods as Bacon: "to reduce surnames to a Methode," he writes, "is matter for a Ramist, who should happily finde it to be a Typocosmie," apparently inviting the Ramist to sport freely in his fabrications and

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[145] See Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science* (London: Routledge, Kegan, Paul, 1968), 166.
[146] Dunn, ed., 22.
[147] Dunn, ed., 6; 318. In the *Remains* Camden conspicuously omits Geoffrey of Monmouth's legend of British Trojan descent; in contrast, Camden's *Britannia* takes pains to discredit this and other similar origin stories.

fruitless systemizing. Camden, in contrast, "will plainely set downe from whence the most have beene deduced, as farre as I can conceive […]," both promising as much as he is able, but also limiting his work to the bounds of what can be known.[148] Revealing the macaronic pun embedded in his motto, then, Camden intends to ponder (pondere) the evidence rather than merely numerate and collect. The aspect of Camden's work that should hold our attention here, however, is the way in which it effects synecdoche in its treatment of antique parts.

Each chapter of the *Remains* studies its subject in a brief, often chronologically structured essay. Camden illustrates these essays with curated lists of specimens that operate as synecdoches both individually and collectively: individually, they hint at some aspect of the past previously hidden; collectively, they imply that there is more to be found. Evidently, this was intended to be taken literally; Camden observes in his chapter on money, "of Roman coynes great plenty have beene found, and daily are found, which were hid."[149] In this sense, Camden's *Remains* operates in the same mode as Bacon's aphorisms, provoking its readers to query, to collaborate in, and modify Camden's 'timerous' theories.

George Puttenham's definition in the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) marks synecdoche as the rhetorical device that incites an aurally or visually attentive audience to imagine an absent whole from a represented part (or parts), or the other way around:

> by part we are enforced to vnderstand the whole, by the whole part, by many things one thing, by one, many, by a thing precedent, a thing consequent, and generally one thing out of another by maner of contrariety to the word which is spoken, *aliud ex alio*, which because it

[148] Dunn, ed., 94.
[149] Dunn, ed., 168.

> seemeth to aske a good, quick, and pregnant capacitie, and is not for an ordinarie or dull wit so to do, I chose to call him the figure not onely of conceit after the Greeke originall, but also of quick conceite.[150]

Puttenham later places the figure "vnder the speeches *allegoricall*, because of the darkenes and duplicitie of his sence."[151] Synecdoche is famously difficult to distinguish from its close cousin, metonymy, and is often described as a subset of this broader, generic trope. But I think it is important that the two remain distinct: antiquarianism is synecdochic, and not metonymic, because metonymy steps beyond the object being considered, moving from contiguity to association. Of course, the synecdochic process is not automatic and requires collaborative and prolonged inquiry. Augustine Vincent, writing in defense of Camden and in response to Ralph Brooke's *Discoverie* provides a helpful distinction: "the common and traditionall knowledge of Yeeres and Dates, (the Land-Markes of all actions past) is to be had in Chronicles, ordinary Note-Books, and the like Puddles, familiar to everie Heraulds-Painter: But the exact and curious skil, wherein one Herauld hath the start of another, is to be dig'd out of the rocke, and must be drawne out of the fountaines of ancient and obscure Records, which require an Antiquarie."[152] Vincent's professional distinction suggests that antiquaries were somehow uniquely equipped with a subjective skill, a sensitivity for the evidentiary value of arcane artifacts and obscure clues.

Tellingly Camden's text is programmatically occupied with sources of 'darkenes and duplicitie,' including anagrammatical conceits, coded language, and playful

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[150] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie. Contriued into Three Bookes: The First of Poets and Poesie, the Second of Proportion, the Third of Ornament* (London: Richard Field, 1589), 154.
[151] Puttenham, 162-3.
[152] Vincent, *A Discoverie of Errours*, π3^{r-v}.

significations ('significancie' and its adjectival form 'signicative' are two of Camden's keywords, both implying *meaning*, but also an abundance of associations latent in a single word, object, or name).[153] These are fields of esoterica presumably beyond the narrow scope of Vincent's "everie Heraulds-Painter." Demonstrating his 'exact and curious skill', Camden announces his interest in language's potential to communicate beyond its denotative function in intricate, often ludic conceits. The game begins with Camden's subscription at the end of his prefatory address to Sir Robert Cotton, which masks his identity behind the initials, "M.N.": [Willia]M. [Camde]N.[154] Later, Camden anagrammatizes his own identity in his chapter on *Impreses* ("a devise in picture with his motte, or Word, borne by noble and learned personages, to notifie some particlar conceit of their own").[155] One of these playful anagrams renders Camden's name as a cryptic antiquarian boast or perhaps a prompt to his readers: DVM ILLA EVINCAM ('so long as it is proved,' perhaps; or, 'prove it!').[156] Camden's reverence for language and its ability to carry multiple 'significancies' is part of the *Remains'* larger interest in codes of all kinds. Revealing his training in the erudite vocabularies of genealogy and blazon, for example, Camden displays a fascination with pun and graphic hinting, defining rebuses or 'name-devices' as a type of 'painted poesie,' ripe for interpretative untangling: "For whereas a Poesie is a speaking picture, and a picture a speechlesse Poesie, they which lackt wit to

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[153] William Sherman, "Of Anagrammatology," *English Language Notes* 47.2 (Fall/Winter, 2009): 139-148. Sherman observes that Camden's interest in anagrams "reminds us that literature's relationship to science […] has been closer and more complicated for a longer period than we tend to remember."
[154] Dunn, ed., 4.
[155] Dunn, ed., 177.
[156] Dunn, ed., 191.

expresse their conceit in speech, did use to depaint it out (as it were) in pictures."[157]

Inserted in the *Remain's* second edition, Richard Carew's treatise, "On The Excellency of the English Tongue," exhibits a similar interest in language's dense meaning. In it Carew observes that English affords a unique abundance of puns and semantic ambiguities (labeled 'equivoca' in the printed marginal gloss): "so significant are our words, that amongst them sundry single ones, serue to expresse diuers things," Carew observes. In the same essay, Carew suggests that English is similarly susceptible to palindromic phrasing ("I did leuell ere veu, veu ere leuell did I") and metaphor: "our speech doth not consiste onely of words, but in a sort even of deeds, as when wee expresse a matter by Metaphors, wherein English is verie fruitfull and forcible."[158] To Carew's points, Camden adds his own. In his discussion of *Languages,* Camden observes that English is uniquely compact, both semantically and phonically—monosyllabic but in consequence dense with meaning: "As for the Monosyllables so rife in our tongue […] they most fit for expressing briefly the first conceipts of the minde, or *Intentionalia* as they call them in schooles: so that we can set downe more matter in fewer lines, than any other language."[159] English is unmatched in its aphoristic, compact potential, and antiquaries, Camden suggests, are a breed best equipped to suss out language's darkened sense.

Tellingly, Camden is at his most prolix in his onomastic chapters, *Names* and

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[157] Dunn, ed., 139. For this theme in Renaissance poetics, see Frances A. Yates, "The Emblematic Conceit in Giordano Bruno's *De Gli Eroici Furori* and in the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences," in *Lull & Bruno: Collected Essays Volume 1* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 180-209.
[158] Dunn, ed., 39.
[159] Dunn, ed., 30.

Surnames. Camden's etymological comments in these chapters reveal that he is primarily interested in how languages change; and, more importantly, what methods might counteract this change and extract some original meaning (literally its *eutumon,* truth) that time had obscured.[160] While phonetically, language can be "sweetened […] by processe of time," semantically, time obscures all.[161] Names in particular, though obscured by modern speech and prolonged inattention, can reveal genealogical origins and even the nature of one's ancestors: for in the past, Camden notes, "names were borrowed […] from the nature of the man, from his actions, from some marke, forme or deformity […] and habitudes of body" or even "colours of their complexions, garments or otherwise."[162] Names, Camden suggests, do more than nominate, they can provide us with a partial view of our forebears in their appearance and habitudes. Here, Camden replaces the mysticism and fanciful deductions of early Renaissance cratylism—the belief that the nature of a thing is somehow embedded in his name—with an antiquarian onamastic conceit of his own: names and words retain evidence of deep history and a signature of their origins. In this respect Camden anticipated Coleridge's view of etymology by some two hundred years: "There are cases," Coleridge wrote, "in which more knowledge of more value may be conveyed by the history of a word, than by the history of a campaign." Camden's onomastic chapters—as well as his treatments of rebuses and anagrams—devise and demonstrate tools, following a central concern of early modern antiquarianism

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[160] Much has been written on the antiquaries' reliance and interest in etymology, a branch of learning that Angus Vine has likened to a "powerful historical tool." See Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time,* 52.
[161] Dunn, ed., 52.
[162] Dunn, ed., 107.

that Peter N. Miller describes as antiquarianism's turn to praxis: "The study of 'antiquities' (*antiquitates)* thus came to include the study of the processes performed by and with the surviving artifacts as much as the study of the artifacts themselves."[163] Elsewhere, Miller calls the product of this turn the antiquaries' 'toolkit'.

In developing his own toolkit, Camden relies on a kind of typology—the study of objects by form or superficial resemblance—of fragmented things, often operating by way of analogy. For instance, the *Remains* often presents unfamiliar, though illustrative examples and then collates these against vernacular counterparts to demonstrate some fundamental similarity or truth. In doing so, Camden suggests, we can learn something about an unfamiliar object by finding others like it and seeking patterns in the pairing. In the sixteenth century, this comparative method was newly informed by what Peter Burke has observed to be an "increasingly widespread knowledge of ethnographic parallels, a by-product of European exploration and colonization."[164] One case in point comes at a particularly vivid moment in Camden's study of names, when he remarks that "the sauages of Hispaniola and all America, name their children in their owne languages, Glistering-light, Sunne-bright, Gold-bright, fine-gold, Sweete, Rich, Feather, &c. As they of Congo, by names of birds, pretious stones, flowres." Camden uses this ethnographic aside to make a point about his theory of English names: "it were grosse ignorance and no small reproach of our Progenitours," Camden says, "to thinke their

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[163] Peter N. Miller, "A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism," in Alain Schnapp et al., eds., *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 70.
[164] Peter Burke, "Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 293.

names onely nothing significatiue, because that in the daily alteration of our tongues the signification of them is lost, or not commonly knowne, which yet I hope to recouer, and to make in some part knowne."[165] What Camden does with this, in a brilliant inversion, is to assign the barbarism to his contemporaries whose "grosse ignorance" superadds to their 'reproach' of their ancestors—the real savagery is not in naming children with animistic conceits, but rather in the refusal to acknowledge the antiquity and original 'savagery' of one's own culture. This is a truth Camden finds fossilized synecdochally in English words.

Camden's aim in the *Remains* is optative, amounting to a hopeful attempt to make known, if only 'in some part', the abeyant meanings of language and culture. This process of knowledge formation is plainly philological, but goes beyond language. In the same work, Camden proposes that such a method can be productively applied to material evidence, namely artifacts (*apparel, money, artillery*), visual devices (*impreses, rebuses, arms*), and national identity (*Britain, inhabitants).* Camden evidently sought a more capacious definition of what qualified as valid historiographical evidence.[166] And all of the forms of evidence he treats of in the *Remains* are inherently synecdochic, because they move from a part to a shadowed view of some larger, lost whole. In Baconian—indeed, antiquarian—fashion, Camden's *Remains* promises little in the way of certainty: "To find out the true originall of Surnames, is full of difficulty, so it is not easie to search all the

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[165] Dunn, ed., 52.

[166] See Peter N. Miller, "A Tentative Morphology," 70. Miller identifies this expansive evidentiary ambition across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when "antiquaries conquered more and more provinces of the past—religion, law, calendar, food, games, warfare, baths—and became more and more confident in working with a wider variety of evidence."

causes of alterations […], which in former ages have Beene very common among us, and have so intricated, or rather, obscured the truth of our Pedegrees." In the meantime, Camden concedes, "somewhat neuertheless shall be sayd thereof, but more shall be left for them which will diue deeper into this matter."[167] Namely, instead of divining historical fact, the *Remains* demonstrates Camden's effort to develop a lexis and a corresponding toolkit with which to 'dive deeper' and make sense of the fractured remnants of an increasingly distant past—an interpretive process that is as collaborative as it is degressive, tentative, and synecdochic.

[167] Dunn, ed., 117.

CHAPTER 2

'Transcribe, & Copy, & Collect': Facsimiles and the Antiquarian Mode

One etymology of the word *museum* current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries held that museums were mosaics: artful assemblages of figurative tesserae gathered to form a picture of the world.[168] In their earliest guise, museums were heterogeneous *wunderkammern*, or 'wonder rooms', that held natural specimens alongside artificial curiosities, ethnographic objects, and antiquities.[169] Displayed on shelves, in glazed cases, or embedded in a parietal pastiche, museological antiquities offered indexical links to lost or newly-encountered cultures. These 'antiquities' were not always ancient: many were medieval, or of an even more recent vintage, though sourced from strange and distant climes. The 'antiquities' of America, for instance, were often tragically coeval with their first European possessors.[170] One reason for this historical hodgepodge

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[168] For the etymological and conceptual origins of Renaissance museums, see Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 48-96. See also, Arthur MacGregor, "Collectors and Collections of Rarities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Tradescant's Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum 1683 with a Catalogue of the Surviving Early Collections*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 70-97.

[169] See Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 48: "Most compelling about the term *musaeum* was its ability to be inserted into a wide range of discursive practices. Aldrovandi's collection of natural rarities in Bologna was simultaneously called museo, studio, teatro, microcosmo, archivio, and a host of other related terms, all describing the different ends that his collection served and, more importantly, alluding to the analogies between each structure. The peculiar expansiveness of musaeum allowed it to cross and confuse philosophical categories such as bibliotheca, thesaurus, and pandechion with visual constructs such as studio, casino, cabinet, galleria, and theatrum, creating a rich and complex terminology that described significant aspects of the intellectual and cultural life of early modern Europe. The museum was variously a 'room of books' a 'treasure,' and a 'hold all'" and "reflected a diverse understanding of the space that contained precious objects."

[170] On this, see Robert Skelton, "Indian Art and Artifacts in Early European Collecting," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe,* eds. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 274-280. "That great antiquity America lay buried for thousands of years," Sir Thomas Browne observes. *Hydriotaphia*

in early modern museums is found in the history of the words *antiquity* and *antique*. The period's orthographically variable noun 'antique' (or 'antic') was used to denote old things, but also the bizarre, unfamiliar, uncanny, or otherwise unidentifiable (here we should recall John Donne's epigram, which describes the things the antiquary hoards as not just 'old', but also 'strange'). 'Antiques' were thus both antiquities as such and artifacts pilfered or traded-for in encounters with natives of the New World—unfamiliar because exotic.[171] Early modern museums therefore offered a paradoxical architecture of enclosure, simultaneously reveling in antic (antique) variety and seeking to taxonomize and contain it.[172] Taking this as my cue, this chapter's premise is that the antiquaries' interest in assembling, recording, and representing old, strange things shared in the period's museological impulse.

While no contemporary depiction of a seventeenth-century English museum survives, a widely reproduced interior view of the 'Museum Wormianum' (a claustrophobically arranged cabinet of curiosities assembled in Copenhagen by physician and antiquary Ole Worm) captures the type (see fig. 2.1). Peering into the carefully delineated virtual space of this engraving, I find antiquities scattered among Worm's exhibits: reticulated shells, an armadillo, and fossil stones share shelf space with coins, bronzes, terra-cotta figures, and ancient weaponry. All of these objects are 'fragments' in

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Urne Buriall, or, A Brief Discourse of the Sepulchrall Urnes Lately Found in Norfolk (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 2010), 27.

[171] On the period's museological appropriation (and expropriation) of specimens from the New World, see Anthony Alan Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World," in *The Cultures of Collecting,* eds., John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 177-203.

[172] See Susan Pearce, "Museums: The Intellectual Rationale," in *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 89-117.

the dual sense I proposed in my first chapter: figuratively broken-off from their original contexts, and/or literally broken by willful spoliation or decay. As I further proposed in my first chapter, fragments in either sense seem to invite synecdochic interpretation, an imaginative process that in the early-modern museum operated on antique fragments and fragmented 'antickes' alike. Ethnographic objects, Roman artifacts, or desiccated specimens (like the 'alligator stuff'd' of Shakespeare's apothecary) all prompt speculative reconstruction and re-contextualization. This is synecdoche in the antiquarian mode: each collected thing a meronym and metonym figuring forth absent worlds. However, the magic works only if the object is present or at least made visible—hence the impulse to collect and display rather than merely describe.

Figure 2.1. Engraved plate accompanying the *Musei Wormiani Historia* (Leiden, 1655), showing natural specimens (shells, birds, monstrosities) displayed beside antiquities and ethnographic objects (statues, coins, clothing, furniture, weaponry). Image courtesy of the Getty Research Institute Open Content Program.

But antiquities—broken, frequently lumbering things not easily moved—are not the most tractable of museological objects. Some antiquary-collectors tried, of course: Ole Worm's cabinet is one example of an early modern attempt to incorporate antiquities into brimming museological space. The English collector John Tradescant likewise added antiquities to his grandly styled Museum Tradescantium. A 1656 printed catalog of Tradescant's collection reveals that his museum shared in the material and phylar hodgepodge of Worm's: among Tradescant's 'rarities' we find an 'Elephants head and tayle', foreign shoes, and 'Powhatan's Mantle,' a beautiful example of precolonial beadwork given by Chief Wahunsunacock (d. 1618) to the first English colonists in Virginia.[173] Tradescant's collection held conventional antiquities, too: Roman coins, Anglo-Saxon urns, and Henry VIII's stirrups and gloves (prodigiously sized).[174] Despite these occasional artifactual interlopers, however, early modern museums were not in the first place designed as repositories for antiquities. Where we might expect to find the term used in Tradescant's catalog, for instance, we find the broader and somehow less immediate 'rarities' and 'artificialls.' In preface to his catalogue, Tradescant is careful to note that he and his father (John Senior) assembled their collection to illustrate "the various modes of Natures admirable workes, and the curious Imitators thereof"—the museum was not, in other words, assembled to illustrate antiquity, but rather nature and

[173] *Musaeum Tradescantianum: Or, A Collection of Rarities. Preserved at South-Lambeth neer London* (London: Printed by John Grismond, 1656), 7. See "Powhatan's Mantle | Ashmolean Museum," accessed March 21, 2019, https://www.ashmolean.org/powhatans-mantle. (Ashmolean Museum, AN1685 B.205). The mantle, which is now believed to be a wall hanging, was most likely given to Captain Christopher Newport in 1608.
[174] King Henry's stirrups and gloves are listed in *Musaeum Tradescantium* (1656), 47.

its works.[175] Tradescant, operating within the period's conventional museological mode, was drawn to natural wonders rather than material, cultural remains. The reason for this may have been aesthetic. To deploy a point made by Alexander Nagel regarding relics, antiquities are most often homely things made up of stone, earthen fragments, and rusted metal. Like a relic, an antiquity is not considered collectible for its beauty; instead an antiquity is precious for its provenance—"one keeps it and reveres it because it is the index or sample of a specific history."[176] But if antiquities failed to find a reliable venue for display in the period's museums, how were they collected and made visible?

This chapter proposes that antiquities invited their own technologies of representation and display. In lieu of *wunderkammern*, galleries, and museums, antiquaries more often gathered and examined their objects in two-dimensional replicas, or facsimiles. The antiquarian mode, in other words, abounds not only in artifactual fragments, but in reproductions, images, and representations. In their voracious efforts at gathering, recording, and dissemination, antiquaries proved avid image-makers, offering not just synecdochic and writerly evocations of the past but graphic records of its remains. Comprising drawings, verisimilitudinous woodcuts, and/or typographic counterfeits, collections of these artifactual copies and representations came to resemble the chock-a-block walls of a *wunderkammer* and ultimately served a cognate function: to preserve, represent, and display curious things (see fig. 2.2).

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[175] *Musaeum Tradescantianum* (1656), a1[r].
[176] Alexander Nagel, "The Afterlife of the Reliquary," in Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Man, and James Robinson, eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 215.

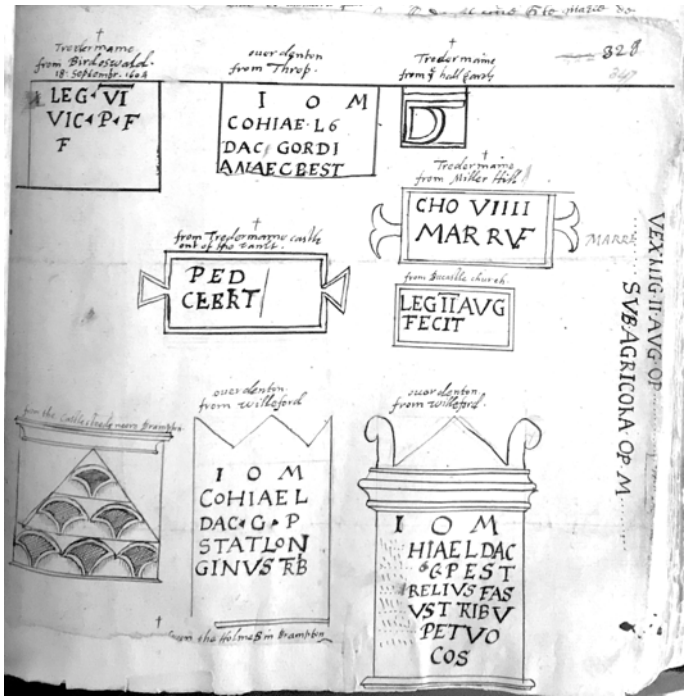

Figure 2.2. A Leaf from BL Cotton MS Julius VI ff. 328 [347], showing Camden's facsimilic copies of epigraphic stones found near Hadrian's Wall in Brampton, Over Denton [Upper Denton], and at Tredermain [Triermain] Castle, Cumbria. Camden seems to transform the page into parietal pastiche, its sole organizing principle the place in which the stones were discovered. One stone has been trimmed away at the fore-edge margin by the binder's knife.

Despite their intractability, antiquities are by definition singular; they operated within the period's fascination with mirabilia and wonders and thus compelled the collector's impulse to gather and possess. Each antiquity conveys evidence and offers signs that might, to revisit Bacon's phrase, "save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time." And yet antiquities are not specimens in the narrowest sense: a single urn, tombstone, or coin, while belonging to an identifiable type or class of object, cannot stand-in for all urns, tombstones, or coins. A shell, a taxidermied chameleon, or an anatomical curiosity, on the other hand, operate *pars pro toto*: one specimen (*specere*, 'to look') illustrates the species, one biopsy illustrates the disease. The aim of early modern

scientific illustrations and exhibited specimens alike was, according to William M. Ivins, not to make "a portrait of a particular thing but a schematic representation of its generalized or theoretical generic forms."[177] In other words, natural specimens seek to demonstrate similarity in order to facilitate identification and taxonomic enumeration, and in consequence they move away from the particular to the generalized. Antiquarian facsimiles—and the antiquities they represent, for that matter—do the opposite: with antiquities, difference matters more than similarity.[178] As with all artificials (or *artificialia,* a Renaissance category describing all products of human making) antiquities were not governed by nature's law of regularity and formal congruity: each antiquity (apart from coins, perhaps, which come down to us in near-exact multiples stamped from figured matrices) convey new material for historical knowledge-making. Antiquities, in other words, operate according to their own 'ipseity', "the particularity of the object, its this-and-no-other-ness."[179] In consequence, a thoroughgoing museum of antiquities was (and is) an impossible, Borgesian ideal. While Noah's ark might have provided early moderns with a metaphor for enclosing the world's flora and fauna—indeed, Tradescant's museum was figured and touted in seventeenth-century England as a sort of ark—no such metaphor or model existed for the gathering of cultural artifacts.[180] This chapter argues

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[177] William Mills Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), 46.
[178] On early modern notions of cultural similarity, see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 305: "Resemblances, detected as existing at different dates, suggest to linguists and other students of cultural phenomena that like traits and like institutions might be more profoundly related than appeared on the surface. They might have been transmitted across time by successive generations, or across space by wandering peoples."
[179] Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communcation*, 53; see also 61.
[180] Antiquities might be included in Bacon's class of manufactured historical evidence, or 'nature wrought.' As Ian Maclean observes, "Francis Bacon […] instructs the readers of his *Advancement*

that the facsimile became a generic and rhetorical tool that filled this gap in the antiquarian mode. Due to their ability to represent, imitate, and record, facsimiles were invested with an object-like aura and were used regularly to study, record, and collect material evidence of the past. While this antiquarian copy-culture is usually located in a later period (Daniel Woolf finds in the eighteenth century a nascent interest in "the dissemination of visual images of the objects that [antiquaries] studied"), I push backward, studying the graphic forms devised by seventeenth-century antiquaries in England.[181] As I will show, antiquaries in this period sought and devised technologies of accurate record and imitation that proved to be both effective and seminal in the history of reproductive printing.

Of course, the tactile and visual examination of original artifacts was almost always preferred to mediated accounts and reproductions—Henry Peacham advised the budding antiquary in his *Compleat Gentleman* (1634) to "[r]epare to the old coynes, for books and histories and the like are but copyes of Antiquity bee they never so truly descended unto us: but coynes are the very Antiquities themselves." Nevertheless, Peacham also found

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of Learning to engage in the study of 'nature erring' and 'nature wrought' as well as 'nature in [her ordinary] course', and to begin their reclassification of natural objects by an inductive process, which privileges the individual case." This fits with the antiquaries' regard for artifactual particularism. Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6.

[181] Daniel Woolf, "Images of the Antiquary in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, ed. Susan Pearce (London: The Society of Antiquaries London, 2007), 36. Francis Haskell similarly locates the historiographical use of images in the eighteenth century; see, "The Dialogue between Antiquarians and Historians," and "Museums, Illustrations and the Search for Authenticity," in *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 159-200; 279-303. Henry Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, 1634*, Tudor & Stuart Library (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1906), 123-4.

value in copy-making and other forms of graphic record: citing a printed "collection of all the principall statues that are now to be seene at Rome", Peacham concedes the utility of reproductions: "He that is well acquainted with this booke, will easily discover at first sight a great many of them."[182] Significantly, after Peacham's chapter titled "Of Antiquities", appears a chapter on "Drawing, Limning, and Painting," hinting at an early conceptual link between the study of antiquities and draughtsmanship.[183] The facsimile was, in other words, one of the antiquarian mode's most important instruments—a means of getting one step closer to the 'Antiquities themselves,' particularly in their absence.

[182] Henry Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman,* 109-10.
[183] Peacham, 124.

Copies, Icons, or 'Exscriptions': What were antiquarian facsimiles?

A little wit, & Reason's Necessary
To Qualify an able Antiquary
Who has no Busnes for the Intellect
But to Transcribe & Copy, & Collect[184]

— Samuel Butler, "The Antiquary"

To claim, as this chapter does, that the antiquarian mode invented its own mimetic form is to claim for antiquarianism its own poetics: a set of representational devices that conjure things in icastic detail. As the first epigraph of this chapter makes clear, antiquarianism was associated (even equated) in the period with transcriptions and copies—types of graphic mimesis that stress material and formal fidelity in making likenesses. For antiquaries, accuracy in representation was often an end in itself, a means of making a singular artifact multiple in new visual forms. But antiquarian strategies of representation were and are more nuanced than Butler's arch verse suggests, requiring reason, wit, and more besides. Speaking in counterpoint half a century before, Bacon's pointed aphorism on similitudes still holds: antiquarianism in fact relied on mediating representations, copies, and simulacra (both verbal and visual) to proceed.[185] In the first section of this chapter I seek a more capacious theory of antiquarian image-making; in it I ask what antiquaries sought by rendering antiquities of various kinds—inscribed stones, cinerary urns, coins, and artifactual trinkets—in images and copies. While these copies were various in form and medium (wax impressions, preparatory sketches, and

[184] This short verse appears in Butler's hand in British Library *Add MS* 32625.
[185] On Bacon's conception of similitude and mirroring, see Katharine Park, "Bacon's 'Enchanted Glass,'" *Isis* 75, no. 2 (1984): 290–302.

typographic surrogates), I treat printed copies as particularly important in the antiquarian mode. I assign these printed copies to the genre facsimile—a terminological choice that I explain below. In positing and studying the facsimile as the antiquarian mode's defining visual form, I argue that the early modern period's inventiveness in producing and perfecting repeatable imagery had an appreciable effect on the development of antiquarianism through the seventeenth century.[186]

The link between antiquarianism and graphic imitation predates Samuel Butler's satiric couplets by several centuries. The elder Pliny observed in his *Natural History* (first century, C.E.) that Marcus Varro—a shadowy figure who lent Renaissance antiquaries their sole classical archetype—relied on portraits to record and preserve the physiognomies of the past: by gathering "extremely correct likenesses of persons," Pliny writes, Varro "was the inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but dispatched it all over the world, enabling his subjects to be ubiquitous like the gods."[187] Although Varro's amply illustrated antiquarian biographies do not survive and were only available to seventeenth-century antiquaries via secondhand report, they nevertheless adopted this Varronian practice with gusto, rendering artifacts, objects, and texts in copies. The motive of this facsimilizing was similarly Varronian, though with the help of the press the antiquarian mode's impulse to preserve in representations proved more enduring: writing in 1717, the inaugural year of a revived

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[186] See William M. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), 3: "[the] exact repetition of pictorial statements has had incalculable effects upon knowledge and thought, upon science and technology, of every kind." To Ivins's 'every kind,' I add antiquarianism.

[187] Quoted in Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Time, History, and Literature: Selected Essays of Erich Auerbach* (Princeton University Press, 2016), 75.

Society of Antiquaries, society-secretary William Stukeley observed, "without drawing or designing the Study of Antiquities or any other Science is lame and imperfect."[188] Stukeley was the last in a long line of seventeenth-century antiquaries who devised and defended methods to encode (and thus preserve) the past in images.

In the seventeenth century as today, the word image was taken to mean form, likeness, portrait, and apparition, though it often meant no more than copy or imitation. Painting, and particularly historical depiction, Franciscus Junius reminds us, should be "not otherwise than if wee were present, and saw not the counterfeited image but the reall performance of the thing."[189] Junius' vision of imagery owes much to the rhetorical criterion of enargeia, according to which description should convey lively and vivid detail such that an audience (whether visual or auditory) feels the presence of the thing described.[190] While the word image has broadened considerably in meaning since, it still evokes its classical origins and Junius' mirror-like metaphors.[191] Aristotle's Poetics singles

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[188] From the minute-book of the Society of Antiquaries (SAL/MS/265). Cited in Stuart Piggott, *Antiquity Depicted: Aspects of Archaeological Illustration* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 7. In many cases, the minute book was used as the visual archive Stukeley demands; alongside verbal reports read by society members or sent in by international correspondents appear striking images depicting the yield of excavations, travels, sightings, etc.

[189] Franciscus Junius et al., *The Literature of Classical Art, California Studies in the History of Art, Volume 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 341. See also, Ernest B Gilman, *Recollecting the Arundel Circle: Discovering the Past, Recovering the Future, Literature and the Visual Arts* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 53-84.

[190] On visual *enargeia* and scientific illustration see, Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 8-11.

[191] Richard Rorty first argued in *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (1979) that western civilization operates under a view of knowledge as representation ("the story of the domination of the mind of the West by ocular metaphors") first developed in the seventeenth century: "The picture which holds traditional philosophy captive is that of the mind as a great mirror, containing various representations—some accurate, some not—and capable of being studied by pure, nonempirical methods. Without the notion of the mind as mirror, the notion of knowledge as accuracy of representation would not have suggested itself." Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 12.

out representation as the dominant mode of making (poiesis) and reduces poetics to a collection of mimetic or representational strategies; poetics is, Aristotle concludes, the making of images. Elsewhere, Aristotle describes human perception as a form of impression whereby the "species" of sensible objects imprint themselves image-like on the waxy and receptive surface of a perceiving mind (the so-called intromission theory of vision).[192] Aristotelean phenomenology thus figures reality as a collection of objects that emanate sensible imitations, and the human eye and mind as a two-part catoptric glass.[193] In the seventeenth century, Thomas Hobbes would take up this materialist theory of vision in the first chapters of the *Leviathan* (1651), modifying it to account for the after-images of imagination, which Hobbes attributed to the decaying of an initial, Aristotelean sense impression ('the image made in seeing'): "For after the object is removed, or the eye shut, we still retain an image of the thing seen, though more obscure than when we see it."[194] Visible reality, in other words, begets simulacra (*eidola*), and perception amounts to an endless series of copies acquired secondhand. Representation—poetic or otherwise—should in consequence aim to follow nature by reflecting its objects and actions accurately.

Classical theories of mimesis principally treat verbal, written representation, but definitions of literary imitatio have long relied on pictorial metaphors and artifactual analogies to make their point—vide Horace's "ut pictura poesis (l. 361), Roger Ascham's

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[192] Aristotle, *De Anima* II.12.424a. Quoted in W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 10.
[193] For an historical account of classical, medieval and Renaissance theories of vision see, David C Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
[194] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, Parts I and II* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2005), 15.

The Scholemaster (1570/1593), Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* (1595), Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605), and John Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668).[195] Invariably these authors hold up visual immediacy for praise and emulation and seek a type of poetic representation that reflects the 'liveliness' of its visual counterpart. In figuring this liveliness, these authors might have had in mind the trope of 'liveliness' or icastic fidelity in Pliny's story of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, quoted here in Philemond Holland's 1601 translation: challenged by the upstart Parrhasius, Zeuxis presents a still-life depicting "clusters of grapes so lively […] that the very birds of the aire flew flocking thither for to bee pecking." Undeterred, Parrhasius, in an ironic display of subversive (if no less impressive) imitation, "painted a linnen sheet." Rather than depicting dimensional space inhabited by figures and objects in trompe l'oeil iconicity as Zeuxis had done, Parrhasius depicts an absence, daubing a subtly textured void. The resulting simulacrum was "so like to a sheet indeed, that Zeuxis in a glorious bravery and pride" told Parrhasius to pull it back, "that we may see your goodly picture." Discovering his error (the 'sheet' shrouding Parrhasius' skill rather than any painting) Zeuxis arrives at the moral of the story in third-person defeat: "Zeuxis hath beguiled poore birds, but Parrhasius hath deceived Zeuxis."[196] While the images this chapter

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[195] Seeking a return to a kind of Edenic nominative purity in discourse, Wilkins sought to enact the adage, *res ipsa loquitur*: the thing itself would speak for itself. In his *Essay*, Wilkins argues that language should be reformed to possess a representational immediacy akin to that of pictures. Wilkins proposal involved a hieroglyphic 'language' that comprised "real characters," "either the Pictures of things, or some other Symbolical Representations of them […]" that "should bear in them some Analogy to their Natures." John Wilkins, *An Essay Towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (London: for Sa: Gellibrand, and for John Martyn, 1668), 385-86.

[196] *Pliny's Natural History: A Selection from Philemon Holland's Translation*, J. Newsome, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 278-9.

studies were not, in the first place, intended to 'deceive'—facsimiles are not forgeries, even if the distinction sometimes proves elusive in the telling—they nevertheless display the forger's impulse toward accuracy and illusion, seeking with Parrhasius to capture an object via a kind of visual surrogacy.

While both Horatian and Aristotelian models informed the seventeenth-century's view of representation, it was Aristotle's idea of historical mimesis—the representation of a real, lived past *ta genomena*, 'in particulars'—that lent the antiquarian mode a model for copying antique objects and fragmented things in print and other media. For antiquaries, the illustrative "lively representation" proposed in Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* became a tool and technology for preserving and disseminating antiquarian evidence, practices, and objects.[197] In this sense, antiquarian image-making was committed to a Plinian attentiveness to texture, type, and material extant in the real world. As Butler rightly (if back-handedly) observed, the antiquarian mode transcribes, copies, and collects. Put differently, antiquarian facsimiles did not trade in ideals, but in rough-hewn realia, copying things as they were found, rather than as they once were or might have been. An antiquarian facsimile of an urn, for example, retains, and even emphasizes, the urn's cracks and fissures; a facsimile of an abraded coin lingers on the imperfections of its original, detailing the oxidized quality and decay of the artifact itself. These uncompromising facsimiles—primarily woodcuts, but also typographic factotums, intaglio ('cut-in' metal) engravings, and pen-and-ink approximations—allowed antiquaries to record, represent, and reanimate the particular accidentals of the objects

[197] Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* [*OFB IV*], ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2C3r, 66.

they studied. In this sense, antiquarian facsimiles amount to a form of iconology, a term that would have evoked in the seventeenth century books of emblems and the disguised symbolism they enacted.[198] After all, antiquarian images were made to facilitate the antiquaries' collective project to instruct, record, and distribute. If antiquaries engaged in the synecdochic study of history's fragments—as my first chapter argued—images of these fragments, representing the raw materials of the antiquarian mode, rendered them portable and newly communicative; if all human-made things convey information, images amplify the signal.

And yet imitations of all kinds also mislead. Ecphrasis—the poetic description of works of art—is, Clare Preston observes, "a species of lie."[199] And whether eidetic or approximate, images are necessarily beguiling 'inventions', a word that evokes both an artifact 'discovered' (*invenire*) and excavated in the field, but also feigned or counterfeit, made after an original. Even disregarding the cultural headwinds faced by image-makers, this was no small impediment. As we shall see, antiquarian images were frequently open to interpretation and thus susceptible to variant receptions, versions, and revisions; they often enough became sites of dissent rather than proof, and they deceived as much as they informed.[200]

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[198] Cesare Ripa's influential work on emblematics, *Iconologia*, was published in 1593. See Peter Burke, "Iconography and Iconology" in *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 34-45.
[199] Claire Preston, "Punctual Relations: Thomas Browne's Rhetorical Reclamations," *Studies in Philology* 115.3 (2018): 607-08.
[200] See William Stenhouse, "Chapter 3: Transmission and Forgery" in *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2005), 75-98. Stenhouse studies the important role of forgeries and fakes in the development of the technologies of reproduction I study here.

To be sure, some duplicative technologies available to early modern antiquaries—brass rubbings, smelt or plasters casts, and epigraphic 'squeezes' (made by pounding moistened paper into inscriptions to make a raised-letter, inverted copy) to name three—were almost unfailingly precise in capturing certain types of artifact in icastic detail, but these technologies were not scalable. Of unimpeachable accuracy, they nevertheless could not be reproduced and circulated as broadly, inexpensively, or as quickly as printed reproductions could be and were. I will have more to say about these material, medial failings and specifically the role of print in antiquarian representation in the pages that follow, but here I want only to register the paradox inhering in what this chapter terms facsimiles: in being made, they subvert their claims for representational transparency; the more exact and 'naturalistic' these images are, the more constructed and 'feigned' they become.[201] Yet despite the dangers of mediation (a subject of much debate in the early modern period), the objectivity and mimetic accuracy of these images served an essential knowledge-making, or perhaps knowledge-ratifying function in the antiquarian mode. While the moral of Zeuxis applies, these imitations do more than beguile—they also instruct. Copies of antiquities allow the originals to speak when absent, and they therefore realize Bacon's call for an antiquarianism that saves 'somewhat' of the past in its particular parts.[202]

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[201] See Horst Bredekamp, Vera Dünkel, and Birgit Schneider, eds., *The Technical Image: A History of Styles in Scientific Imagery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 2: "a scientific image is often the more thoroughly constructed the more natural its object appears in rendition."

[202] In this, early modern antiquarianism anticipates the contemporary archaeological practice of "crafting what remains of the past into 'deliverables', into texts, graphs, maps, drawings, or photographs." See Bjørnar Olsen, Michael Shanks, Timothy Webmoor, and Christopher Witmore, eds., *Archaeology: The Discipline of Things* (University of California Press, 2012), 80. Olsen et al. also identify, "a strong commitment in archaeology to a particular kind of

In this chapter, I study two sustained projects of antiquarian image-making, taking the individual methods they evince as representative of a broader trend that ultimately gave rise to what late modernity terms the scholarly facsimile. As such, this chapter takes Horst Bredekamp's view that, "every form is a historical phenomenon and has a history of its own" and suggests that the facsimile—the eidetic representation of artifacts—is the antiquaries' primary visual form.[203] The first 'facsimilic' project I study, William Camden's pen-and-ink facsimiles exchanged and prepared in advance of the publication of the Britannia's many editions (and only some of which were brought to press) survives today in the British Library as an archive of carefully labeled manuscripts in the Cotton Collection. The second, a catalog of Greek inscriptions in typographic facsimile, *Marmora Arundelliana*, was compiled by antiquary and legal scholar John Selden and printed in London in 1628. Both of these examples—one partly in manuscript and partly in print, the other in print alone—show antiquaries engaging with and fashioning images and reproductions for identifiable and express purposes. In an effort to define these purposes, I advance three theses here—a tripartite premise that describes what antiquarian facsimiles do:

1) For one, the images Camden and Selden produce were, quite simply, intended to represent real objects as accurately as possible. They reproduce, record, and display. For all their seeming accuracy, however, these images bow under the weight of their

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representational accuracy, one that is technologically enabled and based upon a correspondence theory of truth. The translation of experience of archaeological remains, with all their complex qualities, into media frequently relies upon technologies," 82.

[203] Horst Bredekamp, Vera Dünkel, and Birgit Schneider, eds., *The Technical Image: A History of Styles in Scientific Imagery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 33.

respective media: woodblocks are imperfectly cut, drawings succumb to the idiosyncrasies of an artist's style or resistance in the medium, and typographic approximations are damaged or repurposed in the process of being made and used. Well-meaning representations eventually fail, succumb to entropy, or prove to be awkward surrogates on arrival. In consequence, as instruments of artifactual surrogacy, antiquarian facsimiles only ever effect lossy approximations and rarely offer untroubled duplicates.

2) Second, antiquarian facsimiles are designed to preserve: they make a materially tenuous artifact more permanent (indeed, many of the facsimiles I study here outlast their originals), and as such, facsimiles achieve a kind of magic—they make present distant historical objects and, in being printed, they circumscribe, or at least mitigate the decay consequent to time's passing.

3) Third, I argue that these reproductions (and others like them) were designed to invite comparison, falsification, study, and critique—a kind of antiquarian collation. They restage the original encounter with the depicted object as if 'in the field', on the page. In other words, facsimiles facilitate comparative, collaborative research, and spur the interpretation of the past's remnants, enabling the kind of heuristic antiquarianism I found enacted in Camden's *Remains* in my first chapter. A depicted object asks us to find another like it—or perhaps one just like it—in the real world. Significantly, the facsimiles I study here are often more legible than their originals, their printed forms employing a kind of visual alchemy that makes the image's salient features more present and prominent. On this, it is no accident that Shakespeare's unnamed soldier, seeking a recently anchoritic Timon and unable to read a tombstone in his cave resorts to facsimile: "What's on this tomb / I cannot read; the character I'll take with wax"—a wax

impression, a cast facsimile of the inscribed monument, makes it newly legible.[204]

Facsimiles, then, represent (imperfectly), preserve, and invite further work—three functions that, while patent, have nevertheless gone unexamined. While scholars of print, the scientific image, and others, have all discerned the utility of images and their instrumental role in the scientific revolution, few have considered how antiquarianism in particular was pivotal in improving illustrative techniques and redeploying printed images to new ends. What's more, the seventeenth century in particular seems to be the period in which the technical problems of representing three dimensional and real objects in print were first confronted and systematized into something approaching method. The polished product of this trend might be the multi-view images published frequently in the scientific journals of the period. Figure 2.3 shows such an image of a figured vase owned by Ferdinand Albert I, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel-Bevern, depicting the cultic mysteries of Ceres and Bacchus. The vase was first illustrated in facsimile in a tract by Johann Henrich Eggelingio (Brema, 1682). The inscribed attribution at the base of the engraving names the artist—Caspar Schultz—and notes that the engraving was made 'ad vivum'—from life.

[204] William Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, 5.3.

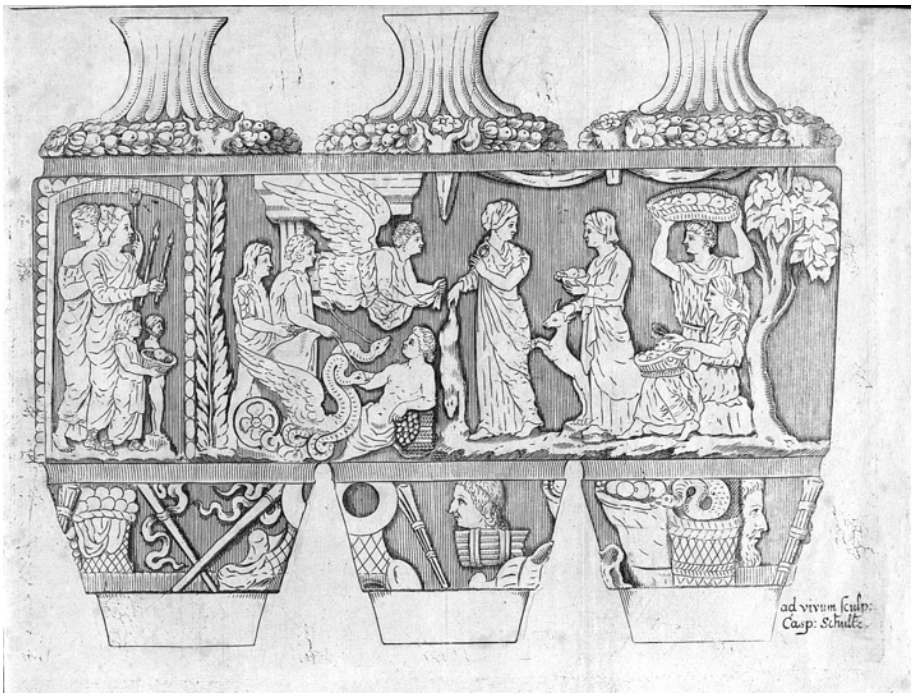

Figure 2.3. Multi-view composite facsimile from *Mysteria Cereris et Bacchi in Vasculo ex uno Onyche* […], made 'from life'—'ad vivum'—and displaying each aspect of the vase simultaneously (Brema, Hermann Brauer, 1682). From the *Acta Eruditorum* for 1682.

Perhaps the most scholarly work has been published on the preservative function and intent of printed images in works of early modern anatomy and natural history, though not without controversy.[205] Of course, reproductions of all kinds extend and prolong the indexing function of objects through time, arresting the aura of a thing by transferring it into new media and to new audiences. Under this heading, antiquarian

[205] See Adam Mosley, "Objects, Texts and Images in the History of Science," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A,* 38.2 (June 2007): 289–302. Mosley traces an enduring attention to "naturalistic representation: the generation, through means such as linear perspective, chiarascuro, trompe l'oeil and photography, of images that mimic or capture an aspect of the visible world"; and notes that, "[o]ver time, emphasis has shifted from the utility and value of such representations—and hence their supposed indispensability to science—to their artificiality and constructedness," 292. See also David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

facsimiles echo Walter Benjamin's idea that images operate as legible signatures of a particular time and place:

> For the historical index of the images not only says that they belong to a particular time; it says, above all, that they attain to legibility only at a particular time. And, indeed, this acceding "to legibility" constitutes a specific critical point in the movement at their interior. Every present day is determined by the images that are synchronic with it: each "now" is the now of a particular recognizability. […] It is not that what is past casts its light on what is present, or what is present its light on what is past; rather, image is that wherein what has been comes together in a flat with the now to form a constellation. In other words: image is dialectics at a standstill.[206]

What antiquaries understood about this 'static legibility' is that the divide between image, object, and text is illusory, perhaps even immaterial: in highlighting the contemporaneity of events and objects, the antiquarian mode requires us to think of text as image and image as text, and consequently does away with the commonplace distinction of 'word and image'; objects and images, being literally and figuratively mute, must be 'read' in the absence of plain-language historical testimony.[207] Put differently, in its emphasis on the particularity and material embodiment of the past, the antiquarian mode was an ocular mode, asking of its practitioners that all artifacts be recorded and studied visually, regardless of whether or not they conveyed linguistic (legible) evidence.

This trend toward 'legible' things is evident in the frequent use of the term *monument* in the period, a term that served as a byword for old things that instruct, even when silent. Monuments could indeed be textual, like manuscripts, inscribed stones, or coins, but they could also be non-textual (sculpture, architecture, human remains). These

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[206] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 462-3 [N3,1].
[207] On 'word and image', see W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 3-4.

a-textual monuments riddle the pages of the antiquaries' notebooks and published tomes in images, offering themselves up for hermeneutic scrutiny and inviting the reader to wait for it to accede to a kind of Benjaminian legibility. This is ecphrasis in reverse: rather than inviting description, visual depictions of antiquarian objects invite us to linger and look silently, rapt with inward imagining.[208]

Despite my contention that antiquarian representations did something unique and potentially new, however, the visual forms I study here did not emerge *sui generis* and in a vacuum. They belong instead to a broader movement in the early modern period—and to the seventeenth century in particular—that sought to eschew the perceived obfuscations of verbal description and embrace limpid visual display. Such efforts—of which the Royal Society's motto, *nullius in verba* ('take no one's word for it') is often used as a de facto rallying cry—aimed to capture the presence of the thing itself, without recourse to noun and adjective (fittingly the Royal Society's many printed projects—from Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665) to the diagram-laden issues of the *Philosophical Transactions*—are festooned with exacting illustrations). While reaching a point of almost doctrinal intensity in the late seventeenth century, this ambition for printed representational clarity was not new—it had merely undergone disciplinary narrowing, adopted by natural historians and budding scientists as a trope and professional creed. According to William M. Ivins, the first set of prints 'purported to be pictures of precisely identifiable and

[208] As Claire Preston has observed, the seventeenth century is unique in the intensity of attention paid to imagery, innovating entire genres meant to make sense of art and translate its effects for an increasingly literate audience. Claire Preston, "Word and Image in the English Renaissance," *Oxford Handbooks Online,* February 6, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.013.74.

locatable objects' was Cardinal Juan de Torquemada's (1388-1467) *Meditationes, seu Contemplationes devotissimae* (Rome, 1467), suggesting that printed technical imagery is as old as print itself. These woodblock illustrations depict a series of real liturgical paintings that decorated the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. This was not an early aberration; published shortly thereafter, Ivins identifies the "first dated set of illustrations made definitely for informational purpose" in a 1472 edition of Robertus Valturius' *De Re Militari* (On Military Subjects).[209] While the intervening centuries witnessed refinements on these early entrants to the genre—a story beyond the scope of this chapter—the important point here is that while facsimiles take on many forms, they ultimately share a set of identifiable aims. Echoing Ivins's language, they do two things well: they represent 'precisely identifiable and locatable objects'; and second, they are made for an 'informational purpose'—designed to communicate with a type of clarity unobtainable in language alone. "Visual images, unlike verbal descriptions, address themselves immediately to the same sense organs through which we gather our visual information about the objects they symbolize"; they offer a nearness to truth that eludes other communicative media and forms.[210]

Beyond printed illustrations, as Claire Preston has observed, early moderns devised

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[209] William M. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication*, 31. Torquemada's imagery was likely indebted to a long iconographical tradition in which the instruments of the passion—the so-called *Arma Christi*—were painted (and ultimately printed) in intentionally excruciating detail. What Ivins calls the originary document of facsimilic imagery ("the first printed reproduction of both the text and the illustrations in a very ancient volume") was the *Pseudo-Apuleius* of 1480, a relatively exacting copy of a manuscript held for centuries at the monastery of Subiaco, 33. "In 1493, a Nuremberg printer, named Hans Mayr, issued illustrated catalogues of the precious objects in the possession of several of the German cathedrals," 38.

[210] Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communications,* 59.

a series of 'anti-linguistic solutions', particularly in the study and description of natural phenomena, developing a "verbal-visual armamentarium that included precise visual description and pictorial illustration."[211] One such instrument in this turn away from a perceived logocentrism was the *hortus siccus* (literally, 'dried garden') or herbarium—a collection of pressed plant specimens often bound as an album. John Selden owned one, described in a posthumous inventory of his books as "An Herball with the true Plants pasted on the paper."[212] Startlingly, these desiccated organic scrapbooks occasionally even wandered beyond botany into zoology (or, in this case, ichthyology). In a letter sent to his son Edward (a missive no doubt made memorable by its scent) Thomas Browne pasted-in the urinary system of a fish he ate for lunch. "I have enclosed the ureters & vesica or bladder, such as it is, of carp which wee had this day," Browne writes, "butt I had a fair one long ago & lost it."[213] Miraculously, the carefully arrayed and strangely beautiful specimen survives in the British Library, still clinging tenaciously to its papery vehicle. In what Claire Preston calls a "literal enactment of res over verba," Browne's pressed specimen trades in a type of representational immediacy that antiquarian artifactual reproductions were designed to effect, albeit in a medium less pleasing to the olfactory sense: both preserved organ and printed facsimile function in a way that Paula Findlen

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[211] Claire Preston, "Word and Image in the English Renaissance," *Oxford Handbooks Online,* February 6, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.013.74.
[212] MS Eng 1328. Houghton Library, Harvard University. For more on Renaissance herbaria, see Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 165-174. Ogilvie attributes the origin of the herbarium to the Renaissance's innovation of memory techniques: "With the transition to phytographic natural history, techniques for reinforcing memory became important," 168.
[213] "Thomas Browne to his son Edward in London, June 16 [1676]" in *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Volume IV*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London: Faber & Faber Limited, n.d.), 64.

likens to 'specimens' on the page.

As Horst Bredekamp reminds us, the sciences have long influenced what qualified as illustration, suggesting that the so-called 'technical image' is a complex form of art in its own right: "[the sciences] have always played a significant role in the creation of iconographies beyond the religious sphere."[214] A case in point, Thomas Browne offers a thoroughly scientific view on the requirement of illustrative accuracy in "Of many things questionable as they are commonly described in pictures," a short treatise included in his catalog of vulgar errors, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*. Pictures, Browne observes, "if naturally examined, and not Hieroglyphically conceived […] containeth many improprieties, disagreeing almost in all things from the true and proper description." Browne offers copious examples, marking early modern images of pelicans, which omit "one part […] more remarkable than any other, that is, the chowle or crop adhering unto the lower side of the bill" as particularly incorrect; so, too, Browne finds that common depictions of dolphins in heraldic and emblematic art lead the viewer to believe "that Dolphins are crooked." To the contrary ("to speak strictly in their natural figure," Browne huffs, having seen dolphins in the flesh) "they are straight."[215] Images can misinform, Browne opines, and offers a catalog in proof.[216]

When Browne sends the innards of a fish in illustration, then, his representational

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[214] Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 2017), 2.
[215] Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Vol. 2* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, n.d.), 339-340.
[216] See Also Browne's "Addition to Pseudodoxia Epidemica Book V, Chapter 1: Of Many Things Questionable as they are Commonly Described in Pictures," [BL MS Sloane 1827, ff. 14-17], in Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Vol. 3,* 221-223.

impulse is merely taken to an extreme in which the manifestation of the thing is, in fact, the thing itself. On the continent, this impulse gave rise to some of the most comprehensive (and compulsive) illustrated collections ever assembled. In addition to a bound *hortus siccus* containing over 7,000 individual plant specimens, the Bolognese naturalist and polymath Ulisse Aldrovandi had (by 1595) over 8,000 drawings of specimens and objects made and stitched into bound albums—a two-dimensional supplement to his museum that partly survives at the University of Bologna. Incredibly, Aldrovandi had many of these drawings cut as woodblocks that were used in an ambitious program of publication illustrating the curiosities he had gathered over decades.[217] Perhaps predictably, the woodblocks and many of the drawings survive, while only a few of the moldering specimens still adorn the museum's shelves. Suggestive here, however, is the fact that Aldrovandi viewed the drawings and prints illustrating his specimens as an integral part of his expansive museum—in this, he would not be the last. Aware that most plant and animal specimens were "apt to putrefie & decay", Elias Ashmole, the acquisitive progenitor of the Ashmolean museum in Oxford, required that animal bodies and particularly rare plant specimens be painted on vellum.[218] Demonstrating a similar commitment to figuring and remediating nature, Ashmole's

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[217] On early modern uses of printed illustration, see David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[218] Quoted in Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 229. Nearly a century later, Hans Sloane, the benefactor of the British Museum, accumulated a "vast 'paper museum' of approximately 100 picture albums containing an estimated 60,000 drawings, prints, and paintings" of artifacts and specimens. See James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), 276.

contemporary, seventeenth-century naturalist, John Ray, observed that "looking upon an history of plants without figures" was as dissatisfying as consulting "a book of geography without maps."[219] Even a century before Ray, German botanist Leonard Fuchs could ask, "Who in his right mind would condemn pictures which can communicate information much more clearly than the word of even the most eloquent men?"[220] Increasingly, early moderns viewed illustration as a necessary attribute of scientific investigation, empirical argument, and publication.[221] This phenomenon was not limited to the sciences, however: antiquaries developed mimetic forms and venues of their own, affirming the value in representing and copying the objects they studied. Tellingly, both Ashmole and Aldrovandi commissioned illustrations of artifacts as well as biological specimens; and as Stuart Piggott has shown, there was no professional boundary separating naturalistic and antiquarian illustrations in the period: the same engravers were employed to depict botanical, conchological, and proto-archaeological specimens without apparent dissonance in style or skill.[222] However, the existing scholarship on informational images and illustration has stressed scientific illustration and organic counterfeits as the expense

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[219] "22nd October 1684 John Ray to Dr Robinson," quoted in Claire Preston, *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 236.

[220] Leonhard Fuchs, *De historia stirpium* (Basel, 1542), x–xi: "Quanquam vero neminem esse putum qui non quantum illi insaniant intelligent, tamen Eos hoc in loco rogare haud pigebit, ostendant nobis ubi locorum Galenus stirpium descripties & picturaal damnarit?" Translation from Pamela H. Smith, "Art, Science, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe," *Isis* 97, no. 1 (March, 2006): 86.

[221] On illustration in scientific texts, see especially, Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

[222] Piggott, *Antiquity Depicted*, 35. See also Florike Egmond and Sachiko Kusukawa, "Circulation of Images and Graphic Practices in Renaissance Natural History: The Example of Conrad Gessner," *Gesnerus* 73, no. 1 (2016): 29–72.

of the illustrative program of antiquarianism.[223]

Here, though, I want to ask two fundamental questions: what does a specimen or exhibited artifact offer that an illustration does not? And can representations ever adequately stand-in for the thing they represent? Perhaps unsurprisingly, the figures this chapter studies offer no ready solutions, occasionally treating copies and originals interchangeably and thus confuting modern notions of aura and authenticity. More recently, scholars have tended to concede that images are not transparent in their representational function; in fact, more often than not, images fail to substitute for the depicted object, performing a kind of deception or sleight-of-hand—"it is dangerous to confuse the way a figure is drawn," E.H. Grombrich writes, "with the way it is seen."[224] There is much to suggest that seventeenth-century antiquaries would agree. In contrast to the specimen-like sensitivity of Sir Thomas Browne's ichthyological scrapbooking, Browne's most antiquarian work, *Hydriotaphia: Urne Buriall* (1658), seems to ironize and trouble the period's expectations of images and to scrutinize the epistemological value of

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[223] Peter Parshall has followed Ivins, arguing that prints increased the status and authority of visual evidence. He charts the way in which the counterfeit—an exact portrait of a plant, animal, or human—began to be employed as a new type of visual evidence. Further, he views botanical illustrations as having made possible the dissemination, comparison, and systematizing of botany that would lead to a rigorously taxonomic system of classification. Peter Parshall, "Imago contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993): 554–579 (on the counterfeit); and David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 257–258: "Accurate visual representation was more than just a technical accomplishment. It was a highly specialized form of observation […]. Making illustrations was a way of checking facts, and by mid-century it was being supported by other means as well. Public and private botanical gardens were being planted, and collections of dried specimens were being assembled into herbaria. In such a climate the illustrated herbal was bound to become the standard point of reference for scholars attempting to devise different schemes of classification."

[224] E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 74.

representing artifacts in two dimensional surrogates. The caption accompanying an engraving of the work's titular urns, for example, quotes from Propertius's Elegies: I am now such a weight as five fingers might gather [*En Sum quod digitis Quinque Levatur onus*]. What Browne's playful, if also elegiac—Browne is often both—, epigraph seems to suggest is the inadequacy of printed images to convey artifactual realia (see fig 2.4). The Propertian line refers simultaneously to the diminution of Propertius' Cynthia to a handful of insubstantial ash, but also to the phenomenological inadequacy of the image it tags and describes: it reminds us that while we might *see* the urns, the image does not permit us to hold or handle them. Much as he satirizes and sends-up museums and collectors in his *Museum Clausum*, Browne here pokes fun at antiquarian images with an undertone of serious introspection.[225] Reproductions, Browne seems to quip, however essential and useful they may be, fail to communicate sensory data (scale, dimension, and weight)—all tactile qualities that Browne's prose probes in the *Hydriotaphia*. Renditions of things impoverish the experience of their encounter—belying their heft and texture—more than they inform. To Browne, an inveterate palpator of things, this failure was real and worrisome.[226] And yet here they are: four mute urns forming a full-page frontispiece, each one trailing its own inky shadow.

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[225] On Browne's satiric museology, see Claire Preston, "Punctual Relations: Thomas Browne's Rhetorical Reclamations," *Studies in Philology* 115, no. 3 (2018): 598–614.

[226] Claire Preston finds in Browne's later writings that his youthful "resurrectionary vision has faded, and his fascination with the fragmentary and the dispersed is instead a function of the belatedness and probable futility of […] attempts at assembly." Preston, "Punctual Relations," 613-4.

Figure 2.4. Engraved urns from *Urne-Buriall* (1658).

In taking as its subject strictly graphic forms of representation, and stressing the antiquaries' interest in *res* over *verba*, this chapter seeks to resolve this paradox Browne finds in four earthen pots printed in ink on paper. Building on Peter Burke's observation that early modern antiquarianism evinces "a gradual emancipation from logocentrism and an increasing concern with the testimony of images," I have attempted to not only define what antiquarian images were, but also how this 'emancipation' was effected in a visually coded rhetoric that remediated the materially embodied past.[227] But what to call these eidetic representations of antiquarian things? The embarrassment of terms available to seventeenth-century theorists to denote (or denigrate, depending on one's political or

[227] Peter Burke, "Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 279.

theological leanings) representation—feigning, mimesis, mimickry, imitatio/imitation, counterfeit—demonstrates one of this chapter's procedural burdens: terminological chaos. I adopt the somewhat imprecise (and anachronistic) term *facsimile* for two reasons: for one, no alternative captures the contradictory criteria of detached objectivity and rhetorical immediacy that antiquaries sought in fashioning visual records of the things and texts they studied. Facsimiles represent and record transparently—or as transparently as possible. Secondly, 'facsimile' implies facture, fashioning, fabrication—the word foregrounds its own making and thus marks the resulting representation as a manufactured copy. These images are intended to be viewed as reproductions. In other words, they imply the existence of some original object from which the depiction derives, but they are not designed to deceive, nor are they principally designed to please and beguile as art is—they amount to an art that downplays its aesthetic appeal, simultaneously acknowledging its status as a made thing and claiming that it can nevertheless communicate and preserve.

Of course, properly speaking, 'facsimiles' did not exist in early modern England. The word was only latterly coined in the vernacular in the final decades of the seventeenth century (derived from the Latin fac- simile, literally 'make-like'); and orthographically, at least, it retained its foreign strangeness as an italicized biform (fac simile) through the first decades of the eighteenth century. Eventually, the word's two parts, noun and adjective, were first hyphenated and then made conjugate in a single, domesticated word. Thereafter, facsimile—both as concept and visual form—entered the vernacular to mean, "an exact copy or likeness; an exact counterpart or representation,"

usually (though not exclusively) in print.[228] Despite its namelessness in the seventeenth century, however, the concept that the word evokes was available to seventeenth century antiquaries and arguably helped form their view of their collective project. As Quentin Skinner has argued, concepts and forms can exist before a word has come to name them: "if we wish to grasp how someone sees the world," he writes, "what we need to know is not what words he uses but rather what concepts he possesses."[229] Skinner's proposed method is to trace a lexicon or "corresponding vocabulary" that shadows these nascent concepts in order to determine their proper origins. In early modern English, the terms 'counterfeit,' 'icon' (usual in Latin, *icones*) and 'exscription' get nearest to identifying the type of reduplicative technical image I term 'facsimile', and certainly mark the same kind of image: that is, one that stresses fidelity to the object (an artifact, specimen, or individual) depicted. As Sachiko Kusukawa and Peter Parshall have shown, the term counterfeit (Lat., contrafactum) was adopted from around 1500 to categorize images—portraits, medical and botanical illustrations—that "claimed to convey the truth of a particular person or event from which the viewer was separated in space and/or time," without "correction or omission."[230] As such, Frank Weitenkampf's claim that "before

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[228] "facsimile, n." 2a. OED Online. March 2018. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/view/Entry/67476?rskey=A79K0H&result=1&isAdvanced=false (accessed May 25, 2018).

[229] Skinner concludes, "[t]he surest sign that a group or society has entered into the self-conscious possession of a new concept is that a corresponding vocabulary will be developed, a vocabulary which can then be used to pick out and discuss the concept with consistency." Quentin Skinner, "Language and Social Change," in Christopher Ricks, Leonard Michaels, eds., *The State of the Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 564. See also Quentin Skinner, "The Idea of a Cultural Lexicon," *Essays in Criticism* 29, no. 3 (July 1979): 205–24.

[189] Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 9; Peter Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16, no. 4 (December 1, 1993): 554–79. Parshall goes so far as to find a correlation between the

1870, the use of the word [facsimile] had often no justification whatever" needs revising, or at least revisiting.[231] Weitenkampf, along with other early book historians, succumbs to anachronism, arguing that exactly printed imagery merely occupies an intermediate place in a technological teleology that terminates in the photographic print. But this teleological view of early modern reproductive prints has tended to cloud the representational value of these images. Not all reproductive prints are created equal, of course: the 'facsimiles' I study here are a far cry from the photographic precision of later forms (for Weitenkampf, facsimiles before the photographic era period provide little more than 'horrible examples'). But the diversity and complexity of artifactual reproductions in works of early modern antiquarianism alone suggest that antiquaries were keenly aware of the epistemological value in copying artifacts, objects, and fragmented texts in mimetic detail.

William Stenhouse's *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (2005) gets nearest to articulating a theory of antiquarian facsimiles, observing that antiquaries "recognised that the appearance of inscriptions [and artifacts] could offer information about their date" and that "they experimented with ways of representing inscriptions, [and] envisioned ways to show

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contrafactum and evolving notions of mimesis: "the contrafactum […] seems to have helped redefine the classical idea of mimesis in a manner that would eventually prove consistent with the premises of the new science," 556. Parshall adds, "Counterfeit had a special place in the Renaissance lexicon of terms having to do with identity and representation. Most striking is its insistent claim to truth, implicitly or explicitly a truth based upon the testimony of direct witness. Although at first counterfeit was most often employed for portraits, it was quickly extended to include other subjects that for one reason or another seemed to ask for a special order of legitimacy," 564. I argue that antiquities were accorded this 'special order of legitimacy.'

[231] Frank Weitenkampf, "What Is a Facsimile?," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 37, no. 2 (1943): 114-130; 114.

breaks in the stone, or barely legible letters, or the monumental settings on which the texts appeared."[232] But Stenhouse's choice to treat copies of inscribed artifacts exclusively leads him to pass over other kinds of graphic imitation—a fact that Stenhouse observes and rightly excuses as beyond the bounds of his sixteenth-century and primarily continental focus: "as [antiquaries] applied the techniques that they had practiced on the establishment and evaluation of texts to inscriptions, they created a precedent for the investigation of coins, statues, reliefs, and eventually small objects with no textual content."[233] I am also not the first to use the word 'facsimile' in describing the images that illustrate early modern works of antiquarian research. Stuart Piggott in *Antiquity Depicted* describes two traditions in the representation of artifacts in print—one figural, the other textual—and describes both as 'facsimiles.' Later, Piggott argues that in early modern antiquarianism, both of these traditions met, such that "depiction and transcription coalesced, and artist and scholar met on common ground."[234] While I do not think antiquaries considered their imitative drawings and prints to be a form of art, I consider both figural and textual facsimiles and study their function and artifice.

By 1718, the practice of collecting and illustrating antiquities for the purposes of preservation and study was codified in the antiquaries' professional creed. In the inaugural articles of the Society of Antiquaries of London appears the following dictate, charging antiquaries

> to collect & print all accounts of antient monuments that come to their hands whether Ecclesiastic or Civil, which may be communicated to them

[232] William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005), 15.
[233] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 15.
[234] Stuart Piggott, *Antiquity Depicted,* 13.

> from all parts of the Kingdoms of Great Bryttain & Ireland, Such as Old Citys, Stations, Camps, public Buildings, Roads, Churches, Temples, Abbys, Statues, Tombs, Busts, Inscriptions, Castles, Ruins, Altars, Ornaments, utensils, Habits, Seals, Armour, Pourtraits, Medals, urns, Pavements, Maps, Charts, Manuscripts, Genealogy's, Historys, Observations, Illustrations, Emendations of Books already published & whatever may properly belong to the History of BRYTTISH ANTIQUITYS.[235]

The winded, enumerative quality of this statement of intent even seems to reach for the kind of collecting and preserving it describes, naming and encoding antiquarian objects in a lexical museum. This article of faith, rejecting Butler's dismissive view, claims that the antiquaries' ambit was simple, even noble: 'to collect and print' was a dual principle based in the belief that copying and distributing the remains of the past was essential to human learning. In the section that follows, I consider an early example of this kind of collecting and printing of antiquities in William Camden's correspondence and in the multiple editions of the Britannia.

[235] SAL/MS265, Society of Antiquaries London.

'Fashion & Form of the Stone': Printing Artifacts in the Antiquarian Mode

In the late summer of 1607, Nicholas Roscarrock—recusant Catholic and dogged chronicler of the lives and acts of Cornish saints—wrote to William Camden to report two "escapes in the [*Britannia's*] last edition" (1600): for one, Camden had misgendered the virgin Saint Columba as, "S. Columbus, a man." In editing and augmenting the next edition (then at press) Camden promptly incorporated Roscarrock's note, and in a final act of miraculous transformation, Columbus a most holy man ['Columbani […] viri sanctissimi'] became Columba a most pious woman and martyr ['Columbae piissimae mulieris & Martyris'].[236] The second error Roscarrock's letter reports was not as easily corrected, as it required altering words carved into centuries-old stone: "The second," Roscarrock wrote,

> is an Inscription, which you have of the two Philips, which you had at Thoresby in Cumberland, in which you were misinformed both for the fashion and the form of the stone, being four times as long as broad, tho' my Lord William [Howard, 1563-1640], who hath it now, with a great many more, in his garden-wall at Naward [Naworth], where he would be glad to see you to read them, has made it shorter: as also for the lines and letters, which I have sent you here enclosed, drawn out by our good Lord's hands; and would have sent you some more, but that we think it too late, and that you mean not to over-charge your book with too many of that kind.

There is much to unpack from this account. We know, of course, that the letter was not

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[236] *Britannia*, 1600 ed., 156; 1607 ed., 140. The error is likely due to the ambiguity of the ungendered ending of Columba's name in Cornish. After correcting the error in the 1607 edition, Camden added a disambiguating note: "non Columbani Scoti, memoriae consecratum, ut iam certo ex eius vita sum edoctus" (1607, 140). See Nicholas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Oxford, 2000), 64; 91: "The only known parallel for a Life of a saint in Cornish is the medieval verse drama Beunans Meriasek about Meriadec, the patron-saint of Camborne. According to the poem, Columb was the daughter of a pagan king and queen named Lodan and Maingild, but was herself a Christian […] The Holy Ghost appeared to her as a dove (columba in Latin), after which she took a vow of virginity."

'too late'; and, in consequence, the text, if not the 'form' and 'fashion,' of the stone was revised from Camden's eight-line original to Roscarrock's ten-line version in all later printings of the *Britannia*: between 1600 and 1607, the *Britannia* witnessed a metamorphosis almost as miraculous as a virgin Saint re-gendered. To go by Camden's altered copy, words on stone changed (see fig. 2.5).

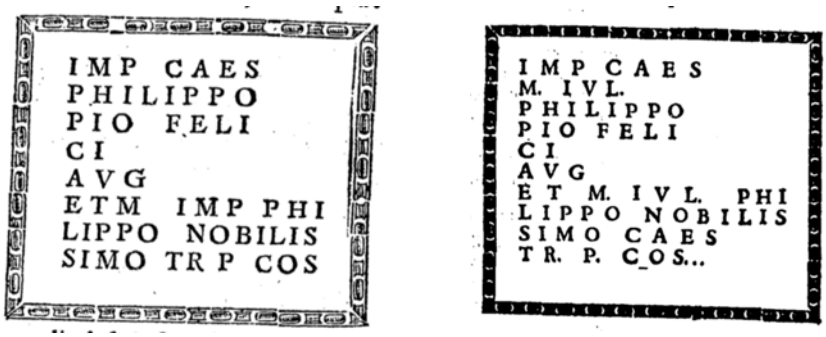

Figure 2.5. Epigraphic 'facsimiles' from two successive editions of Camden's *Britannia* in the section on "Cumberland."
1600 (p. 699) on left; 1607 (p. 637) on right

I begin with Roscarrock's letter because it demonstrates a pragmatics (a kind of 'how-to') of antiquarian copy-making, and thus provides a convenient case study in the strategies of graphic imitation this chapter examines. Specifically, Roscarrock's letter suggests that antiquarian reproductions should not only be accurate (Roscarrock's occasion is an error, a false image), but should also follow formal rules: five things mattered in representing stone on paper—three familiar to us (attribution, date, and location) and two opaque (termed by Roscarrock, 'fashion' and 'form'). While Roscarrock's letter can be read simply as an emending notice highlighting inaccuracies in Camden's copied inscription (i.e., its text), it in fact treats all of these material categories

in turn, seeming to elevate the stone's formal qualities to a point of epistemological equivalence with its text, date, and attribution: the inscription's stony ground and medium are worth recording, too; substance, heft, and shape are attributes quickened in facsimile. But Roscarrock's letter is also significant because it demonstrates the way in which Camden's mimetic prints of antique stones were received and it lays bare the special form of literacy these facsimiles promoted and required. In a narrowing deixis of modifying clauses ('an Inscription…which …which…in which'), Roscarrock's letter leaves Camden's attribution and date uncontested (the inscription does, in fact, date to the Roman occupancy of England under the Two Philips), but alerts Camden to the stone's recent and astonishing itineracy: while Camden had seen it at 'Thoresby' [Thursby, Cumbria], it had been moved—no doubt haltingly—over a distance of eighteen uphill miles and added to Howard's garden walls, where it joined "a great many more." After Roscarrock quibbles with the accuracy of Camden's transcription, and particularly the way in which its 'form' and 'fashion' were replicated in awkwardly framed typographic majuscules, he encloses an amending manuscript copy, authenticated and "drawn out" by Roscarrock's aristocratic patron, the Lord William Howard himself. This pen and ink facsimile eventually found its way, mutatis mutandis, into print.[237]

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[237] I could not locate Howard's transcription among Camden's extant papers, though another version of the same inscription survives in British Library, Cotton MS Julius VI, ff. 305 [322]. As was typical of its genre, the emending letter also functions as an invitation, with Roscarrock conveying the Lord Howard's offer to host Camden at Naworth, "where he would be glad to see you to read [the stones]." This otherwise unrecorded exchange answers a recent call to turn to makers and doers over theorists and 'authors' (a return to the work of the hands over the work of the mind). Anne Blair studies the role of assistants, spouses, and amanuenses in early modern intellectual and scientific circles. See Ann Blair, "Hidden Hands: Amanuenses and Authorship in Early Modern Europe," *A.S.W. Rosenbach Lectures in Bibliography*, March 1, 2014, https://repository.upenn.edu/rosenbach/8. See also, Pamela H. Smith, "Art, Science, and Visual

The early modern practice of transmitting evidence by way of epistolary networks has been well studied: Elizabeth Yale has recently shed light on the written technologies by which fact and assent were communicated and secured among naturalists and antiquaries in seventeenth-century England. Yale notes in particular that print became not only a "tool for answering immediate research questions" but also a mechanism for recording professional exchange and collaboration—a practice Yale terms "printing for correspondence."[238] Meanwhile, Claire Preston has argued that a new kind of collaborative civility was born of these same technologies, one that was often "pitched against the earlier [humanist] tradition of disputation" that was "essentially uncivil and competitive."[239] Though both discuss antiquaries in their books, Yale and Preston write less about how these practices and collaborative technologies were modified for a uniquely antiquarian project.[240] To be sure, there is much overlap in early modern empiricisms, as I argued in my first chapter: much like the scientific epistolarity that Claire Preston studies in *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation*, antiquarian letter writing

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Culture in Early Modern Europe," *Isis* 97, no. 1 (March 2006): 83–100. "The fact that the scholar-naturalist-physicians are more familiar to historians of science than the artisans who made the images points to a tendency both in the history of science and in our contemporary perception of 'art' and 'science' to privilege the scholar, theorizer, and conceptualizer above the maker," 83-4.

[238] Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, 196. Yale treats Edward Lhuyd's practice of enlisting subscribers to participate in his research. "Transforming subscribers into content providers," Lhuyd formalized a practice Camden pioneered, issuing a questionnaire covering "antiquities, the names and seats of local gentry, manuscripts, […] local customs, inscriptions, livestock, lakes and rivers, caves, diseases, agricultural practices, seashells, and fossils. Respondents were encouraged to answer the queries in the blanks after each question," 202. Yale evidently does not view final, printed books as similarly generative of evidence. See also Yale, 193-204.

[239] Preston, *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation*, 165.

[240] Yale includes antiquarianism in her discussion, but her period is later (1660-), implying that antiquarian writing was an expression of England's nascent empiricism centered around the newly-formed Royal Society.

operated under an assumed educational, social, and confessional mutuality, and thus conveyed "the disinterested, reportorial matter of findings, experiments, and learned speculation" on which knowledge-making depended.[241] But while Yale and Preston treat early modern scientific correspondence as a preparative form done in advance of authoritative printed accounts, antiquaries just as frequently corresponded in print and in response to print. Here I suggest that this typographic sodality was essential to the antiquarian mode's innovative use of facsimiles.

For Elizabeth Yale, scribal forms (manuscript epistolarity, scrapbooking, common-placing) were more suited than print to early modern England's nascent empirical culture because of their material economy and medial 'openness'—features Yale suggests printed texts lack: while "printing one's writings was […] one of the surest ways of preserving them for the future, […] making public via printing was necessarily also a cutting off, an end to one's researches that invariably left some knowledge behind."[242] Conceding, then, that print preserves, Yale argues that it also imposed a stultifying 'finality' on the "endless flow of new knowledge about nature and human history pouring through seventeenth-century Britain."[243] While this is true in part (print cannot encompass all that is known by an author and information stalls in more ephemeral forms), we've seen that print did the opposite, transmitting intelligence to unanticipated audiences and prompting corrective notices and research that eventually led to more accurate work in print. This was an eventuality Camden explicitly welcomed and even presupposed, noting in his *Remains*

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[241] Preston, *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation,* 166.
[242] Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, 9-10.
[243] Yale, 9.

that "more shall be left for them which will diue deeper into this matter,"[244] and earlier prefacing the Britannia with an invitation to correct, augment, and contribute:

> Others may be more skilfull and more exactly obserue the particularities of the places where they are conversant, If they, or any other whosoever, will advertise me wherein I am mistaken, I will amend it with manifold thankes, if I have unwitting omitted ought, I will supply it, if I have not fully explicated any point, upon their better information I will more cleere it, if it proceed from good meaning, and not from a spirit of contradiction and quareling, which doe not befit such as are well bred, and affect the truth.[245]

Camden marshals his evidence, gathers his thoughts in typographic form, but does not claim to deliver the final word on the matter in doing so. Instead, Camden offers a kind of corporate problem-solving that augurs later, encyclopedic projects.[246] Of course we need not leave Camden's century to find massively cooperative printed projects like those of the eighteenth-century encyclopedists: as A.H. Laeven observes, the proliferative rise of learned journals across seventeenth-century Europe—including the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-), the *Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig, 1682-), the *Journal des Sçavans* (Paris, 1665-) , and the *Giornale de' Letterati* (Rome, 1668-)—demonstrate "the

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[244] William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R.D. Dunn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 121.

[245] Discussed by Angus Vine in, "Copiousness, Conjecture and Collaboration in William Camden's Britannia: William Camden's Britannia," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 2 (April 2014): 225–41. See, especially, 238-240. Vine rightly observes that, "it is doubtful that [Camden] would ever have been able to compile such a copious book" without these regular contributions (240).

[246] See Brad Pasanek and Chad Wellmon, "The Enlightenment Index," *The Eighteenth Century* 56, no. 3 (2015): 359–82. "Diderot […] argued that preservative collection was not enough; the knowledge collected must be linked together and organized in a corporate effort that transcends the individual author" (362). See also, Vine, "Copiousness and Conjecture," 241: "For the antiquary, there is necessarily always more material to accumulate and more information to gather. Camden's recognition of this acknowledges that his work will never be finished, but also means that he avoids many of the tensions of early modern encyclopaedism that Ann Blair has recently described." Vine is citing Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

desire to gather and disseminate knowledge and (scholarly) news, the need to keep abreast of the advances made by colleagues, and the wish to test the results of one's own research against the yardsticks of others."[247] Long acknowledged as instrumental in the formation of early modern cultures of science and mathematics, these journals were not restricted to these fields; rather, they published articles that ranged across the early modern disciplines, collocating astral charts, mathematical proofs, announcements of artifactual discoveries, and engravings of antiquities (see fig. 2.5). Seventeenth-century periodical culture was as reliably antiquarian as it was scientific; and the seventeenth-century's republic of letters was equal parts typographic and epistolary.[248]

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[247] A. H. Laeven, *The* Acta Eruditorum *under the Editorship of Otto Mencke (1644–1707): The History of an International Learned Journal between 1682 and 1707* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1990), 7. Laeven also notes that the prevalence of printed collections of letters, particularly in the early seventeenth century, was due in part to the absence of learned journals: "This does not mean that the letter was finished as a medium of scholarly news after the 'invention' of the learned journal. There was, however, a growing tendency to keep matters which had been discussed in a periodical out of the epistolary news circuit. As the number of journals increased, the letter in any case gradually lost its function of 'bibliographic bulletin' because the new means of communication was much more efficient in this respect" (8). Harcourt Brown observes that the motivation for the *Journal des Sçavans* was the "desire to record inventions and discoveries in the various arts and sciences […] difficult to insert in the continuous narrative of history." Harcourt Brown, "History and the Learned Journal," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 33, no. 3 (1972): 367.

[248] Laeven, 53: The *Acta Eruditorum*, for one, was not "the markedly science and mathematics-oriented journal it is often taken to be"—and the same holds true for the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*. Laeven's subject analysis across the first decade of the *Acta Eruditorum* reveals that articles on historical subjects were not uncommon: "The Historica et Geographica and Miscellanea categories [in which works of an antiquarian flavor would be included] are about the same size—16.87% and 17.78%," 53.

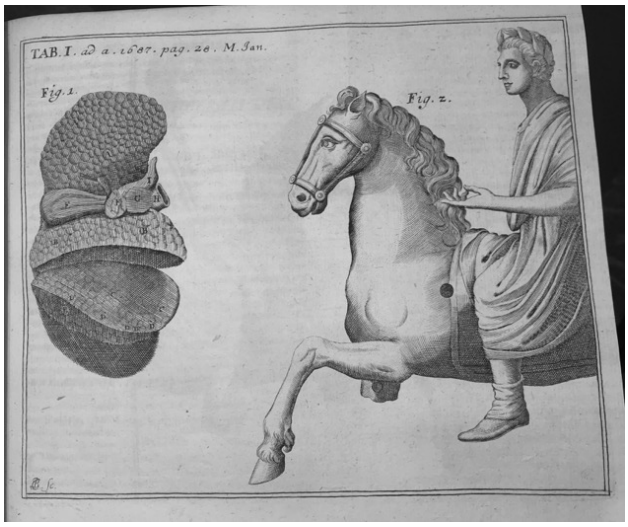

Figure 2.6. Virtuoso pastiche: Table 1 from the January, 1687 issue of the *Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig), displaying a diseased lung beside a facsimile of a Roman equestrian bas-relief. (Bound at p. 29, D3). Courtesy of the Dibner Library of Science & Technology and the Smithsonian Libraries.

While Yale is right, then, to observe that conducting work in manuscript provided advantages to early modern empiricists, the medial practices of seventeenth-century antiquaries seem to have been more mixed. In the antiquarian mode, print was often one more instrument in the 'endless flow of new knowledge' Yale describes. Yale ultimately makes this point in examining the four editions of John Evelyn's *Sylva*, but treats Evelyn's text as an exception to an assumed rule: "Each edition," Yale writes, "was revised to include new information as well as minor textual changes. […] Print did not in this case imply finality. In subjecting the text to further reworking, Evelyn treated his printed text more like a scribal collection."[249] I suggest that Evelyn's treatment was rather in keeping with his object: printed texts across multiple editions were regularly revised and corrected; but more than that, this process was often anticipated and viewed as typical in

[249] Yale, *Sociable Knowledge,* 11.

the period—procedural revision was not an exception, but rather the rule. I won't quibble with Yale here, because she ultimately suggests that print could be both stultifying and generative, a salutary view that effectively bridges two sides of a recent debate concerning the reliability and fixity of print.

Proponents of print's fickleness—most especially Adrian Johns and David McKitterick—have rejected out of hand the notion that the press provided a reliably or unambiguously fixed medium: "the printed text," David McKitterick asserts, was "a field for negotiation."[250] McKitterick elsewhere calls the "fixity of print" a "myth," while Johns writes that, "early modern printing was not joined by any obvious or necessary bond to enhanced fidelity, reliability, and truth."[251] Of course taken literally, McKitterick and Johns are correct: print is not properly 'fixed,' nor reliably stable; any given edition will yield a dizzying number of variant 'states' across constituent copies, and each edition will reliably deviate from those it precedes and follows. Indeed, the entire discipline of descriptive bibliography commits itself to seeking out and explaining these printed variants. McKitterick and Johns, along with Peter Stallybrass, Anthony Grafton, and Juliet Fleming, are likewise correct to insist that print did not supplant scribal culture, as is often assumed. Rather, the ubiquity of print led to manuscript's re-entrenchment and reinvention. But the terms of this argument against print's fixity—developed first in Johns' *The Nature of the Book* (2000) largely in an effort to discredit Elizabeth Eisenstein's

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[250] David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 142, 42.
[251] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5. See also Johns, 1-40; and Anthony T. Grafton, "The Importance of Being Printed," ed. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11, no. 2 (1980): 265–86.

account in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), and articulated most recently in McKitterick's *Old Books, New Technologies* (2013)—are used to imply that printed documents are mere thorny aggregates of mis-printings, variants, and inexorable mutability. I argue that this view of print crowds out the different ways in which the press was perceived at different points in the past, and elides important differences between manuscript and print.[252]

A guiding premise of this chapter, sketched in the preceding paragraph, is that antiquaries displayed a genuine eagerness to get things into print, and particularly into printed facsimile—not only to preserve (or 'fix') antiquarian evidence, but (the inverse) to prompt further work and generate new evidence, even (and perhaps especially) if it contradicted or modified what had already been printed. Far from 'cutting off' activity, print facilitated the antiquarian mode's rapid and wide-ranging generation of observations, copies, and information. Largely in consequence of these advantages (regularity, referential accessibility), print was perceived in the early modern period as the best possible means of recording and disseminating knowledge. What's more, there is strong evidence to suggest that antiquaries reconciled print's variability with its promise of fixity, even going so far as to embrace the concept of new, self-obsolescing editions as a

[252] The debate is not helped by its recent entry into the crisis of preserving the historical record: curators have adopted McKitterick's correct view that no two printed books are identical to justify acquiring multiple copies of the same title. But the consequences have distanced views of printed books from historicist sensitivity […] Crisis breeds zealotry: "At every level, from school libraries to public libraries to university libraries to learned societies and to national libraries, books are being discarded and destroyed at an unprecedented rate," 212. See Barbara Heritage, "David McKitterick, Old Books, New Technologies: The Representation, Conservation and Transformation of Books since 1700," *Modern Philology* 113, no. 3 (December 16, 2015): E197–99, https://doi.org/10.1086/683376.

powerful tool in their toolkit.

William Camden's unpublished treatise "On Printing"—extant in a single copy at the British Library (Cotton MS Julius F. XI)—offers a brief yet telling commentary on the antiquaries' view of the press: 'As gunnes were invented to destruction so shortly after was the Arte of printinge found to […] conservation,' Camden writes, finding an almost serendipitous balance in man's recent inventiveness.[253] If a single statement on the function of the press could be said to undergird this chapter's theoretical framework, it would be this brief tract. While Camden is, in part, merely repeating a commonplace frequently assigned to printing in the period, context matters: Camden's abortive treatise on printing was penned for inclusion in his *Remains*, a work that I argued in my first chapter serves as a kind of antiquarian grammar and vade mecum for antiquarian fieldwork.[254] Strangely, Alexandra Halasz finds in Camden's manuscript treatise a screed of insular elitism, warning of the dangers of the press's incipient popularity. Halasz writes, "it was impossible for a man of Camden's interests and experience to regard

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[253] See R.D. Dunn, "Fragment of an unpublished essay on printing by William Camden," *Electronic British Library Journal*, 1986. http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1986articles/pdf/article11.pdf. Dunn suggests that the fragment should be dated no later than "28 November 1598 and may have been written four or five years earlier," 145.

[254] The printing press was often paired with gunpowder to demonstrate the early moderns' technological inventiveness: See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also, Pamela H. Smith, "Art, Science, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe," *Isis* 97, no. 1 (March 2006): 90. "The set of engravings by the Flemish artist Jan van der Straet (Stradanus) (1536–1605), entitled Nova reperta—"New Discoveries"—illustrated the distance between antiquity and the material and technological conditions of his own lifetime. The frontispiece of this set of engravings is framed by two allegorical figures: one, young and lively, enters the frame from the left, and the other, old and stooped, exits to the right; each carries a serpent biting its own tail, the oroborus, signifying Time."

printing as an unalloyed good or exclusively a blessing for learning."[255] This overstates the case. As evidenced by his demotic treatment of his own printed works and his defense of printing in the *Remains* manuscript, Camden saw the press as both a primary instrument in the antiquaries' project and as a source and object for antiquarian inspection in its own right: the press was an antiquarian tool and its product an object of antiquarian inquiry.[256] In defending the press's empirical value, Camden was joined by Francis Bacon, who similarly linked print's preservative promise to the destructiveness of gunpowder but alighted instead on a new metaphor in the navigational compass. As Elizabeth Eisenstein observes, the "coincidence of overseas exploration with the increased output of books" was, according to Bacon, no accident.[257]

Approximately contemporary with both Bacon's and Camden's statements on the matter, Jan van Der Straet (1523-1605) published a series of engravings titled Nova Reperta ('new discoveries'), which feature images of bustling press shops, one of which is inhabited by compositors and burly pressmen, the other showing engravers at work. All forms of printing, then, (xylographic, typographic, and chalcographic) were held up for praise in the period, often because of their epistemological promise of permanence and reproducibility. As the Latin motto at the base of van Der Straet's image of an early modern printing workshop notes, the press can spread one voice to many ears, and one pen can yield thousands of pages ['Potest ut una Vox capi aure plurima: Linunt ita una

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[255] Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 21-22.
[256] See David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
[257] Eisenstein (2011), 83.

scripta mille paginas'].

Of course, as we have seen, antiquarian correspondence was often predicated on the availability of a printed text, whether as a source of citable evidence ready-to-hand or an object pending revision. In a pattern that repeats across the period, antiquarian epistolarity and print culture were closely linked and often mutually constructive. As Peter Stallybrass observes, the most 'radical effect' of the press might well have been "its incitement to writing by hand"—printed texts compelled manuscript intervention and epistolary exchange.[258] I do not discount the role of manuscript copy-making in the period—John Evelyn's commission of Carlo Maratti in 1645 to copy antiquities in Rome provides one example (of many) of how antiquarian facsimilizing (to coin a verb) often originated in pen and pencil rather than metal and ink—but I do suggest its role as a required preparatory form has been overplayed. So when Yale argues that "natural history and antiquarian studies were deeply and materially shaped by the possibilities (and constraints) of long-distance collaboration," her account fails to consider the role print played in this collaborative network.[259] We've seen that Roscarrock's letter structures its argument around an error observed in the 1600 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, for instance, but similar examples of print- or error-prompted correspondence abound in Camden's papers. Invariably, these corrective letters and the facsimiles they enclose would never have been penned if Camden had kept his work in manuscript.

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[258] Peter Stallybrass, "Printing and the Manuscript Revolution," in *Explorations in Communication and History,* ed. Barbie Zelizer (London: Routledge, 2008), 117. See also William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
[259] Yale, *Sociable Knowledge*, 3.

Surveying some of these letters lends substance to my point. In a postscript to an undated letter to Camden, Henry Savile (1549-1622) writes, "I pray you remember the gravestone (in your next edition)," evidently referring to a manuscript facsimile Savile had copied out "as exactlie as [he] could" and sent to Camden some months before.[260] In this case, the absence of an inscription in an available edition of the *Britannia*, prompted Savile's copy-making and artifactual hand-wringing—it mattered that Camden got the message and encoded the copy in print. Another letter from one of Camden's most reliable antiquarian intelligencers, Francis Godwin (1562–1633), encloses facsimiles of artifacts and inscriptions found in Godwin's native South Wales: "Uppon ye topp of a mountaigne called Mynydd Margam," Godwin writes, "between Morgan [Margam] & Langonoyd [Llangynwyd] in Glamorganshyre […] thys inscription underwrytte, is to be seene Uppon a hard popple stone that is in length 4 foote, 9 inches, one foote broad & 8 inches thick."[261] Godwin, like Savile and Roscarrock, stresses the fidelity of the copy he sends: "My freind that exscribed it being very carefull to satisfy my curious desire by full information of all the pticulars." Despite having not seen the stone himself, Godwin avers that the copy he sends Camden "is a true copy out of all question", and even hints at a possible early modern synonym for 'facsimile' ('exscription'). Godwin is also careful to relate the stone's depicted abnormalities, noting that his unnamed 'friend,' "digged up the

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[260] BL Cotton Julius F VI 299/316.

[261] For Camden's lifelong relationship with Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, see Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2007), 184-185. Godwin travelled with Camden through Wales in 1590 in preparation for the Britannia's third edition and was likely Camden's source for information on the Welsh language. That Godwin was still sending Camden inscriptions thirteen years after their first collaborative research indicates the vibrancy and warmth of Camden's epistolarity.

stone & found it one foote under the ground & Uppon each syde under the ground a greate O." Gaping silently from the page, Godwin's carefully drawn 'O' here functions like a kind of facsimile in miniature (see fig. 2.7).

Many of the letters that comprise *Cotton Julius F VI* evince a startling sympathy for the artifacts and places they describe.[262] In addition to stressing the eidetic fidelity of their copies, many of Camden's far-off collaborators seem eager to treat the artifactual originals in equally solicitous terms. Excusing the ignorance of his 'friend', for example, Godwin notes that being "angry [the stone] should be digged up" he "order[ed] to have it placed agayne."[263] Demonstrating another kind of local sensitivity, Godwin augments his description of the Welsh stone with a folkloric aside: "the [common] people of ye country […] have long had a saying […] whoso did read ye wryting, should dye soone after." "How it wyll prooue," Godwin adds with tongue in cheek, "I knowe not." Perhaps out of Christian piety, superstition, or regional pride, Godwin's archaeological care did not extend to Roman antiquities—Godwin muses in a separate letter that pagan fragments he had gathered would be afforded "a place somewhere in my garden."[264] This facsimile-laced correspondence is revealing for the simple reason that the men who wrote these letters knew Camden and Camden's work intimately, with Godwin even participating in Camden's fieldwork in preparation for the *Britannia's* third edition (1590). In other words, Camden's correspondents were aware of his practice of publishing monuments in

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[262] The collocation of Camden's facsimiles—various in date and format—under a single class-mark in the Cotton collection suggests that they were consciously gathered and grouped after Camden's death.
[263] *Cotton Julius F VI*, 298.
[264] Quoted in Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context*, 306.

facsimile alongside his text; their archived letters should therefore be read as a manifestation of a shared project to gather and publish artifacts in 'exactlie' printed copies.

Camden's letters also reveal that this kind of copy-making was not confined to the page: printed reproductions just as often derived from direct witness, and notices of untreated monuments evidently could (and did) prompt Camden to make copies of his own. One letter from Godwin, dated July 14 1603, invites Camden to the Welsh hinterlands to collaborate in his ongoing fieldwork. I wish, Godwin writes, "I could perswade you to make a iourney into these parts & to spend certayne monethes heere with me." While Camden did not take up Godwin's invitation (Camden never returned to Wales after his first trip there in 1590), the facsimile that first appears in the 1607 edition of the Britannia makes clear that Camden had received and studied Godwin's letter closely, comparing Godwin's written description with its accompanying facsimile (a typical blending of ecphrasis and facsimile that recurs in antiquarian works in the period). While Godwin's drawing omits a graven cross on top of the depicted stone, he describes this feature in his letter ("Uppon the top of ye stone was a crosse").[265] Inexplicably, Camden's printed facsimile adds the cross, but omits Godwin's subterranean 'greate O,' depicting in its place a few furrowed hillocks, hinting at the stone's scale, and its Welsh and mountainous environs. The deletion of Godwin's 'O' might be evidence of Camden's modifying the image to emphasize some elements over others, or simply the woodcutter's own intervention or omission (Godwin's ominous cut-away view perhaps a source of

[265] *Cotton Julius F VI*, 298.

confusion happily eliminated by the woodcutter's knife).

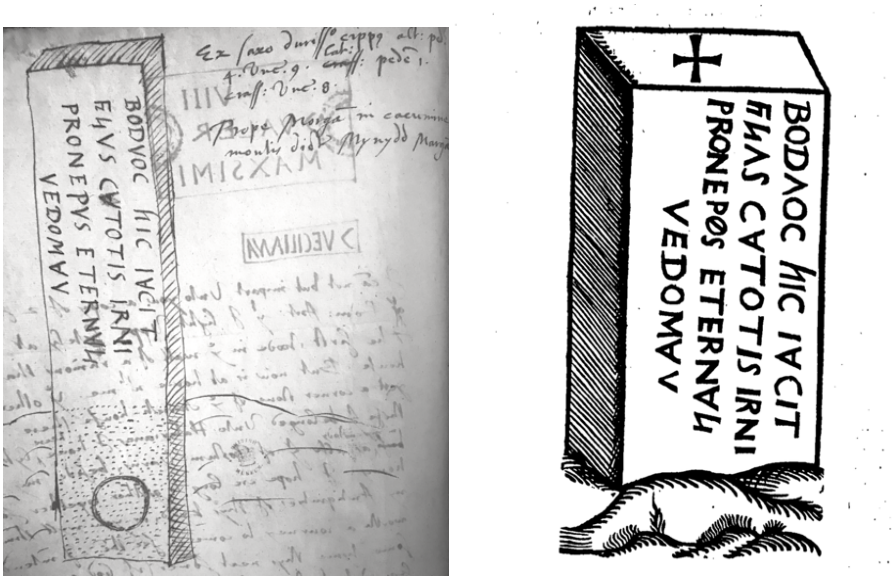

Figure 2.7. Francis Godwin's manuscript (left) and Camden's printed facsimile of the Bodvoc Stone, which still stands where Godwin encountered it near Llangynwyd, Wales.

A final example of this facsimilic epistolarity comes in a series of letters to Camden that convey carefully drawn copies of 63 inscriptions gathered (and sometimes forged) by the obscure antiquary and headmaster of Appleby Grammar School in Westmorland, Reginald Bainbrigg.[266] One of Bainbrigg's stones that he describes to Camden was "found in Whellep castle in Kirbethore and now sett in my new howse at Applebie." Bainbrigg's house evidently functioned as a sort of epigraphic museum, displaying stony curiosities transported back to Applebie. In 1602, Bainbrigg left his own epigraphic trace, recording the foundation of this museum, again in a tablet mounted in

[266] Winchester, Angus J. L. "Bainbrigg, Reginald (1544/5–1612/13), schoolmaster and antiquary." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 26 Feb. 2020. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1084; F. Haverfield, 'Cotton Julius F. vi. Notes on Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby, on William Camden and on some Roman inscriptions', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, New Series*, 11 (1910–11), 343–78. Haverfield provides a largely complete transcription of the Bainbrigg manuscripts.

the wall of his house. Some of these stones were still at the school as late as 1910.[267] Bainbrigg ends his illustrated letter to Camden with a promise, "if ther be anie antequities here in this country I will send them." Bainbrigg was a single node in a vast collaborative network, that grew vaster with each letter. Near the end of one of his well-illustrated missives, for instance, Bainbrigg offers to acquaint Camden with other obscure figures engaged in their own projects of gathering and copying. Significantly, Bainbrigg introduces Camden to "Mr. John denton of Cardew […] a man well reed in Antiquities in his owne contrie" and authenticates Denton's credentials, noting "he goes by no hearesaies but by ancient records," and goes so far as to express disappointment that Camden had already printed his own study of Cumberland without the addition of Denton's research: I wish, Bainbrigg writes, "Cumberland had bene omitted in this last impression, till you had receyved thes his notes."[268] Bainbrigg's final observation—wishing that Cumberland had been left unprinted until he could consult with Camden—demonstrates that the relationship between epistolary exchange and print was much closer than has been recognized: the *Britannia* would have been a slim volume without this form of learned contribution.

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[267] Haverfield, 348: "To-day [1910] there are (as Mr. Counsell, headmaster of the school tells me) six of Bainbrigg's *jeux d'esprit*, four Roman stones (originals or copies) and seven which are too illegible to read, preserved in the Broadclose and at the Schoolhouse."

[268] "By about 1603 Denton had completed 'An accompt of the most considerable estates and families in the county of Cumberland', a manuscript which is regarded as the first attempt to compile a history of the county. No fewer than fifteen copies of Denton's 'Accompt' are known, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and his work formed the basis of many later antiquarian accounts of Cumberland, including the first printed county history by Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, published in 1777. Mary Wane, and Angus J. L. Winchester, "Denton, John (b. in or before 1561, d. 1617), antiquary." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 26 Feb. 2020. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-74666.

Without exception, these facsimiles (and many more like them) were sent to Camden with the press in mind, and in most cases, Camden (and Camden's printers) obliged: the majority of the epistolary facsimiles extant among Camden's papers appear in at least one edition of the Britannia, with the manuscript drawings apparently serving as archetypes when it came time to cut their images in wood. As Maria Grazia Lolla has observed, and as Camden's facsimilic correspondence makes clear, "publishing, as much as collecting or studying monuments, could be counted amongst the defining features of antiquarianism."[269] This should not surprise us. Print afforded a synchronic and diachronic community of collaborators by which antiquarian research was facilitated and shared. In light of this, the antiquaries' choice to use this technology to render artifacts in graphic imitation is similarly predictable; illustrated works of antiquarianism became a museum without walls, and artifacts and their facsimiles were often treated as interchangeable. As Wyman H. Herendeen notes, the successive editions of the *Britannia,* in particular, "reflected the growing appetite for antiquarian, rather than 'historical' matter. Non-narrative material—artifacts, inscriptions, the material and otherwise evidentiary manifestations of the past—fill [its] narrative interstices."[270] These non-narrative, evidentiary materials proved relatively easy to find and to print, given their formal regularity (geometric forms, textual content), and the relative abundance of new monuments sent to Camden as hand-drawn copies. As each edition of the *Britannia* incorporated new, sometimes contradictory evidence and imagery, it provided a common

[269] Maria Grazia Lolla, "Monuments and Texts: Antiquarianism and the Beauty of Antiquity," *Art History* 25, no. 4 (September 2002): 431.
[270] Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context*, 310.

and increasingly accurate corpus of evidence that was easily citable after publication—thereby acceding to further revision and refinement.[271] The images illustrating Camden's text thus formed a kind of visual archive used by the *Britannia's* readers to inform and guide their own fieldwork.

The stone at the heart of Roscarrock's letter—first in its granitic eminence and then in manuscript and printed copies—emblematizes and enacts this chapter's argument and themes. For one, its copying and recopying show us how antiquaries responded to and read images of antiquities in print. But it also conveys a lesson about the importance of the printing press in achieving the antiquaries' shared goal of preserving the materially embodied past. Namely, the stone in question (a columnar mile-marker set up near the northern limit of the Roman empire in 247AD) does not survive. In consequence, its surprisingly far-flung itinerary can only be reconstructed by means of its printed imitations: after its Roman installation, the stone stood immobile until Camden encountered it near a sunken military road on the outskirts of Thursby, Cumbria. It was later moved to Naworth by Lord William Howard, where Nicholas Roscarrock encountered it, and then on to Rokeby in Teesdale County, near Durham, likely by the

[271] Evidently, Camden relied on this form of reportorial correspondence as a matter of course. Significantly, too, Roscarrock, either in deference or in ignorance, observes that Camden is 'misinformed' rather than mistaken. Evidently, Roscarrock assumes that Camden received his evidence secondhand and that Camden's faulty inscription was the product of another collaborator's error. In truth, Camden transcribed the stone's text himself on a journey to the Pict's Wall in 1599/1600. As Angus Vine observes, Camden repeatedly "foregrounds the act of collaboration" and that the Britannia is the product of "a particular mode of scholarly exchange." But beyond the social instrument that effected this collaboration, the result also matters: a network of reproductions creates accuracy and preserves the originals. See, Angus Vine, "Copiousness, conjecture and collaboration in William Camden's Britannia," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 2 (2014), 226. Camden cites Roscarrock's and Godwin's contributions in his chapters on Cumberland and Glamorganshire, respectively.

English Palladian Thomas Robinson sometime in the 1730s. Thereafter, it vanished, incorporated into one of Rokeby's many nineteenth-century extensions, perhaps unremarked as a venerable antiquity and used as rubble in a foundation or perimeter wall. Lacking the original, we are left to ask, "what of its afterlives in facsimile?"

Camden's facsimile is the earliest extant record of the stone's existence and the first printed copy of its now-lost inscription.[272] It was later recorded in a more icastic reproduction in John Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732)—an epigraphic grab bag which J.G. Collingwood called, with some accuracy, "the first systematic collection of Roman inscriptions in Britain."[273] Horsley's version reveals that despite Roscarrock's best efforts, Camden's printed version failed to capture its form and fashion (fig. 2.7). Indeed, in placing Camden's facsimile alongside Horsley's, we strain to find the resemblance, scrutinizing the pair for shared traits that might reveal the shared origin of the two versions. Eventually we recognize that they depict the same object in their abbreviated words. In Camden's facsimile as printed in the *Britannia*, the inscription is represented in majuscule type set inside a kind of ornamental border, a factotum made up of rows of type lozenges, perhaps chosen for their resemblance to the rough-hewn edges of a stone. Stripped of a naturalism that is altogether more immediate in Horsley's attentive and graphic reproduction, Camden's copy reduces the original to essential details, a kind of editorial distillation that facilitates the legibility of the replica yet reduces a thing with

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[272] The stone was recorded at Rokeby in the eighteenth century, but disappears thereafter. See Roman Inscriptions in Britain, RIB 2286 (Milestone of Philip II). RIB notes that the text of the inscription changes from "SIMO TR P COS as one line Camd. (ed. 5)" to "SIMO CAES | TR . P . COS Camd. (ed. 6)" <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/2286#text-field>

[273] Robin George Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 62.

heft and texture to a few lines of verbal content.

Camden's image is not without pathos and aura, however: the crude framing of the type forms a kind of lettered shrine, enclosing a fragment of the past made to stand out in conceptual relief against its newfound medium. Camden's inscription moves from stone to paper, a singular object made multiple through the almost alchemical ministration of compositor and press. Horsley's, on the other hand, recaptures Roscarrock's desired 'form' and 'fashion', with the columnar form of the stone ('four times as long as broad') accompanied by blemishes carefully delineated by the engraver's cross-hatching. Horsley's letters, meanwhile, are misaligned, uneven, provincial in orthography and form, no doubt in near-exact correspondence with the stone itself (a far cry from Camden's typographic approximation). And yet these images are united by genre. Both, though separated by a century of stylistic refinement, are examples of what this chapter terms antiquarian facsimiles.

In the next section of this chapter, I examine a collection of facsimiles made specifically for the press—that is, conceived, designed, and disseminated as a printed object, with no intermediate stage of epistolary exchange or manuscript copying. This printed collection, John Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628), while deriving directly from the marbles it imitates, also employs a startling facsimilic style that diverges from Camden's (often) lumpen woodcuts.

Figure 2.8. RIB 2286, "Milestone of Philip II", AD 247. A relatively late facsimile from J. Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (London, 1732). The serrated lower edge implies it was still embedded in earth when Horsley made his copy. The columnar stone is now lost.

'Publishing out of a marble': John Selden's Quasi-Facsimiles

John Selden's catalog of facsimiles, the *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628),[274] embodies this dissertation's themes at its midpoint: it studies fragments (Selden describes his marmoreal objects as mutilated and fractured ['mutila & disrupta']) and devises a new style for representing artifacts in print—a typographical mimesis of a kind this chapter has termed 'facsimilic.' While scholars of Selden have discerned the importance of the *Marmora Arundelliana* (hereafter, *Marmora)* to the antiquary's legal scholarship;[275] to the period's efforts to synchronize Biblical and classical history;[276] and to Selden's interest in Greek musicology,[277] none have considered its visual rhetoric or the way in which (as

[274] Full title: *Marmora Arundelliana; siue Saxa Graece incisa ex venerandis priscae Orientis gloriae ruderibus, auspicijs & impensis berois illustriss. Thomae Comitis Arundelliae & Surriae, Comitis Marescalli Angliae, pridem vindicata & in aedibus eius hortisque cognominibus, ad Thamesis ripam, disposita. Accedunt inscriptiones aliquot veteris Latij, ex locupletissimo eiusdem vetustatis thesauro selectae, auctariolum item aliunde sumtum. Publicauit & commentariolos adiecit Ioannes Seldenus I.C.* (Arundellian Marbles, or stones inscribed in Greek, from the venerable remains of the ancient glory of the East, long since claimed under the auspices and by the heroic expenditures of the most illustrious Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, and deposited in the house and gardens bearing his name on the bank of the Thames. There are also added some old Latin inscriptions, selected from the most abundant vault of antiquity, and likewise a small addition selected from other sources. John Selden, juris consult, published them and added brief commentaries). Title translation from Joseph Wallace, "Legal Theories and Ancient Practices in John Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72, no. 3 (2011): 393–412.
[275] Joseph Wallace, "Legal Theories and Ancient Practices in John Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72, no. 3 (2011): 393–412; see also Reid Barbour's discussion of Selden's treatment of *nomos* in the *Marmora,* Reid Barbour, *John Selden: Measures of the Holy Commonwealth in Seventeenth-Century England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 101-109.
[276] Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 125-29; and Gerald J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:362-6
[277] Reid Barbour, *John Selden: Measures of the Holy Commonwealth in Seventeenth-Century England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 101-105.

Selden puts it) it brings marmoreal evidence ['ex marmoreis'] into 'papery light' ['chartaceam lucem'].[278]

Selden's catalog emerged from a milieu that resembled and in many cases overlapped Camden's own: the marbles it treats were surreptitiously imported from the Ottoman Levant by the swashbuckling William Petty (a student of Reginald Bainbrigg, who had contributed facsimiles to the 1607 edition of the *Britannia*);[279] brought to Selden's attention by Sir Robert Cotton, Camden's friend and fellow antiquary; interpreted and 'exscribed' with the help of Patrick Young and Richard James; and

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[278] For a full account of the history of the *Marmora Arundelliana* in the context of Selden's career, see Gerald J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), and John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 2:342

[279] David Howarth writes that Bainbrigg likely "took [his students—including William Petty] to search for buried Roman remains, and these expeditions over the mustard-colored fells to Hadrian's Wall gave Petty a taste for adventure which would take him through the storms of the Aegean and across the mountains of the Morea. They gave him also that wiry physique and that stamina which would make the well-seasoned Roe confess to Arundel that: 'There never was a man so fitted to an employment. That encounters all accidents with so unwearied patiences; eats with Greeks on their worst days; lies with fisherman on planks at the best; is all things to all men, that he may obtain his ends which are your Lordship's service'." David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 128-9. Petty was sent to Turkey by Arundel for the purposes of acquiring antiquities. As David Howarth observes, "His methods were unscrupulous, but he was prodigiously successful." Writing to Sir Thomas Roe, England's Ambassador to Turkey, in September 1624, Arundel requested that Roe help "Mr William Petty, a man of very good learning and other parts, who hath long been in my house." Arundel "further request[ed] Roe to 'give him all favour for he doth not only love antiquities extremely, but understands them very well'." For William Petty's role in accumulating the Earl of Arundel's collection of antiquities see, David Howarth, Petty, Rev. William (Oxford University Press, 2003), https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000066833. See also Mary Frederica Sophia Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: The University press, 1921), 267-280. On the role of early modern ambassadors in collecting art see, Robert Hill, "The Amabassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," in Edward Chaney, ed., *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2003), 240-255.

bought by Thomas Howard (the so-called 'Collector Earl' of Arundel).[280] Theirs was a small, collaborative world. By the time the *Marmora* was published, Selden was linked with and respected by Cotton and Camden, having mastered their methods by working in Cotton's vast library and studying the *Britannia*.[281] Nevertheless there are important differences in the two works' respective contexts. For one, the *Marmora* represents one part of a private museum displayed in the gardens of Arundel House on the north bank of the Thames. Instead of Camden's centripetal practice of gathering scattered materials through correspondence and eidetic reproductions, Selden drills down, representing and scrutinizing a 'mere' thirty-nine inscribed tablets and reliefs (twenty-nine in Greek and ten in Latin).[282]

Selden's narrow focus permits him to examine rather than simply record. While

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[280] The acquisition of the Earl's art and antiquities was in fact funded by the fortune he inherited on marrying the Countess of Arundel, Aletheia Talbot—a fact obscured by the Earl's moniker. Lionel Cust noted as early as 1912 that "Arundel's biographers hitherto have done but scant justice to the memory of Arundel's wife, Alethe[i]a Talbot, to whose wealth and energy the formation of the great Arundel collection must, to some extent, be attributed." Lionel Cust, "Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K. G.-II," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 20, no. 104 (1911): 97. Quoted in and see also, Elizabeth V. Chew, "The Countess of Arundel and Tart Hall," in Edward Chaney, ed., *The Evolution of English Collecting: The Reception of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods, Studies in British Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 285-314.

[281] For Selden's relationship with the older generation of antiquaries, see David Wilkins, "Vita Joannis Seldeni," in John Selden, *Opera omnia* (London, 1726), i-li, and especially i-iv. See also, David C. Douglas, *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1943), and Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631 History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[282] Selden departs from this focus in the appended "Auctariolum aliunde collectum" ('brief supplement from other sources'), which includes a fascinating series of Hebrew inscriptions. On the size of the Earl's collection of Greek inscriptions, Gerald Toomer notes, "[i]t is impossible to determine precisely how many inscriptions, and which of those surviving (apart from those published in the *Marmora*), formed the collection brought back by Petty, but it is almost certain that there were more than the twenty-nine Greek inscriptions which Selden published there," I: 361. Arundel House, destroyed in the London fire of 1666 and subsequently rebuilt according to a new plan, was next door to the queen's palace at Somerset House.

the rhetoric of facsimiles, transcriptions, and copies is primarily one of preservation and encoding, Selden also aims to extract and interpret. As such, Selden privileges inscribed monuments for their superficial and legible evidence: epigraphic stones are both artifacts and texts simultaneously, conveying messages that can be deciphered, read, and integrated into a narrativized history. Of course, 'to decipher' a monument—textual or otherwise—is simultaneously a metaphor and statement of fact: the texts Selden studies are (at least occasionally) plainly legible, but they also prompt a good deal of speculative gap-filling. Epigraphy in the early modern period was both a science and an arcane art, its difficulty inspiring the popular view that it amounted to a kind of sorcery: Reginald Bainbrigg, for one, was "look'd upon" by his neighbors "as a Conjuror who had cast spells to prevent the deciphering of the inscriptions in his collection."[283] This view suggests the inherent difficulty in 'reading' artifacts: while some carry linguistic messages that could indeed be read, there was also a subtler kind of legibility couched in their materiality. As Henry Peacham observed of a 'reasonable antiquary' examining a rusted coin, "if he can see but a nose upon it, or a piece of the face, he will give you a shrewd guess at him, though none of the inscription be to be seene."[284] Antiquaries were expert in this kind of wordless literacy and were thus early entrants in what W.J.T. Mitchell has termed the 'pictorial turn': showing, namely, that looking "may be as deep a problem as various forms

[283] The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Machel MS, vol. 6, 189, 195–6. Quoted in Angus J. L. Winchester, Bainbrigg, Reginald (1544/5–1612/13), Schoolmaster and Antiquary (Oxford University Press, 2004), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1084.
[284] Henry Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1906), 109.

of reading (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.)."[285] Selden, however, stresses the almost transparent sense of the Arundel marbles and the texts they convey.

Selden even tends toward iconoclasm in his facsimiles, glossing over figural or purely ornamental elements as irrelevant to his purposes. For example, late in the *Marmora* Selden reproduces two lettered and figured tablets. Despite their representative function, however, his facsimiles omit the figures: in their place, Selden provides ecphrastic captions, noting, in the first instance, that the inscribed text is "above the figure of a woman wearing the stola; and on the other side, a figure of a boy." In the second (inscription numbered 'XIX'), Selden records the presence of 'incised figures,' including 'a nude man leading a horse by the reins' [virilis nuda, sive equum ducens, sive fraena tenens] (see fig. 2.9). While this hybrid style of representation—turning images into words and words into images—was due in part to the speed with which the *Marmora* was ushered through the press (thus limiting the time available to have woodcuts made), Selden's paratextual ecphrases seem to comment on the value of visual evidence in a productive antiquarianism. While Camden and others also removed images and figural appendages in copying inscribed monuments—funeral monuments incorporating portraits of the deceased are a notable exception—, they did not always do so. With Selden, however, it seems programmatic. This tendency is in keeping with Selden's ambivalence about a certain kind of 'doting' antiquarianism that he elsewhere reproved.

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[285] The pictorial turn, according to Mitchell, "is the realization that spectatorship (the look, the gaze, the glance, the practices of observation, surveillance, and visual pleasure) may be as deep a problem as various forms of reading (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.) and that visual experience or 'visual literacy' might not be fully explicable on the model of textuality." W.J.T. Mitchell, "The Pictorial Turn," in *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation,* ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16.

In his dedication to Sir Robert Cotton in the *History of Tythes* (1614), for example, Selden writes,

> For as on the one side it cannot be doubted that the too studious affectation of base and sterile antiquity (wch is nothing else but to be exceeding busie about nothing) may soon descend to Dotage: so on the other the neglect or only vulgar regard of the fruitfull and precious part of it wch gives necessarie light to posteritie in matters of state, law, Historie and the understanding of good aucthors is but preserving that kind of ignorant infancie which our short lives alone allow us before the many ages of former experience.[286]

Selden mines the Earl of Arundel's collection for this 'fruitfull and precious part' of the past to give the 'necessarie light to posteritie.' In a letter to physician and astronomer, John Bainbridge (no relation), sent in advance of the *Marmora's* publication, Selden echoes this language, noting that he aimed to publish only "such things as are not unworthy the light." Selden's choice of metaphor suggests the extent to which the antiquarian project was viewed as one of illustration: *illustrate* is, after all, cognate with *lustrous* and derives from the Latin *lustrare*—to illumine, clarify, make shine.[287] This attitude may explain Selden's decision to forgo any treatment or mention of the Earl's

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[286] Quoted in Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1979), 39.

[287] Seventeenth-century definitions of *illustratio* derived from classical theories and writings on rhetoric. Quintilian, for one, fixed *illustratio* as the device of exhaustive clarification and description: "From such impressions arises ἐνάργεια [clearness] which Cicero calls illumination [*illustratio*] and actuality [*evidentia*], which makes us seem not as much to narrate as to exhibit the actual scene, while our emotions will be no less actively stirred than if we were present at the actual occurrence" (*Institutio Oratoria*, VI ii 32). Quintilian's stress on *evidentia*—actuality, reality, visual presence—is significant, as it identifies what Selden aims to accomplish in his own attempt at the genre: the actuality of a past made present and alive. Quintilian revisits *illustratio* in Book IX of the *Institutio*, where he describes Cicero's notion of "ocular demonstration" [*sub oculos subjectio*] as roughly synonymous. That is, the representation of facts "in such vivid language that they appeal to the eye rather than the ear." For a broad treatment of this metaphor, see D. R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology, and "The Light of Truth" from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

collection of statues, figural bronzes, and paintings. Legible evidence, according to Selden, was simply more 'worthy the light'; inscribed antiquities cast a more limpid glow into the dark corners of the past.

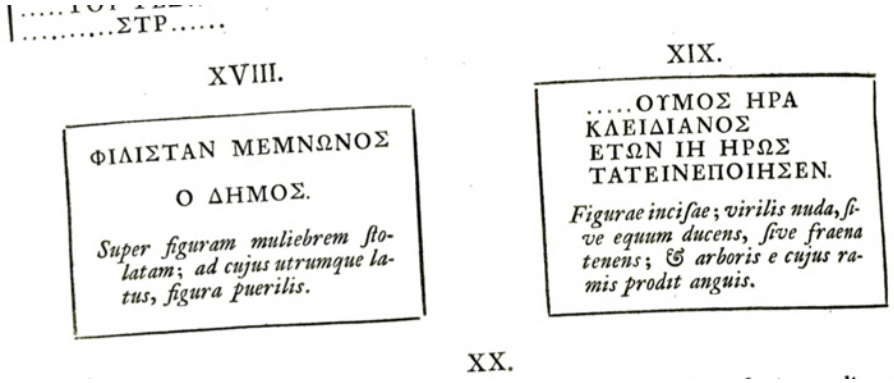

Figure 2.9. Selden's facsimilic glossing describes omitted figural content.

Despite Selden's textual bias, it is worth revisiting the original museological context of the marble artifacts he studies. When these arrived to London in January, 1627, the Earl of Arundel's collection was already among the largest in England, its scale hinted at in an anecdote that places Francis Bacon in the Earl's outdoor statue gallery in the winter of 1626. Touring the Earl of Arundel's garden and finding its hedges and ordered closes full of disembodied marble fragments (broken statues, busts, dismembered heads, tablets and fragmented entablatures), Bacon "made stand, and as astonish'd cryed out: 'THE RESURRECTION!" Apocryphal or no, the story smacks of Bacon's puckish wit and provides as good a parable as any for the pervasiveness of fragmented antiquities in early modern London.[288] While the Earl's collection was rapidly dispersed following

[288] A contemporary (1627) account by German painter Joachim von Sandrart describes the Earl's garden as "resplendent with the finest ancient statues in marble, of Greek and Roman workmanship. Here were to be seen, firstly, the portrait of a Roman Consul, in long and graceful

the Civil War and the Howards' subsequent exile to the continent, contemporary accounts suggest that it covered the generic range characteristic of early modern museums: Old Master paintings shared space with exotic insects, Roman coins, fragmented antiques, and mechanical curiosities. The Earl's museum consequently made manifest the period's understanding of the word *museum:* it represented the natural world and sought to revive the past through the display of artifacts. As Henry Peacham observed in the *Compleat Gentleman* (1634), the halls of Arundel house echoed with antique voices: with "all the walles of the house inlayde with" inscriptions, it was as though the walls were "speaking Greeke and Latine to you." "The Garden," Peacham adds, "especially will afford you the pleasure of a world of learned Lectures in this kinde."[289] Peacham's mural voices and Bacon's raptured amazement suggest that to early modern eyes and ears the Earl's collection staged a kind of antiquarian anastasis. Like the Biblical account of resurrection in which the bodies of the elect emerge from divinely loosened graves, the Earl's statues, tablets, and marble fragments effected an embodied resurrection of the past.

Bacon was not the last to see the resurrective potential in the Earl's collection of

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drapery, through which the form and proportion of the body could be readily perceived. Then there was a statue of Paris; and many others, some full-length, some busts only; with an almost innumerable quantity of heads and reliefs, all in marble and very rare." The tantalizing possibility that Sandrart encountered Selden at work on the marbles cannot be confirmed, though the two men were at Arundel House frequently that year. From the garden full of statuary and marble reliefs (including the Arundel Marbles Selden describes), "one passed into the long gallery of the house" where the Earl's paintings were displayed. See Joachim Sandrart, *Lebenslauf und Kunst-were des […] Joachims von Sandrart auf Stockau* (Nurnberg: Johann-Philipp Miltenberger, 1675), 5. Translation from Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 255-6.

[289] Henry Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1906), 112.

antique marbles. Inigo Jones would use them as a model for his fancied reconstruction of a 'Roman Atrium' for the 1631 masque, *Albion's Triumph*, for example; and in a similar, if less explicitly literary way, Selden's catalog of the Earl's inscribed antiquities effects another cthonic embassage, a drawing up from time's well the fractured evidence of its lost inhabitants.[290] In this, Selden found an ideal patron and ally in the Earl of Arundel, who evidently shared the antiquaries' regard both for fragments and copy-making. A letter from Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the Ottoman court, written to the Earl in January 1621 reveals the Earl's unusual taste for history's odds and ends. In this letter, Roe describes an unmarked stone purportedly "taken from the old palace of Priam in Troy." Perhaps conceding to the Earl's idiosyncratic tastes, Roe promises to send the stone back to London, even though he could "neither tell of what it is, nor hath it any other bewty, but only the antiquity and truth of being a piece of that ruined and famous building."[291] Apparently to Roe's consternation, the Earl recognized the historical significance of the materially insignificant. As my first chapter argued, the implications for this are far-reaching: for one, in collecting fragmentary and inscribed relics (instead of the preferred figural and ornate pieces amassed by the Earl's rival collectors, George Villiers, the First Duke of Buckingham and King Charles I), the Earl was less likely to succumb to forgery or to purchase artifacts that had been mended or otherwise touched-up. In consequence, many of the fragments that the Earl ultimately added to his collection were of profound significance and offered important clues to antiquarian

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[290] See Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle,* 108: "When, in 1628, Arundel was at least readmitted to grace, Jones no longer felt inhibited about drawing upon the Arundel Marbles for inspiration."
[291] Quoted in Hervey, 266.

research. But more importantly, the Earl's broad definition of what made an antiquity collectible prefigures a more scholarly view of the material past that could be described as archaeological: fragments inform, lacunae can be filled, and lost data can be inferred, despite the risk of error. As we shall see, this was a view Selden evidently shared and adopted in practice.

The Earl's omnivorous collecting habits—placing paintings by Titian alongside inscrutable objects like the small piece of 'Priam's palace' sent by a dubious Roe—eventually led the Earl to amass a museum of considerable size. Early catalogs and visitor narratives describe a collection of approximately two hundred and fifty inscribed stones, thirty-seven statues, and one hundred and twenty-eight busts, plus an undisclosed number of fragments, sarcophagi, and altars. It was perhaps the largest collection in London at that time, rivaled only by the King's collection at Whitehall.[292] The Earl's nearly indiscriminate collecting was not always understood, of course, and occasionally became the object of satire: on commentator marveled that "[i]n a Garden beyond the Thames, belonging to the Earl of Arundel, were [to be found] many mutilated Antiques; as eight or nine mere trunks, a number of heads not fitting any of the bodies, some of them with noses, chins and lips defaced, besides fragments of hands, fingers, toes, &c."—the final *et cetera* likely masking a quantity of even smaller fragments, which the author of

[292] James Kennedy, Thomas Herbert Pembroke, and John Alexander Gresse, *A Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton-House: Illustrated with Twenty-Five Engravings of Some of the Capital Statues, Bustos, and Relievos* (Sarum [i.e. Salisbury, England]: Printed for and sold by E. Easton, 1786), xiii-xv, quoted in Adolf Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882), 1:26n50.

the description ultimately likens to 'trash'.[293] Writing with similar disdain, essayist and chronicler of Elizabethan and Stuart society Francis Osborne noted that the Earl's fascination with fragments had become legendary: how strange it was, Osborne observed, "for the Earle of Arundel to give so many hundred Crowns for an Urne a Mason would not have valu'd at a penny."[294]

The Earl's program of collecting also involved meticulous facsimilizing. In addition to funding Selden's copy-making in the *Marmora* in 1627/8, the Earl employed one of the period's foremost engravers, the Bohemian emigre Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), to produce etched copies of his antiquities, insect specimens, and old master drawings.[295] Evidently, the collector Earl was equally committed to copying his collections as he was in amassing them. As Anthony Alan Shelton has observed, this impulse to catalog, illustrate, and describe the contents of early modern museums was as much a product of social ambition as it was a product of museological and encyclopedic fervor: "The published catalogue became synonymous with the high point of achievement: it announced that the collector had reached his objective […]; it was an

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[293] James Kennedy, Thomas Herbert Pembroke, and John Alexander Gresse, *A Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton-House*, xv.

[294] Francis Osborne, *Historical Memoires on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James* (London: Printed by J. Grismond, and are to be sold by T. Robinson, 1658), 58.

[295] Some of Hollar's most well-known etchings were copies of drawings by Leonardo Da Vinci in the Earl of Arundel's collection. For the story of these etchings and the origin of the Earl's collection of Da Vinci drawings see Jane Roberts, "Thomas Howard, The Collector Earl of Arundel and Leonardo's Drawings," in Edward Chaney, ed., *The Evolution of English Collecting* (New Haven: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2003), 264-265. Significantly, the Earl also enlisted the artist Henry Vanderborcht to engrave objects in his collection. Horace Walpole, in *Anecdotes of Painting in England,* described a collection of 567 engravings from objects in the Arundel collection, prepared between 1631 and 1638. See Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (London: 1849), 294. See also Adolf Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge: University press, 1882), 24n40.

attempt to ensure the collection would be preserved from depredations; and it was a means by which the identity of the collector was fused with the collection."[296] Plainly, the Earl shared in these ambitions, with Hollar producing hundreds of etchings of the Earl's things.[297]

The Earl's choice of Hollar, moreover, reveals his abiding preference for verisimilitude in graphic depiction: Hollar's corpus of prints includes several exacting representations of quotidian objects (items of clothing, household implements, and urban landscapes meticulously rendered), all of which foreground "Life and Likeness" and show an antiquarian sensitivity to customs and sympathetically rendered things. In his *Sculptura, or the History and Art of Chalcography* (1662), observing that Hollar's "works in aqua fortis do infinitely recommend themselves, by the excellent Choice which he hath made of the rare Things furnished out of the *Arundelian Collection,*" John Evelyn praises Hollar's copy making over the less commendable products of fantasy or technical conceit: the "Things done by him after the Life," Evelyn writes, are "to be (*eo nomine*) more valued and esteemed than where there has been more Curiosity about Chimeras, and Things which are not in Nature."[298] Evelyn's words of praise suggest that Hollar was

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[296] Anthony Alan Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World," in Roger Cardinal and John Elsner, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 186.

[297] See Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607-1677* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[298] John Evelyn, *Evelyn's Sculptura: With the Unpublished Second Part,* ed. C.F. Bell (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1906), 81-82. Quoted in Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar*, 1607-1677 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1. For his part, George Vertue concluded his account of Hollar's life with a commendatory verse, again praising the artists skill in working up images from life:

The works of Nature and of Man,
By thee perceived, take Life again;

renowned in the period for his skill in making closely observed mimetic images. Notably, the mimetic accuracy of Hollar's etching also led William Dugdale, antiquary and avid publisher of facsimiles, to commission the Bohemian artist to produce minutely detailed views of English churches and funeral monuments for Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-73).[299] Selden's catalog of the Earl's collection of epigraphic marbles emerged from this same impulse and should be viewed as tied up in the period's interest in remediating and preserving works of art and antiquities in the form of printed duplicates.

As we have seen, Selden had models to follow in his genre. Besides the familiar model provided by Camden's *Britannia,* chief among these were Peter Apian's *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae* (1534), Justus Lipsius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam* (Leiden, 1588), and Jan Gruter's *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (Heidelberg, 1604; reprinted, 1616).[300] Apian's *Inscriptiones* was among the earliest systematic collections of inscribed stones from antiquity, though Lipsius's and Gruter's catalogs quickly superseded it.[301] These two catalogs—their compilers' names coming to

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And ev'n thy PRAGUE serenely shines,
Secure from ravage in thy Lines.
In just Return this Marble Frame
Would add some Ages to thy Name:
Too frail, alas! 'tis forced to own,
Thy SHADOWS will outlast the STONE.

See George Vertue, *A Description of the Works of the Ingenious Delineator and Engraver Wenceslaus Hollar* (London: 1759), [152].

[299] On Dugdale and numerous Hollar's collaborations, see Marion Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (Newark: University of Delware Press, 2002), and Judith Collard, "Esmond de Beer, Wenceslaus Hollar, and William Dugdale: The Antiquarian Recording of Old St Paul's," *Parergon* 32, no. 2 (2015): 65–91.

[300] See William Stenhouse, Reading *Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Rennaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005).

[301] Apian's collection comprises a catalog of classical epigraphic artifacts held in private and public collections across Europe and taxonomizes these in predictable categories: namely, the text is

function as bywords in the period—reached such prominence in the seventeenth century that the decision to publish newly discovered antiquities was often based on whether or not something similar had already appeared in either. This is made clear by a letter I cite below, in which James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, entreats Selden to gather and print all inscriptions, "which are not to be found in the great volume of Gruterus."[302] Following in Gruter's herculean footsteps, one could only gather and treat the remnants.

While Selden never published a collection of epigraphic facsimiles on the scale that Ussher proposed, the *Marmora* shares its predecessors' commitment to representation in print. As I have argued, this eagerness to see objects in print underwrote much of the antiquaries' interest in facsimiles and graphic reproduction. In Selden's case, the arrival of the Arundel marbles in London from the Levant prompted an immediate effort to get them published.[303] According to a letter written by Selden's collaborator Patrick Young, Selden had drawn up plans to have the marbles transcribed and printed as early as 11 February, 1627. In a later letter (dated 5 October 1627), Selden notes that, "I am publishing out of a marble aboue 300. yeares older than Ptolemy" and that "some 7 or 8

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divided by geography—all inscriptions extant in Germany, for instance, are listed together. Like Camden's woodcuts in the *Britannia*, the typographic style of Apian's work stresses the artifactual heft of the originals, and most of the inscriptions depicted are treated minimally in the apparatus: woodcut frames are reused, and few of the reproductions communicate the idiosyncrasies of the inscribed text. Nevertheless, Apian's visual style and organization offered a model that would be repeated through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[302] MS Selden supra 108, ff. 175v; Toomer, 73. See Stenhouse, 158: Gruter's work, "became a benchmark for further compilations" and "[r]eferences to inscriptions in seventeenth-century scholarship were invariably to Gruter's work." In England, recording inscriptions also had a well-established tradition. As we have seen, beginning with the 1600 edition, William Camden's *Britannia* depicted antiquities in woodcuts. John Stow recorded epitaphs for his *Survey of London* (first published in 1598).

[303] For the story of the formation of the Earl's collection of antiquities, see Adolf Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge: University press, 1882), 5-48; and Michael J. Vickers, *The Arundel and Pomfret Marbles in Oxford* (Ashmolean Museum, 2006).

sheets are done off" already. While this haste may come as a surprise, there was cause for Selden to work quickly: in examining Selden's correspondence, G.J. Toomer observes that as word got out, "Selden was besieged with requests for copies," though he "refused even his closest friends, fearing that transmission through copies of copies would result in a corrupted text being circulated." Selden's solution to this problem of informational decay was a printed edition—the press acting as an instrument of scholarly quality control.[304] Notably, the French antiquary and polymath Claude Fabri de Peiresc, whose agent had first discovered and purchased the marbles, welcomed their publication in London as adequate compensation for their loss, implying that the artefacts and their facsimiles were of similar, if not identical value to antiquarian research.[305] As Pierre Gassendi recounted in his life of Peiresc, first published in English in 1657,

> About this time [1629], [Peiresc] received a Golden Book of the learned *Selden, De Arrundellianis Marmoribus,* or Stones with Greek Inscriptions, which that most renowned Earl of Arundel had caused to be brought out of Asia into England, and placed in his Gardens. And it is indeed fit you should know, that those Marbles were first discovered by the industry of Peireskius and dug up, fifty Crowns being paid therefore, by one *Samson,* who was his Factor at *Smyrna;* and when they were to be sent over, *Samson* was, by some trick or other of the Sellers, cast into Prison, and the Marbles in the meanwhile made away. Nor must it be forgotten, how exceedingly *Peireskius* rejoyced, when he heard that those rare Monuments of antiquity, were fallen into the hands of so eminent an Hero; and the rather, because he knew his old friend *Selden* had happily illustrated the same. For, his utmost end being publick profit, he thought, it mattered not whether he or some other had the glory, provided, that what was for

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[304] See G.J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:360.

[305] See Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 117. Peter N. Miller observes, "The loss of the […] *Marmor Parium* to Lord Arundel must have been painful but was represented by Peiresc as immaterial since the *Marmora Arundelliana,* published by Arundel's expert, and Peiresc's friend, John Selden, gave to the learned world the same benefit that he had envisioned."

the good of the Common-wealth of Learning, might be published.[306]

Gassendi's account makes clear that Peiresc's chief concern—a concern shared by Selden—was publication and public profit and that the printing of recently discovered antiquities was both expected and praised.

While Selden's catalog engages with and works inside an established genre, then, it also diverges from it in strikingly innovative ways. Specifically, the *Marmora Arundelliana* devises a new visual program that stresses the productive use of facsimiles and facilitates their interpretation on the page—two features that, I argue, owe much to Selden's printed medium. The first two inscriptions Selden treats, the *Marmor Parium* (Parian Marble) and a large tablet recording a treaty between the Greek cities of Smyrna and Magnesia in the third century BCE, offer a case in point.[307] Selden represents both of these inscriptions in three sequential forms. The first is a diplomatic copy, with the inscriptions represented in epigraphic capitals—the printed majuscules imitating those on the original stone. This first diplomatic facsimile lacks gaps between words, reflecting the crabbed form of its chiseled source; illegible sections or lacunae in the inscription are marked with ellipses, and points of fracture are left as blanks. Selden's sole editorial intervention is the addition of marginal line numbers that indicate the position of the words on the stone. The second form or type of facsimile, following the diplomatic copy, is another version of the text, though printed in more legible accented minuscules with

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[306] Pierre Gassendi, *The mirrour of true nobility and gentility being the life of the renowned Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius, Lord of Pieresk* (London: Printed by J. Streater for Humphrey Moseley, 1657), IV, 33-4 [2C1^{r-v}].

[307] On the Parian Chronicle, see Michael J. Vickers, *The Arundel and Pomfret Marbles in Oxford* (Ashmolean Museum, 2006), 24-5; and "Digital Marmor Parium | Digital Humanities," accessed May 10, 2019, https://www.dh.uni-leipzig.de/wo/dmp/.

spaces added between words and speculative reconstructions provided in red ink.[308] The third and final version of each inscription is a Latin translation, printed in parallel with the preceding Greek minuscule.

These three forms of facsimile, each remediating the original artifact, facilitate three distinct literacies and assist in the interpretation and decipherment of the object they depict. Selden's apparent interest in remediation is emphasized throughout the *Marmora* in the repeated use of the phrases, *id est* and *idem* ['that is,' and 'the same'], both of which are used to link successive facsimiles that represent the same object (see fig. 2.10). The innovation in this is easily overlooked, yet when compared with the style of other epigraphic collections from the period, the difference is striking. In figure 2.11, a page from Justus Lipsius' *Inscriptionum* (1588) contrasts with Selden's facsimile of the Parian Marble. While Lipsius's facsimiles offer occasional paratextual aids (brief notes describing the location of the depicted artifact and numbers labelling each inscription) they differ from Selden's in that they show decorative motifs and other signs of facture and fracture: namely, Lipsius's catalog foregrounds tactile qualities that Selden's downplays. In contrast, the *Marmora's* facsimile seems hemmed in by its line numbers and a large headline that distills the content of the inscription to a summative tagline. Selden's facsimiles are, for want of a word, minimalistic: they pare down the depicted object to its essentials, fortifying its legibility and privileging some kinds of evidence (lexical, philological) over others (material, artifactual).

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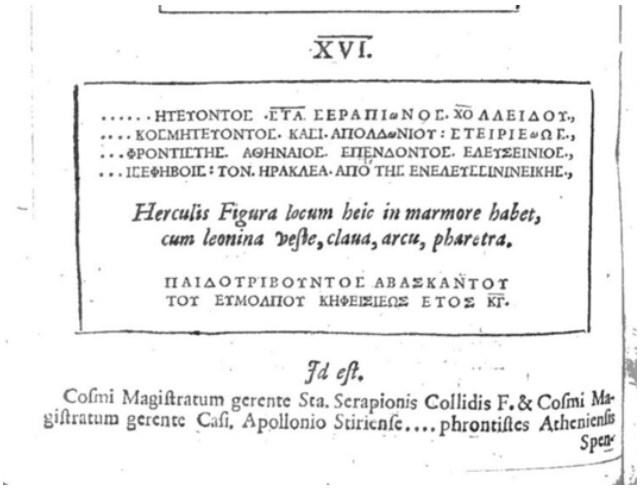
[308] Earlier antiquaries, including Onofrio Panvinio in the *Fasti et triumphi Romani* (Venice 1557) had used two-color printing to indicate reconstructed text, but Selden's separation of his reconstruction from an unadulterated reproduction appears to be unique. On Panvinio's use of red ink letters, see Stenhouse (2005), 2-3.



XVI.

.....ΗΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ·ΕΤΑ ΣΕΡΑΠΙ∞ΝΟΣ· ΧΟ ΛΑΕΙΑΟΥ,
....ΚΟΣΜΗΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ· ΚΑΣΙ· ΑΠΟΛΛ∞ΝΙΟΥ: ΣΤΕΙΡΙΕ∞Ω Σ·,
...ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΤΗΣ· ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ· ΕΠΕΝΔΟΝΤΟΣ· ΕΛΕΥΣΕΙΝΙΟΣ·,
...ΙΣΕΦΗΒΟΙΣ: ΤΟΝ· ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ· ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΝΕΙΚΗΣ·,

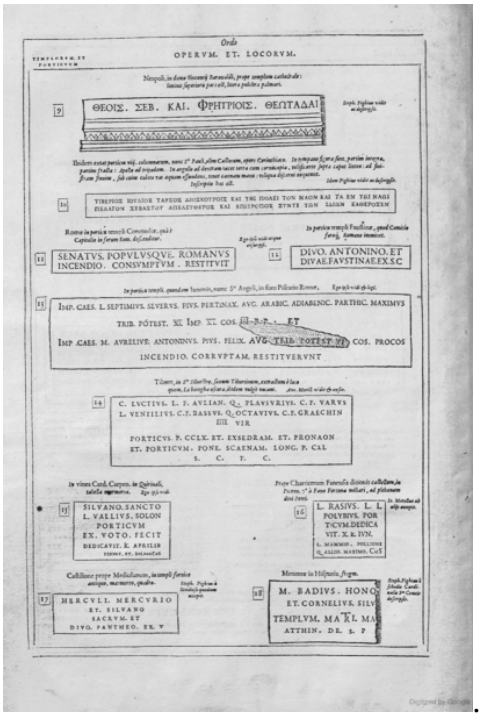
Herculis Figura locum heic in marmore habet, cum leonina veſte, claua, arcu, pharetra.

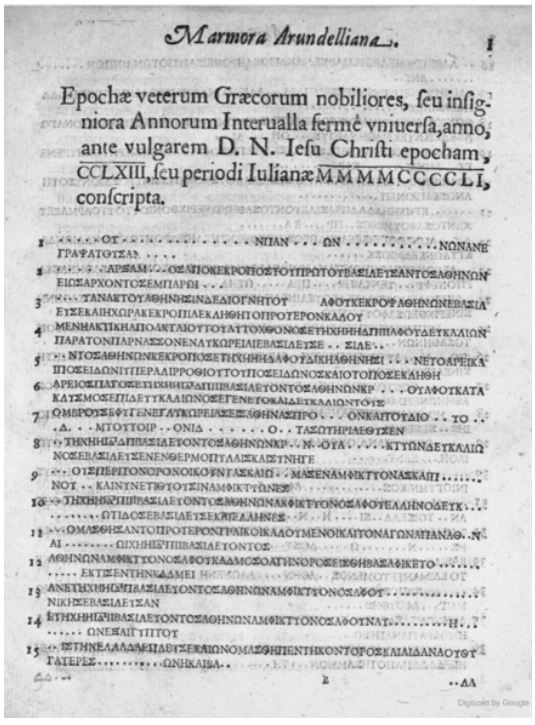
ΠΑΙΔΟΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΕΥΜΟΛΠΟΥ ΚΗΦΕΙΣΙΕΩΣ ΕΤΟΣ ΚΓ.

Id eſt.

Coſmi Magiſtratum gerente Sta. Serapionis Collidis F. & Coſmi Magiſtratum gerente Caſi. Apollonio Stirienſe.... phrontiſtes Athenienſis Spen-

Figure 2.10. 'Id est' links Selden's diplomatic facsimile, numbered XVI, and its Latin translation, signaling its remediation. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Princeton University.





Marmora Arundelliana. 1

Epochæ veterum Græcorum nobiliores, ſeu inſignio-
niora Annorum Interualla fermè vniuerſa, anno,
ante vulgarem D. N. Ieſu Chriſti epocham,
CCLXIII, ſeu periodi Iulianæ MMMMCCCCLI,
conſcripta.

Figure 2.11. On left, a page of facsimile inscriptions in Justus Lipsius' Inscriptionum (1588) Casanata Library, Rome; on right, the first fifteen lines of Selden's facsimile of the *Marmor Parium.* Images courtesy of Ghent University Library and the Fine Arts Library, Princeton University.

The spareness of Selden's facsimiles might be ascribed to economizing: woodcuts

would have delayed the catalog's production schedule, added to its expense, and complicated correction during printing; likewise, though less commonly employed in depicting antiquities, copperplate engravings would have required the use of a rolling press and the expense of artisans skilled in intaglio techniques. But there is something more than economy at work in Selden's typographic, remediating images. Selden's correspondence from the period preceding the *Marmora's* publication, for example, shows that his 'exscriptive' program for the *Marmora* extended to its lettering. James Ussher (1581-1656), in a response to Selden's request of a rare manuscript needed to clarify the chronology inscribed on the Parian Marble, discusses the possibility of having a type fount cut to represent the Aramaic alphabet, specifically for inclusion in the *Marmora Arundelliana*:[309]

> Your letter of ye 9.th of September, came not unto my hands before ye the [sic]13.th of November. And to give you full satisfaction in that wch you desired out of my Samaritan text: I caused the whole fifth chapter of Genesis to be taken out of it, as you see: and so much of the eleventh as concerneth the Chronologye you have to deal with. The letters in the second and third leafe, are more perfectlye expressed then those in the first: and therfore you were best take them for ye patterne of those wch you intend to follow in your print. There being but 22. of them in number, without any difference of initialls and finalls, and without any distinction of points and accents: matrices may be easilye cast for them all, without any great charge. Which if you can perswade your printer to undertake: I will freelye communicate unto him ye Collection of all ye differences, betwixt the text of ye Jewes and ye Samaritans throughout the whole Pentateuch.[310]

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[309] Alan Ford, "Ussher, James (1581–1656), Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh and Scholar," October 8, 2009, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28034.

[310] Bodleian Library MS Selden supra 108, ff. 174r. Transcription from 'The Correspondence of John Selden (1584–1654)', by G. J. Toomer, in Early Modern Letters Online, Cultures of Knowledge, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/blog/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/selden-correspondence.pdf: 68. Toomer takes Ussher's phrase "taken out of it" to mean 'tracing'; though it could also be a single quire disbound and sent to Selden.

While earlier English experiments in printing Arabic and other non-Latin letterforms had been done with woodblocks, here Ussher clearly describes the process of casting individual letter 'sorts' in metal from punched matrices. Although Selden's original letter does not survive, Ussher suggests that Selden fully 'intended' to have such a fount made. To assist Selden in this project, Ussher sends an Aramaic manuscript of the fifth chapter of Genesis as a type-caster's prototype, directing Selden's attention to a particularly clear passage of the text—that is, one easily copied. While no record of Selden's attempt to persuade Stansby to undertake the cutting of an Aramaic type fount survives, it is clear that Selden was experimenting with different solutions to the challenge of representing antique inscriptions in type, without recourse to illustrative technologies (woodcuts, engravings, etc.). Furthermore, Selden's choice of William Stansby as the printer of the *Marmora* was no doubt guided by Selden's desire to have some control over its production. Stansby had printed other works by Selden, including the *Titles of honor* (1614), *De diis Syris syntagmata* (1617), *The historie of tithes* (1618), and an edition of Eadmer's historical writings (1623).[311] Further, Selden's letters suggest that he was in regular contact with Stansby during the *Marmora's* printing and played a guiding role in seeing it through the press. Notably, in an apologetic note preceding a lengthy erratum notice bound at the end of the *Marmora,* Selden laments the ubiquity of errors in the facsimiles, which crept in despite his checking them repeatedly.[312] However, the ubiquity

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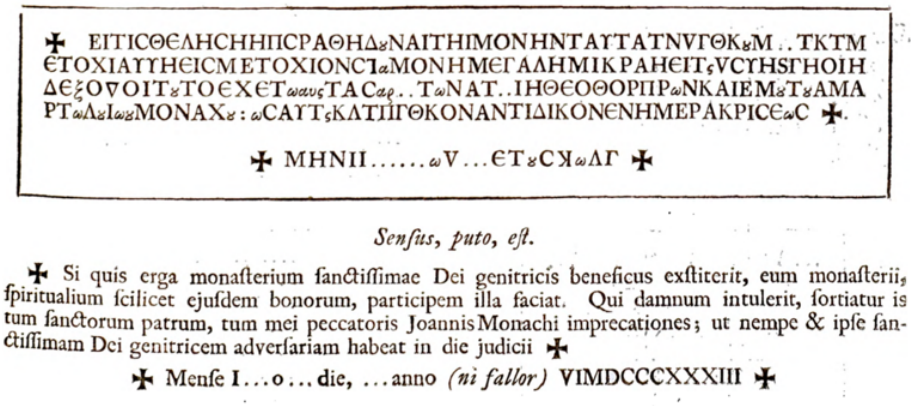
[311] Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis Historiae nouorum siue sui saeculi libri VI res gestas (STC 7438).

[312] See *Marmora Arundelliana,* 3A^{v}. For Selden's discussion of the printing of the Marmora in letters see, for example, Trinity College Dublin MS 382 f. 92 Selden to Bainbridge, Oct. 5, 1627, Selden Correspondence, 67-68.

of error in presswork is, I argue, countered by the way in which Selden deploys typographic sorts—letters, spacing material—to represent marble. Although tentative and occasionally halting, the *Marmora* experiments with a new manner of representing artifacts in print, one that was not bound by the visual archaism and material rigidity of conventional illustrations, including woodcuts and engravings.

Besides the typographic functionalism of these facsimiles, they also seem to perform a reading of the monuments they depict, offering speculative insertions that mark Selden's guesses in forthright parentheses. Selden's use of easily manipulated type meant that he could insert commentary at precise points in his reproductions, his medium affording a measure of control without changing the essential form of the artifact. In figure 2.12, for example, Selden adds the parenthetical ('ni fallor')—'I think'—before offering a speculative transcription of a date inscribed in a series of arcane symbols. Similarly, between the diplomatic (framed) facsimile and the Latin translation that follows, Selden writes, 'the sense, I think, is' ('sensus, puto, est'), narrating the antiquary's speculative decipherment and the tentative nature of transcription and translation:



✠ EITICΘЄΛHCHHΠCPAΘHΔꝫNAITHIMONHNTAYTATNVΓΘKꝫM..TKTM
ЄTOXIATYHЄICMETOXIONCIꝫMONHMЄΓAΛHMIKPAHЄITꝰVCYHSΓHOIH
ΔЄ$\overline{\xi}$OVOITꝫTOЄXЄTωανꝰTACαρ..TωNAT..IHΘЄOΘOPΠPωNKAIEMꝫTꝫAMA
PTωΛꝫIωꝫMONAXꝫ:ωCAYTꝰKΛTΠΓΘKONANTIΔIKONЄNHMEPAKPICЄωC ✠.

✠ MHNII.....ωV...ЄTꝫCIωΛΓ ✠

Senſus, puto, eſt.

✠ Si quis erga monaſterium ſanctiſſimae Dei genitricis beneficus exſtiterit, eum monaſterii, ſpiritualium ſcilicet ejuſdem bonorum, participem illa faciat. Qui damnum intulerit, ſortiatur is tum ſanctorum patrum, tum mei peccatoris Joannis Monachi imprecationes; ut nempe & ipſe ſanctiſſimam Dei genitricem adverſariam habeat in die judicii ✠

✠ Menſe I...o...die, ...anno *(ni fallor)* VIMDCCCXXXIII ✠

Figure 2.12. Selden's parenthetical glossing '(ni fallor)'.

Selden's facsimiles, then, are not merely cast as graphic records, but as tools for

interpretation and research; they show Selden's antiquarian work and demonstrate to his readers how the represented artifact was to be examined and deciphered. Selden's catalog thus marks a subtle turning point in antiquarian facsimilizing, a shift toward valuing a facsimile's content over its material, imagistic, or formal fidelity. The *Marmora* clothes its images in paratextual markers, codes, translations, and marginal guides, adopting its typographic medium as an interpretive tool in its own right, —one that arguably transcends 'mere' representation.

For Selden and his antiquarian peers, print was an inky collaborator in a vast project of preservation and dissemination. While antiquaries well knew that books were not guaranteed the material perdurability of stone, they understood the unique affordance of print media: quantity and ubiquity can counteract loss. These facsimiles used the capacity of printed images to distribute and share identical information in a form that could be examined simultaneously elsewhere. In other words, Selden, Camden, and their fellow antiquaries made paper surrogates for crumbling stone. In his recent book *Old Books, New Technologies*, David McKitterick writes that most reproductions and representations are inadequate. Although McKitterick is concerned with textual artifacts—books, manuscripts, ephemera—, his criticisms are equally valid when applied to replicas or representations in any medium: "recast in two dimensions, stripped of...physical and material characteristics, and scaled to a uniform size," reproductions fail to evoke the original because they still require a familiarity with or an awareness of the heft, presence, and situation of the original. McKitterick is right, of course, and I do not suggest that antiquaries proposed replacing originals with representations; it is not a question of the facsimile superseding its object, but rather opening that object up to new

modes and methods of analysis. Like artifacts displayed in a museum, facsimiles offer what theorist Jean Baudrillard describes as "temporal references that can be replayed at will": operating at one remove, facsimiles stage the moment of an artifact's discovery and provide a kind of display that enlivens the past and facilitates its study, even (perhaps especially) in its absence.[313] It is clear, for instance, that Selden's facsimiles facilitate a new order of literacy that the naked stones do not. For seventeenth-century antiquaries who lingered over these images, facsimiles made the past hove into view. And finally, these representations and reproductions often only take up their intended purpose over centuries: the few inscribed stones from the Arundel collection extant in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford are worn to the point of illegibility, their subtle letters and decay a reminder of the value and primary purpose of Selden's still-legible facsimiles.

[313] Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *Cultures of Collecting,* ed., Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 16.

CHAPTER 3

Symptoms, Signs, Antiquities: Semiology and the Antiquarian Mode

In his posthumously-titled collection of biographical sketches, *Brief Lives*, antiquary John Aubrey (1626-1697) sets down the dietetic habits and bodily quirks of his subjects. He records, for instance, that Ben Jonson wrote in a wickerwork chair and "was wont to weare a coate like a coach-mans coate, with slitts under the arme-pitts"; that Thomas Hobbes suffered from sweaty feet; that William Camden, "had bad Eies […,] a great inconvenience to an antiquary"; and that William Harvey "did delight to be in the darke" and was of "Olivaster complexion like wainscot." In each of these instances (biographical subjects rendered into clothed anatomies in Aubrey's theater) Aubrey discloses an antiquarianism influenced by Renaissance medical practice and, more precisely, evinces early modern medicine's interest in signs, signatures, and symptoms.[314]

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[314] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives with an Apparatus for the Lives of our English Mathematical Writers*, Kate Bennett, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 363, 395, 198. Aubrey collected anecdotes, intelligence, and collaborators in compiling the *Lives.* As material was gathered, Aubrey would send the resulting scraps to Wood in Oxford for safekeeping and compilation. Aubrey wrote most of the entries himself in a careful though easily excitable hand; however, some of the *Lives* take the form of letters solicited from friends and obliging acquaintances of Aubrey's deceased subjects. These letters were pasted directly into the manuscript on receipt, occasionally with a brief note explaining their provenance and the circumstances of their solicitation. Akin to these, some entries are more properly termed autobiographies, as they incorporate factual information acquired from the source. Some others comprise documents that Aubrey's subjects had written and submitted themselves. As the collection advances, the *Lives* coalesce into loose thematic groupings, with mathematicians, philosophers, and poets congregating in garrulous paper communities. Kate Bennett, the recent editor of the *Brief Lives,* marks it as the product of Aubrey's 'art of digression,' xl. Bennett later observes that Aubrey's is a 'different kind of biographical truth, suggesting that we may be able to hear, through him, the seventeenth century talking to and about itself,' xlvi. For Aubrey's life of Hobbes, see "From The Life of Thomas Hobbes," 5 (New York: Norton): https://wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/pdf/27636_17th_U41_Aubrey-1-7.pdf

While Aubrey's *Brief Lives* is an overtly antiquarian project (Aubrey subtitled both of its manuscript volumes with Francis Bacon's antiquarian motto, 'tanquam tabulata naufragii' and named the entire collection Σχεδιασματα [*Schediasmata*]—freaks, whims, fragments, caprices), its debts are plainly more wide-ranging.[315] Specifically, the *Brief Lives* bears all the generic markings of the medical case study (the *narrationes* or *observationes medicinales*) and shares the anatomical attentions of descriptive physiognomy, a Renaissance science that, according to Bacon, was set up to "discouereth the disposition of the mind, by the Lyneaments of the bodie."[316] Marked early on by Samuel Hartlib as a promoter of 'Verulamian Designes', Aubrey followed Bacon's lead, encoding the physiognomic peculiarities of his subjects in order to convey information about their personalities to posterity. More precisely still, the *Brief Lives* displays the physician's care for semiology, deciphering diagnostically significant symptoms and signs to make a larger point about the ephemerality of character and the individualities it treats; the work relies on a kind of medical *effictio* of Aubrey's subjects.[317] In Aubrey's life writing, physiognomic phenomena—flushed skin, a nervous tic—are treated like somatic antiquities in his museum of biographical data. While this medically-informed particularism derives in part from Aubrey's antiquarian interest in the minutiae of his subjects' lives, it also stems from the Hippocratic practice of recording the history of a

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[315] Bennett, ed., 489.
[316] "For the Lyneaments of the bodie doe disclose the disposition and inclination of the minde in generall; but the Motions of the countenance and parts, doe not onely so, but do further disclose the present humour and state of the mind & will." Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan, The Oxford Francis Bacon, IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 94.
[317] See Lorraine Daston, "The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800" in Daston and Lunbeck, eds., *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 81-106.

disease, and comes to resemble the kind of account recorded by Aubrey's physician contemporaries, including Thomas Sydenham and John Locke.[318]

Aubrey's life writing also owes much to Bacon's distinction separating antiquities from the rhetorical polish of narrative history—"pox take your orators & piety," Aubrey wrote, "they spoile lives & histories." His *Lives*, by contrast to the moralizing and Ciceronian exempla of other biographers, revels in fragmented, bodily, and occasionally licentious minutiae, eschewing moralizing and narrative arcs: while his critics' found that Aubrey was "too minute", Aubrey predicted that "a hundred yeere hence that minutenesse will be gratefull"—a position that echoes Bacon's observation that the antiquaries were less prone to rhetorical obscurantism than historians, who "pass-over the motions of men and matters."[319] Noting Aubrey's interest in his subjects' 'physicality,' Kelsey Jackson Williams has observed that Aubrey's theory of biographical writing forms a kind of "preventative or anticipatory antiquarianism in which the planks from the shipwreck are not ancient coins or inscriptions but the specificities of an individual life."[320] Predictably, Aubrey's preservative impulse extended to artifacts, too: in 1654, aged 28, he came upon an inscription "some workmen [had] discover'd" near Caerleon just as some "woemen were battering it to pieces, to make use of the dust for scowring".

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[318] See Andrew Cunningham, "Thomas Sydenham: Epidemics, Experiment, and the 'Good Old Cause'" in The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, Roger French and Andrew Wear, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 184-185.
[319] Quoted in Kelsey Jackson Williams, *The Antiquary: John Aubrey's Historical Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 101; Bodleian MS Wood F 39, fol. 340r.
[320] Jackson Williams, *The Antiquary*, 103. Jackson Williams remarks, "For Aubrey, biography was a matter of minute detail rather than elogium, a position which accorded well with his contributions to Wood's *Historia*. The 'high style' of Blackburne was antithetical to an antiquarian precision of recollection which changed biography from misty hagiography into a recollection of specific facts," 101-02.

Traumatized, Aubrey quickly made a copy that was eventually printed among the supplementary materials superadded to Gibson's 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*.[321]

Much like Camden's *Remains* (Aubrey's cognate term is *recrementa*), as Jackson Williams observes, the *Brief Lives* demonstrates its author's awareness "that the remnants of his own time would one day be 'antiquities', and was concerned to preserve these for future students of his favoured disciplines."[322] Aubrey's *Brief Lives* aims to preserve objects, too, linking his biographical subjects with their material possessions, anticipating William James' view of a 'material self' bound to possessions and material surroundings. As Kate Bennett observes, Aubrey "mentions clocks, sundials, tavern signs, maypoles, mathematical instruments and animal horns, the Eleanor crosses, John Taylor's doublet, the Countess of Castlemain's smock, Philemon Holland's pen, Ralph Kettel's horse, William Harvey's coffee-pot, Sir Walter Raleigh's pipe, Ben Jonson's wickerwork chair, the boots worn by Bacon's servants" and more besides—meanwhile, "lost instruments are lamented."[323] This antiquarian attentiveness to minutiae explains Aubrey's interest in Thomas Hobbes' unusual perspirations, among other things.

While Aubrey's enumeration of physiognomic particulars no doubt drew upon medical theory in this period, it also derived from established antiquarian practice. In a striking and seemingly overlooked passage in the preface to the *Britannia* William Camden invokes medical symptoms (σημεία, τεκμήρια, εἰκότα) as a metaphor for

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[321] John Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica or a Miscellanie of British Antiquities*, ii, MS Top. Gen. c. 24, f. 219. Quoted in Kate Bennett, ed., John Aubrey: Brief Lives with An Apparatus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), xxxviii-xxxix.
[322] Jackson Williams, 104.
[323] Bennett, ed., xxix-lxxx; lxxxi.

antiquarian evidence and the type of conjecture it required: "in Physick [*re medica*] σημεία, τεκμήρια, εἰκότα, which are nothing else but coniectures, have their place, and stand in good steed […]."[324] In defending the antiquaries' dependence on conjecture, Camden's first move is to cite medical practice, figuring the scrutiny and interpretation of antiquities as a kind of sign-driven inference, one that shared in the methods used by physicians, semiologists, and cipher-writers. The physician's conjectural art—one which "draw[s] deductive inferences from complex evidence"—authorizes the antiquary's own.[325] Camden's three forms of evidence (σημεία, τεκμήρια, εἰκότα), translated in Edmund Gibson's 1695 edition of the *Britannia* as 'symptoms, tokens, and signs', describe three faces of the same thing: a medical, or physiognomic symptom from which an attentive semiologist could educe a hidden message. As Camden's words suggest, the antiquaries' probabilistic management of evidence owed much to the practice of early modern physicians, whose sign-driven prognoses reflected the antiquaries' conjectures and piecemeal deductions.[326]

Camden's analogy likening antiquarianism to medical practice was repeatedly expressed and remarked upon by his contemporaries, suggesting that a link between

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[324] This passage, quoted here from Philemon Holland's 1610 translation (*fl.*4^{v}), appears in every edition of the *Britannia* (London, 1586, A4v). In Camden's original Latin, the passage reads, "In re medica σημεία, τεκμήρια, εἰκότα, quae nihil ferè aliud sunt quàm coniecturae locum obtinent." The passage was reprinted in all subsequent editions and was translated again in Edmund Gibson's 1695 edition as, 'In Physick there are the σημεία, τεκμήρια, and εἰκότα, symptoms, tokens, and signs, which in reality are but conjectures,' d2v. The passage appears on A4 verso in the 1586 and 1587 editions, and on A4r in the 1590, 1594, and 1600 editions. In Philemon Holland's 1610 translation and the 1607 Latin edition (the last published in Camden's lifetime) the passage appears on the verso of the fourth leaf.

[325] Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1.

[326] Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance,* 11. Maclean calls this 'protoprobabilistic thought'.

antiquarianism and medical theory was alive even in the seventeenth century. Blaming physicians' professional inadequacies on their distracting interest in other fields, for example, Bacon writes, "I cannot much blame Phisitians, that they vse commonly to intend some other Art or practice, which they fancie, more than their profession. For you shall haue of them: Antiquaries, Poets, Humanists […]".[327] Bacon's first class of distracting art—antiquarianism—indicates that in the period the professional boundaries separating medicine and antiquarianism were frequently adjacent and occasionally overlapping. Cultural historian Peter Burke has suggested that the medical "habit of interpreting symptoms […] served as an alternative model […] for the interpretation of antiquities" in early modern Europe; and in evidence of this, Burke cites the "predominance of medical men" who moonlighted as antiquaries in the period, including Sir Thomas Browne and many of his continental contemporaries: Jacob Spon, Jean-Jacques Chifflet, and Fortunio Liceti, an anti-Galilean who (like Browne) was enamored of hieroglyphics and biological ciphers. To Burke's list of medically-trained antiquaries could be added more besides: Nicholas Steno and Martin Lister, for instance—both physicians, whose later writings on taphonomy (the formation of fossils) and stratigraphy occupy a generic grey area between antiquarianism and natural history. After all, fossils were first described as 'figured stones', implying some act of facture, either human or

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[327] Francis Bacon, *The Twoo Bookes of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning* (Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm Ltd., 1970), 98 [2K4r]. Nancy Siraisi has shown that this complaint was not unique to England: "Sallustio Salviani, a professor of theoretical medicine at the *studium urbis* [in Rome] from 1570 until after 1586, found it necessary to mount a strong defense against accusations of excessive interest in […] sacred history, at the expense of his medical studies and duties." Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 177.

divine. Both Steno and Lister practiced a style of interpreting historical and geological evidence that drew on Renaissance symptom theory. William Stukeley, an early expert on Stonehenge, was also medically trained.

In *Myths, Emblems, Clues* (*Miti emblemi spie: morfologia e storia),* Carlo Ginzburg proposes that any heuristic relying on 'clues' owes much to the paradigm of medical diagnosis informed by symptoms; Ginzburg views this "semiotic or presumptive" paradigm as a product of the seventeenth century.[328] Similarly, Nancy Siraisi and Ian Maclean have argued for a companionate understanding of medical diagnosis and antiquarian inspection in the period. Siraisi writes, "the particulars of medicine, history, the study of antiquities, and natural history were often necessarily local, whether they concerned patients, past events, monuments, or natural features"—all of these fields, in other words, drew on analogous tools and a similar attentiveness to local detail.[329] Taking the work of these scholars as its point of departure, this chapter suggests that medically-inflected antiquarianism was not only common, but by Aubrey's writing, represented accepted antiquarian practice.

Camden's symptoms prompt a reassessment of antiquarianism's debt to medical and anatomical practice in early modern England—a debt which until now has only been subject to hint and rumor. If the antiquarian mode was a native invention of the seventeenth century (as I have argued), it drew upon other disciplinary innovations endemic to the period, including innovations in medical writing and treatment. Nancy

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[328] Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 95.
[329] Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 168-9.

Siraisi and Gianna Pomata have already shown a noticeable uptick in medical writings in the period described as 'historia', that is, works "recording, communicating, and validating observation", suggesting a generic, disciplinary, and even stylistic slip between medical case histories and historical narratives and proto-archaeological reports. Both genres plumb the unknown using often unreliable sequelae and signs as evidence. Similarly, Carlo Ginzburg has observed that in the period, "the body, language, and human history […] were exposed to objective examination."[330] This suggests that the exchange between historical inquiry and medical practice in the period was not unidirectional, but mutual.

This chapter thus locates in the antiquarian mode a debt to medical practice in the period. Tracking backward from Aubrey, it shows how physician-antiquaries, and Thomas Browne in particular, were predisposed, either by training or habit, to view the 'recrementa' of past cultures as inferential, diagnostic instruments, even employing common medical tropes and genres to effect their study of the material past. More precisely still, in *Hydrioptaphia: Urne-Buriall* (1658), Browne employs his physician's training in Hippocratic prognostics, anatomy and semiotics to nuance, challenge, and improve antiquarian inspection.

[330] Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method,* 95.

'Above Antiquarism': Thomas Browne's Artifactual Semiology

In or around 1655, the exhumation of approximately forty sepulchral urns thirty miles from Thomas Browne's home in Norwich occasioned Browne's *Hydriotaphia: Urne-Buriall,* a work that fittingly begins with an antiquarian apparition.[331] In his prefatory letter addressed to Thomas Le Gros, Browne opens the work with an imagined scene of the urns' long-ago moment of interment: "When the funeral pyre was out, and the last valediction was over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment upon their ashes […]."[332] The first lines of *Urne-Buriall* function as incantation, setting out Browne's aims: naturally, Browne's 'future ages' are his own, and his strange objective clear—to comment upon ashes.

Published in 1658 in a small octavo along with Browne's enigmatic study of the five-pointed quincunx, *Garden of Cyrus, Urne-Buriall* is Browne's most antiquarian work. Likely written in 1656, Browne's analysis is divided into five (quincunxially arrayed) parts that proceed from the purely factual to the metaphysical. The juncture of *Urne Buriall* and *Garden of Cyrus* is attributed by Browne to a kind of symmetry or rhyme in his chosen subjects, with the *Garden of Cyrus* following almost organically from *Urne-Buriall*—its nutritive loam of decaying bodies and ash seemingly fertilizing Browne's horticultural speculations.[333] *Urne-Buriall's* first chapter offers a learned, proto-

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[331] Full title: *Hydriotaphia Urne-Buriall or, a brief discourse of the sepulchral urnes lately found in Norfolk.*

[332] *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Volume 1,* Geoffrey Keynes, ed. (London: Faber & Faber Limited), 131

[333] Browne ascribes the joining of the two works to their congruity in symbolism and subject: "That we conjoin these parts of different Subjects, or that this should succeed the other; Your

anthropological study of cremation and sepulture; the second considers the origins, formal qualities, and date of the urns Browne describes; the third offers a disquisition on grave adornment and the biology (and metaphysics) of corporeal decay; the fourth a speculation on the effect of Christian and pagan burial practices on the assurances of afterlife and eschaton; and the final chapter considers the often startling endurance of physical remains and artifacts and the inadequacy of antiquarian methods to resolve all questions.[334]

Browne's attitude to antiquarianism is complicated by his ambivalence about its methods. As Claire Preston and others have noted, Browne claims to take up the antiquaries' tools only reluctantly, admitting in his dedicatory epistle that he is but "coldly drawn unto discourses of Antiquities" and that *Urne-Buriall* is "hinted by the occasion, not catched the opportunity."[335] Browne's reluctance is at least in part disingenuous, as his works and life bear all the markings of a committed antiquarianism. As Graham Parry has observed, Browne's later writings evince "a steady growth of interest in material

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judgement will admit without impute of incongruity; Since the delightfull World comes after death, and Paradise succeeds the Grave. Since the verdant state of things is the Symbole of the Resurrection, and to flourish in the state of Glory, we must first be sown in corruption. Beside the ancient practice of Noble Persons, to conclude in Garden-Graves, and Urnes themselves of old, to be wrapt up in flowers and garland." Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 177. See also Reid Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 347: "There is no question that the pairing of *Hydriotaphia* with *The Garden of Cyrus* had a more than accidental significance for Browne." Barbour points to the formal symmetry of the works—the "equivalent number of chapters—five—in each work"—in evidence.

[334] As Claire Preston observes, *Urne Buriall* proceeds in a "clear pattern ascending from the physical to the metaphysical": "Beginning with two chapters of straightforward evidence, Browne then substantially abandons strictly antiquarian methods; the concrete yields to the speculative, the imaginary, the middle chapter displaying a commixture of the observed and the speculated, with the grand thematic notes of order versus confusion and the vision of Ezekial beginning to dilate the purely factual and evidentiary." Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 150.

[335] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 132.

remains" and an "increasing awareness of antiquarian activities in England in the 1650s."[336] What's more, according to diarist John Evelyn, Browne's "whole house and garden [was] a paradise and cabinet of rarities", indicating that Browne shared in the antiquaries' fastidious mania for collecting curiosities.[337] And yet for all the empirical antiquarianism and philological fastidiousness demonstrated in Browne's largest work, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, and its enumerated queries' commitment to expunging 'common errors', Browne never willingly adopted the title of antiquary, even famously rejecting antiquarianism as a type of intellectual deceit or dangerous method of wayward guessing: in *Religio Medici,* Browne yokes antiquities to relics when he explains that the "reason I tender so little devotion unto reliques is, I think, the slender and doubtfull respect I have alwayes held unto Antiquities." In some ways, then, *Urne-Buriall* represents Browne examining the distrust he first expressed in *Religio Medici* and an attempt to reconcile what Reid Barbour has called "a rift in methods and aims" from a distance of nearly two decades.[338]

Despite his avowed antipathy, Browne regularly wrote in the antiquarian mode, and Preston's view of *Urne-Buriall*—as "a work which enacts its own subject," and "a kind of satire on antiquarianism" that "in arguing the fruitlessness of antiquarian enquiry offers a sparkling, finished array of recovered facts which only adds up to its own demolition"—

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[336] Graham Parry, "Thomas Browne and the Use of Antiquity," in Reid Barbour and Claire Preston, eds., *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 66.
[337] On Browne's collecting habits, see also Brent Nelson, "The Browne Family's Culture of Curiosity," in Reid Barbour and Claire Preston, eds., *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 80-99; and Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[338] Reid Barbour, *Thomas Browne: A Life*, 348. Sir Thomas Browne.

overstates the case.[339] For one thing, a number of Browne's *Miscellany Tracts*—edited shortly after Browne's death by Archbishop Tenison and published in 1683—engage with antiquarian subjects and display an antiquarian "impulse for collecting matter."[340] Composed as letters in response to queries submitted to Browne by acquaintances and friends, the *Miscellany Tracts* include a study of the tombs in Norwich Cathedral; Browne's satirical elenchus, *Museum Clausum*; a treatise 'Of Languages and Particularly of the Saxon Tongue'; and another 'Of Artificial Hills, Mounts, or Burrows in Many Parts of England' (this in response to a query submitted to Browne by seventeenth-century antiquary William Dugdale). To these openly antiquarian works printed in the 1683/4 *Miscellany Tracts*, can be added a number of antiquarian notes and observations, many left in manuscript at Browne's death: these include a description of a subsequent (1667) discovery of urns in Bramptom Field first published in Browne's *Posthumous Works* in 1712. Intriguingly, this brief tract is framed in its opening lines as a kind of addendum to *Urne-Buriall:* "I thought I had taken leave of urnes when I had some yeares past given a short account of those found at Walsingham, butt a newe discoverie being made, I readily obey your commands in a brief description thereof."[341] Here again, Browne seems to flag

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[339] Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science,* 139; 161. In contrast, Graham Parry suggests that Browne was "a figure fully involved in contemporary antiquarian studies"; and Browne "clearly desired in the latter part of his life to be counted among the ranks of serious English antiquaries." Reid Barbour and Claire Preston, eds., *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 73.

[340] Jonathan F.S. Post, "Miscellaneous Browne among the Tombs of Norwich Cathedral," in Reid Barbour and Claire Preston, eds., *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 259.

[341] Keynes prints the tract, titled, 'Concerning some urnes found in Brampton Field in Norfolk 1667', after *Hydriotaphia*. Keynes's preface characterizes the work as "an antiquary's report rather than a literary composition." Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 231.

a habitual unease about antiquarian subjects, taking them up only when prompted by a friend and compelled by the dictates and convention of courtesy in the republic of letters.[342] Taking Browne at his word, scholars often categorize *Urne-Buriall* as adjacent to antiquarianism (touching it, but not *of* it, one of Browne's virtuosic prose-poems written in a recondite style padded out with neologism) in an apparent attempt to show that Browne is more reliably invested in questions which are, to his view, "above Antiquarism."[343] Claire Preston contrasts Browne's posture in *Urne-Buriall* with that of his more conventionally antiquarian correspondent and collaborator, William Dugdale (1605-1686), for instance. Browne and Dugdale, she writes, simply display "the different intellectual temperaments of the absolutist and the 'possibilist'"; later, Preston suggests that Browne's commitment to the conjectural puts him at odds with his antiquarian contemporaries, who hewed "toward preservation of the status quo": "very few practitioners of the nascent disciplines on display in *Urne-Buriall*—proto-archaeology and proto-anthropology, etymology, genealogy, palaeontology—had quite Browne's relish for the uncertain, the heavily qualified."[344]

While Preston's account of *Urne-Buriall* rightly suggests that Browne's censure of antiquities originates in a mistrust of specious provenance (Browne's analogy associating

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[342] John Aubrey, having been alerted to the later discovery of urns, noted that Browne ("my honoured and obliging friend") intended to provide a description "as an appendix to his 'Discourse of Urn Burial.'" Evidently recording a written report he had received from Browne, Aubrey adds, "I expect that this worthy and learned knight will in a short time make these dicourses public." John Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica*, ed. John Fowles (Sherborne, Dorset: Dorset Publishing Company, 1982), 776.

[343] Keynes, ed., *The Works*: Vol. I, 165. Near the conclusion of *Urne Buriall,* Browne asks of the titular urns, "But who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above Antiquarism."

[344] Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science,* 128.

relics with antiquities in *Religio Medici* flags the fact that any fragment of bone could be said to come from any saintly body), it wrongly implies Browne's nonacceptance of antiquarian methods entirely; so, too, it overlooks the profound and programmatic importance of conjecture in the antiquaries' shared methods (*vide* Camden's apologetic analogy to the physician's conjectural reliance on symptoms, written in 1586).[345] To be sure, Preston acknowledges the resemblances linking Browne and Camden's antiquarian writings, but Browne, she concludes, is simply "different from contemporary antiquarians."[346] Of course, Browne *is* altogether and profoundly different from Dugdale, Aubrey, and others, but Browne is not prepared to discard the speculative richness of antiquarianism entirely: in a letter sent to Dugdale, for example, Browne notes that "in points of such obscuritie, probable possibilities must suffice for truth."[347] Antiquarianism, when practiced well (and in the tradition of Camden's symptoms and Bacon's fragments), does not deal in claims of fact, but rather in simultaneous and competing conjectures. Indeed, it is almost certain that Browne knew of Camden's analogy linking conjecture with the speculative interpretation of medical symptoms, and there is much in Browne's medical writings to suggest that he shared Camden's view of semiology. The question of whether Browne had read Camden's work is easiest to prove—Browne owned a copy of

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[345] On Camden's reliance on conjecture, see Angus Vine, "Copiousness, Conjecture and Collaboration in William Camden's *Britannia*: William Camden's *Britannia*," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 2 (April 2014): 225–41; see also, Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Woodbridge, UK, Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2007), 200-203.
[346] Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science,* 145.
[347] Browne to Dugdale, 16 November 1659, quoted in Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science*, 128. The letter appears in Keynes, ed., *The Works*: Vol. IV, 320-1.

the 1637 printing of Philemon Holland's English translation of Camden's *Britannia*.[348] What's more, Browne's first work to appear in print was a Latin poem written in praise of Camden when Browne was eighteen, published in a volume of occasional verse to mark Camden's death, *Insignia Camdeni* (1624). The poem's final lines suggest that Browne believed Camden had successfully (if contentiously) reconstituted Britain in the pages of the *Britannia.*[349] More specifically still, Browne had Camden in mind and to hand while writing *Urne Buriall:* in the prefatory letter, he makes an obvious reference to Camden's work ("The Supinity of elder days hath left so much in silence, or time hath so martyred the Records, that the most industrious heads do finde no easie work to erect a new *Britannia*") and he cites Camden in his marginal gloss in the following paragraph.[350] Clearly, Browne had his copy of *Britannia* to hand while researching *Urne-Buriall.* Such as it is, Browne's criticism of antiquarianism, then, is directed at the impotence of its methods to answer every question we might ask of a veiled past.

This sentiment—expressed first in Browne's preface—recurs throughout *Urne-Buriall,* becoming a kind of Pyrrhonist leitmotif about the knowability of the past and its artifacts: in a manuscript passage not included in *Urne-Buriall,* but likely composed for it, Browne remarks that though the "treasures of oblivion" are large in number, they are

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[348] Jeremiah Finch, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Brown and Dr. Edward Browne, His Son: A Facsimile Reproduction* (Leiden: Leiden University Press / E.J. Brill), 69 [45, no. 82].
[349] Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne:* Volume III (London: Faber & Faber, 1967), 146-7. "Buried, let him live — how dost thou, cruel England, / Suffer him to die, through whom thou livest whole?" [*Vivat sepultus, dura quid pateris mori, / Quo totis vivis, Anglia*?]
[350] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 132. Browne's copy of Camden appears listed in *A Catalog of the Libraries of the Learned Sir Thomas Brown, and Dr. Edward Brown, his Son* […] (London: Thomas Ballard, 1710), 45, lot 82. See Jeremiah Finch, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Brown and Dr. Edward Browne, His Son*, 69.

often imperceptible and thus useless to empirical historiography: the "heapes of things in a state next to nothing [are] almost numberlesse," he writes, and "much more is buried in silence than is recorded." The result of this paradoxical abundance of the imperceptible amounts to a knowledge vacuum, but one that I have argued precludes neither antiquarian explanation nor productive study: "How much is as it were in vacuo, and will never be cleared up, of those long living times when men could scarce remember themselves young; and men seeme to us not ancient butt antiquities."[351] Browne here seems to conflate anatomical and archaeological inquiry; human beings, once relatable in vital warmth, are transmuted through time into objects—they are now cinerary fossils reduced to something akin to antiquities. This is a startling realization for Browne, whose professional identity depended on the knowability and tactile presence of the human body; Browne as antiquary is like a surgeon tasked with interpreting forensic residua. Without hope of cure or intervention, the medical enterprise becomes strange, even disagreeable. Near the end of *Urne-Buriall,* Browne writes that while the date and origin of the ossuaries he studies "admit a wide solution," the question of the identity of the urns' inhabitants is irremediably obscure: "who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question beyond Antiquarism."[352] Rather than Browne's apparent discomfiture with antiquarianism, what I am interested in here is how Browne draws on an investigative mode rooted in his profession as a physician and interpreter of symptoms—and in particular, what Reid Barbour has called Browne's

[351] BL Sloane MS 1848, f. 194. Printed in Keynes, ed., 172. Keynes remarks that Wilkin prints this passage alongside p. 168, l. 6.
[352] Keynes, ed., 165

"capacity to interpret signs"—to confront these questions above the antiquary's usual remit. Browne's novel conflation of the tools of the physician and the antiquary in *Urne-Buriall*, I argue, allows Browne to both transcend 'antiquarism', to go beyond what were for Browne ultimately frustrating questions of origin, and to nuance antiquarianism's conventional effects.[353]

While Preston notes that Browne's antiquarianism draws on "distinct intellectual and investigative disciplines—natural-philosophical, etymological, theological, historical and archaeological or anthropological," scant attention has been paid to Browne's medical habits of thought and how they influenced his conception of antiquarian inquiry—a question that is especially fruitful when asked of *Urne-Buriall*.[354] While few have considered how Browne's medical training may have affected his antiquarian work, there exists a long-acknowledged link between medical and historical genres in the period. As Nancy Siraisi has shown, in the seventeenth century "history and medicine made use of many of the same methods and shared some fundamental concepts."[355] One of these shared concepts was semiotics, the branch of medical learning that concerned the interpretation of signs and symptoms. Just like Browne's epistemological ambivalence expressed in his correspondence with Dugdale ("probable possibilities must suffice for truth"), we find in semiotics a mode of reasoning analogous to the antiquaries' conjecture—"the uncertainties spawned by semiotics had the most to do with the

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[353] Reid Barbour, "Thomas Browne's A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease: A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease," *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 3 (September 8, 2009): 407.
[354] Preston (2005), 130.
[355] Siraisi, Nancy G., *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 263.

circumstantial intricacies of medical cases" and "Hippocratic medicine stressed that physicians were always facing a seemingly limitless welter of widely ranging circumstances that could threaten to overwhelm the physician's hold on – or the very relevance of – any medical theory."[356] Taking Camden's antiquarian semiotics as its point of departure, the next section of this chapter considers the methodological links that bind antiquarian and medical writing in the period and the extent to which the early modern physician's 'limitless welter' of symptoms resembles the antiquaries' messy field of artifactual inquiry.

[356] Reid Barbour, "Thomas Browne's A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease," *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 3 (September 8, 2009): 409.

Urne-Buriall as Hippocratic Diagnosis

As I argued in my second chapter, the engraved frontispiece to *Urne-Buriall*—at once facsimile and dark emblem—seems to involve itself in Browne's questions 'beyond Antiquarism'. The Propertian line that accompanies the engraving as both caption and commentary challenges the epistemological value of such imagery and probes the literal and figurative weight of antiquarian evidence, full stop: after all, how much can one deduce from a handful of ash? Paired with this image, perhaps, is Browne's startling neologism in *Urne-Buriall*, 'antiquarism'. That Browne coins the word *antiquarianism* in a negative utterance near the end of the work (i.e., the questions that ultimately interest Browne are *not* tractable to the methods of 'antiquarism') indicates, I think, an important moment of synthesis, or at least stock-taking.[357] While neologism is nothing new to Browne (he is cited by the OED as the originator of some 770 words), this particular nonce word marks Browne's antiquarianism as a thing apart: something at once futile in its aims, but nevertheless generative in extracting knowledge, however speculative, from artifactual and corporeal relicts.[358] To be sure, Browne's style of artifactual analysis—one indebted to what David Carroll Simon has recently called the "undermotivated looking at the center of Baconian science"—draws on the synecdochic and inferential style proposed by Camden and described in my first chapter, it does things differently.[359] This difference

[357] "antiquarism, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/view/Entry/8814?rskey=AO9hul&result=32&isAdvanced=true (accessed December 31, 2019).
[358] On Browne's habitual reliance on neologism, see Claire Preston, "Orlando Curioso: The Lapsarian Style of Thomas Browne," in *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 34-67.
[359] David Carroll Simon, *Light without Heat* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 13.

is, I think, the product of habit and training: *Urne-Buriall,* and its third chapter in particular, reveal that Browne's native mode is one of physical palpation, diagnosis, and semiotic interpretation; Browne even justifies the penning of *Urne-Buriall* (and his unwilling intrusion "upon the Antiquary") with an appeal to professional duty: "seeing they arose as they lay, almost in silence among us […] we were very unwilling they should die again, and be buried twice among us." [360] What's more, Browne adds, it "is not impertinent unto our profession" to "keep men out of their Urnes, and discourse of humane fragments in them."[361] This startling observation again raises the question of the genre of *Urne-Buriall* and its disciplinary affiliation(s).

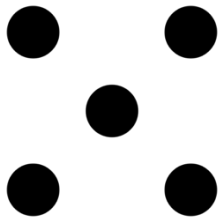

Figure 3.1. A quincunx.

If *Urne Buriall's* five chapters form the five points of a loamy, quincuncial prologue to the *Garden of Cyrus,* its third chapter sits at the work's center, framed by and undergirding Browne's antiquarian stocktaking (chapters 1 and 2) and metaphysical conceits (chapters 4 and 5). But more importantly, the third chapter conveys Browne's 'discourse of human fragments', and therefore most closely relies on literary kinds familiar to Dr. Browne, seventeenth-century physician—the anatomy and Hippocratic case-study

[360] Keynes, ed., *The Works*: Vol. I, 132.
[361] Ibid.

(*observationes medicinales*). To read Browne's account of these urns is to realize that Browne's startling antiquarian instruments involve the five senses; Browne relied not only on visual and tactile data, but on the olfactory and even gustatory inspection of artifacts. Put simply, I argue that in *Urne-Buriall*, Browne draws *both* from Camden's symptom-informed antiquarianism and the seventeenth century's rediscovery of Hippocratism and its emphasis on objective report and an attention to signs and signatures.

In keeping with its interdisciplinary and mixed-genre status, *Urne Buriall* offers an account of the artifactual and visual evidence proffered by the urns in its second chapter. There, Browne begins his autoptic *post*-postmortem, weighing and scrutinizing artifacts, residua, effluents, and symptomatic objects long hidden under turf and within ceramic tombs. As Browne tells it, their exhumation was a simple matter—the urns were "digged up" from a "dry and sandy soile, not a yard deep, nor farre from one another." Once brought to light, it was found that while the urns varied in morphology, being "not all strictly of one figure", most contained fragments of bone "distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jawes, thigh-bones, and teeth" along with other "extraneous substances, like peeces of small boxes, or combes handsomely wrought [and] handles of small brasse instruments."[362] Assiduous in his fieldwork, Browne is careful to mention the nearby discovery of "coals and incinerated substances", a feature that "begat conjecture that this was the *Ustrina* or place of burning their bodies." This cinerary pyre and site of cremation (*ustrinum*) was not the only object of Browne's antiquarian conjecturing, however. In a later passage of the second chapter, Browne returns to the contents of the urns:

> But from exility of bones, thinnesse of skulls, smallnesse of teeth, ribbes,

[362] Keynes, ed., *The Works*: Vol. I, 140.

> and thigh-bones; not improbable that many thereof were persons of minor age, or women. Confirmable also from things contained in them: In most were found substances resembling Combes, Plates like Boxes, fastened with Iron pins, and handsomely overwrought like the necks or Bridges of Musicall Instruments, long brasse plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements, brazen nippers to pull away hair, and in one a kind of opale yet maintaining a blewish colour.

This striking passage—a preview of what's to come in *Urne-Buriall's* third chapter—moves from the medical and anatomical to the curatorial and archaeological: artifactual things gradually replace bodies and bones in Browne's empirical attentions, while artifactual evidence begins to resemble physiognomic clues. Browne's characteristic litotes ('not improbable', 'confirmable', 'resembling') reflect the urns' tentative introduction; apart from the reference to "these Urns" in *Urne-Buriall's* prefatory letter to le Gros, the first time that their discovery is acknowledged and their form described comes only in the second paragraph of the second chapter, a short ecphrasis (quoted above) that almost immediately gives way to Browne's lengthy speculations on the urns' provenance—a question, Browne suggests, subject to "no obscure conjecture."[363]

After their perfunctory ecphrastic debut in the second chapter, the urns return to occupy Browne's attention in *Urne-Buriall's* pivotal third chapter, the longest and most involved in Browne's dual genres (i.e., archaeological report and medical case study). From the beginning of the third chapter, Browne anatomizes the urns and dwells on their distinct morphology:

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[363] Browne concludes the urns "were the Urnes of *Romanes,*" Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 141—"no obscure conjecture," Browne avers. They were in fact Anglo-Saxon, a later alternative Browne at least acknowledges: "these Urnes might be of later date," 143; and later, "Some men […] might somewhat doubt whether all Urnes found among us were properly *Romane* Reliques, or some not belonging unto our *Brittish, Saxon,* or *Danish* Forefathers," 145.

> The present Urnes were not of one capacity, the largest containing above a gallon, Some not above half that measure; nor all of one figure, wherein there is no strict conformity, in the same or different Countreys […] While many have handles, ears, and long necks, but most imitate a circular figure, in a sphericall and round composure; whether from any mystery, best duration or capacity, were but a conjecture.[364]

This passage waxes anatomical, in spite of itself; and the contours and silhouette of the urns Browne describes impel him toward the vocabulary of the human body. These testaceous vessels have necks, arms, and even (strange to see) ears, all of which coalesce to adumbrate a 'spherical and round composure' that terminates in a gaping mouth. Peering within, Browne glimpses the remnants of a onetime human being.[365] The urnal image Browne contrives, by turns tender and repellent, is one of autophagous enclosure: the urns' mouths consume and contain ashy relics, while their ceramic 'arms' and 'ears' take up where charred bones and incinerated limbs left off. Animated and endowed by Browne's prose, the urns could almost be said to listen and reach expectantly for Browne's diagnosis—they become vesseled patients on a belated, earthy deathbed.

In reading his copy of *Britannia,* Browne evidently found much to like in Camden's measured conjectures about history's relicts ("what to adjoyne of such things as the revolution of so many ages past hath altogether overcast with darknesse," Camden asks?). Much like Camden's, Browne's speculations do not resolve in factual synthesis, but rather hold conjectural, skeptical interpretations of the evidence at hand in simultaneous and tenuous suspension. In his book *Light without Heat: The Observational*

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[364] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 147-8.
[365] For the postmodern afterlives of this trope ("body as a vessel, or, a vessel as a body"), see Hunter Dukes, "Beckett's Vessels and the Animation of Containers," *Journal of Modern Literature* 40, no. 4 (2017): 75–89.

Mood from Bacon to Milton, David Carroll Simon finds this same desultory skepticism in Baconian science, more generally: "the kind of (Montaignian) skepticism" at the heart of early modern experimentation and observation relies on "an attitude of exploratory openness" familiar to readers of Browne's prose.[366] Simon adds that this kind of skepticism trades in "an awareness of the unsteady, provisional quality of knowledge-claims."[367] In Browne's case, however, this openness and unsteadiness is paired with a thoroughgoing (almost surgical) anatomy of the urns' contents and a kind of conjectural interpretation that comes to resemble the diagnostician's interpretation of symptoms. Having reconstituted the human form from ceramic vessel and cinerary remains, Browne can proceed to dissect his subject. As a result, while it communicates an antiquarian treatise, the third chapter of *Urne-Buriall* is structured like a series of Hippocratic case notes, or *observationes medicae.*

The morphological resemblance to the human body that these urns offer goes beyond their anthropoid appendages (ears, arms, necks); Browne finds in their recessed form, too, a fitting, inward symmetry. The common shape of the Walsingham urns, for instance—neck sloping gently to a circular void—offers a "proper figure", for they "[make] our last bed like our first; nor much unlike the Urnes of our Nativity […] and inward vault of our Microcosme."[368] Up to this point in *Urne Buriall,* Browne relies on visual cues to prompt his conjectures—the presence of combs commingled with fragments of wafer-thin skulls and dainty bones impute the sepulchral tenants' age and

[366] Carroll Simon, *Light without Heat,* 15.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 148.

gender, for instance—, but Browne here turns hieroglyphical, finding what Claire Preston has called "an almost absurd signature" in the cervical (literally neck-like) shape of the urns' apertures and the uterine form of their bowled interiors.[369] Their womblike shape notwithstanding, Browne also locates in the urns' inward concavity an emblem for the seat of human imagination—that 'vault of our Microcosme'. Taking this theme of womb-tomb cyclicality back up in the work's fifth chapter, Browne observes that all graves and tombs comprise "[c]ircles and right lines" and describes the Greek letter Theta θ (the first letter in the name of the Greek deity of death, *Thanatos*) as a "mortall right-lined circle [that] must conclude and shut up all." The marginal gloss adjoining this passage prints the letter itself, a typographical hieroglyph resembling nothing so much as a partly-filled urn, its horizontal crossbar recalling cinerary remains sealed in an ovoid vessel (fig. 3.2).

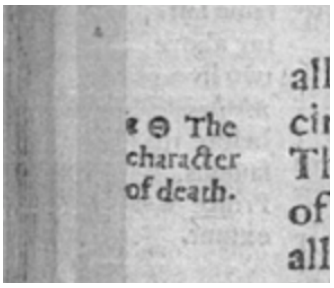

Figure 3.1. 'θ The character of death.' Resembling a diminutive urn, partly filled.

Θ

Other images of hieroglyphical anatomy surface throughout *Urne-Buriall*. Having cataloged the visual clues at hand—shape, volume, contents—, Browne turns to less conventional categories of evidence, working (as we might expect) from the outside in: "Many urnes are red, these but of a black colour," Browne observes, "somewhat smooth, and dully sounding, which begat some doubt, whether they were burnt or only baked in

[369] Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science*, 152.

Oven or Sunne."[370] Browne's scrutiny of pigment and texture here recalls his many writings on skin—though in *Urne-Buriall*, of course, human integument is replaced by ceramic enclosure. Reid Barbour has noted Browne's abiding interest in skin and dermatological disease in his medical training and practice, finding, for instance, that Browne's 1633 dissertation in medicine at the University of Leiden was on smallpox, a disease known for the disfiguring lesions it leaves on its victims' skin.[371] Browne's fascination with skin was enduring: among his manuscript memoranda on anatomy is a treatise on the subject followed by a series of uninvestigated dermatological queries. In terms that recall Browne's description of the ceramic enclosure of the urns, skin, he observes, is the final "division of mankind", both separating and protecting viscera from the outer world and dividing humankind into racial and ethnic categories: "a greater division of mankind," Browne writes, "is made by the skinne then by any other part of the body, that is into white & black, or negros, which are very considerable part of mankind […] & their skins not only remarkable in the colour butt the smoothness."[372] Urns and skin, like all bounding vessels, demarcate inside and out and delimit vulnerable core from hardened integument. More than a fleshy covering, however, skin is also our largest

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[370] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 148.

[371] Reid Barbour, "The Topic of Sir Thomas Browne's Dissertation," *Notes and Queries* 54, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 38–39. Barbour observes that, "an interest in skin and in the diseases that afflict it appears elsewhere in [Browne's] writings: in his memory of the 'morgellons' among the children in southern France; in his anatomical observations; in letters on medical and anatomical subjects; and in his fearful, prayerful account of a virulent strain of smallpox ravaging Norwich in the final year of his life." See also, Reid Barbour, "The Hieroglyphics of Skin," in Claire Preston and Reid Barbour, eds., *Sir Thomas Browne, the World Proposed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 280: For Browne, […] skin could also purvey an unsettling and inverted hieroglyph, one likely to tell us more about ourselves than about the God whose purposefulness was supposed to appear everywhere within the human body."

[372] Thomas Browne, "Observations in Anatomy: Skin," Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. III, 338.

sensory instrument, one essential to Browne's highly tactile antiquarian researches and therapeutic practice alike. Browne writes, "To bee the primarie instrument of *Tactus* or feeling & thereby to distinguish of the Tactile qualities of heat, cold, moyst, drye, smoothnesse, roughnesse & the like, for though there bee a sense of feeling in inward membrane parts, yet the primarie & general organ is the skinne wherin the nerves are dispersed."[373] Linking integument, color, and *tactus*, Browne seems to invoke complexion theory in his description of these urns, too. In early modern medicine "complexion […] was supposed to be a physically perceptible quality that could be discerned by touch."[374] What's more, Browne's attention to these clay-y vessels sets up a rhyme linking the urnal clay to the primordial clay of human bodies.[375]

More simply, though, Browne's attention to surfaces—to tactus and texture—belabors the extent to which his antiquarianism is guided by anatomical methods and therapeutic metaphors. Even more striking is Browne's *use* of the urns' dermic exteriors: he relies on the sound these emit when tapped to speculate about their manufacture (whether 'burnt or only baked in Oven or Sunne'). Browne's auditory inspection of these improvisedly tympanic vessels recalls the common diagnostic practice of percussing the chest and abdomen to identify the presence of internal disease. The hollow sounds

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[373] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. 3, 339.
[374] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 103.
[375] The biblical pun is made explicit by William Burton in 1658, the year of Urne-Buriall's publication: "so many ages of men have these poor Earthen Vessels (of so much better clay for durance than humane bodies are) outlasted both the Makers of them, and the person to whose memory they were consecrated." William Burton, *A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary* (London: 1658), 181-4; quoted in Graham Parry, "Thomas Browne and the Uses of Antiquity," in Barbour and Preston, eds., *Thomas Browne: The World Proposed*, 73.

emitted from intestinal or pulmonary cavities struck by the physician's fingers were widely viewed as important auditory clues in reaching a sound diagnosis.[376] Hippocrates recommended the method, and it was known to Galen, who used percussion to diagnose dropsy, the accumulation of fluid in the abdomen (*Hydrops abdominis*).[377] As Nancy Siraisi observes, in Renaissance medical education, "[s]tandard works […] taught various forms of diagnosis by touch […]. For example, Rhazes, following Hippocrates, noted that one of the signs of dropsy was the characteristic sound made when the abdomen was percussed."[378] Of course, the most common kind of tactile diagnosis involving sound was the taking of the pulse—that delicate combination of diagnostic tactus and subtle listening: "Since the arteries were held to distribute life-bearing vital spirits along with blood throughout the body, and since the movement of the arterial pulse was manifestly affected by some forms of disease as well as by exertion and emotion, the act of taking the pulse put the physician in a profound and literal sense in touch with the ebb and flow of vitality in his patient."[379] In *Urne-Buriall,* however, a pulse is elicited only by Browne's 'dully sounding' taps made against the urns' walls, indicating that the vitality of these vessels has been irremediably silenced—the urns' is a pulse almost gone quiet.[380]

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[376] Adrian Reuben, "Examination of the Abdomen: Examination of the Abdomen," *Clinical Liver Disease* 7, no. 6 (June 2016): 143–50: "The key maneuver in identifying ascites that is neither massive nor minimal is to demonstrate "shifting dullness" by repeating percussion after rolling the patient to one side and finding that there is now resonance in the flank that is uppermost and simultaneously increased dullness in the dependent side," 147.
[377] Aronson, Jeff. "Dropsy." *BMJ : British Medical Journal* vol. 326,7387 (2003): 491.
[378] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine,* 125.
[379] Ibid.
[380] See Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "The Harmonious Pulse," *The Classical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (December 1993): 475–79, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838800040015.

As I have been arguing, the third chapter of *Urne-Buriall* follows the generic form of the Hippocratic case history, particularly those that Browne read in the widely imitated *Epidemics.* For Browne, a man well-read and saturated in the interdisciplinary foment of his time, natural historical, antiquarian, and medical writing all shared in a commitment to a kind of thorough description based on a Hippocratic model. If Hippocratic description primarily involved recording a patient's appearance and visual diagnostic clues, however, it also involved less savory modes of inspection. As Nancy Siraisi relates, examining the patient in the Hippocratic tradition almost always advanced through a series of conventional stages, from ocular inspection, through tactile palpation, percussion, and auscultation, to the smelling of excreta.[381] In *Urne-Buriall's* third chapter, Browne displays a startling and heretofore overlooked adherence to this four-part method of physical examination, albeit applied to an archaeological rather than anatomical object. Browne's scrutiny of the urns moves from a visual analysis of their morphology and material characteristics, to a tactile exploration of surface and texture, and finally to a percussive examination of the sounds the urns omit—all of which I discuss above.

In the scope of Browne's career, this generic blending—uniting Hippocratic case study and archaeological field note—is not surprising: in the same year that Browne wrote *Urne-Buriall*, he also wrote *A Letter to a Friend*, a somber and deeply learned description of Browne's treatment of Robert Loveday, a consumptive patient who eventually died in 1658. Crucially, the first part of the *Letter* forms what Claire Preston

[381] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine,* 124.

has called "a ramified and elaborated form of medical *consilium,"* or case study.[382] Plainly, in 1656-58, Browne was actively engaged in the literary problems invited by both antiquarian and medical case writing; it is no surprise, then, that Browne's treatise on antiquarian *aporia* seems to trade in the same tropes as his well-known treatise on failed medical treatment. Like Camden, Browne found a useful resonance in medical diagnosis and the examination of the past.[383] After all, beyond relying on the same genre and form, both the *Letter* and *Urne-Buriall* commit themselves to objective report in order to educe meaning from semiotic and fragmentary evidence.

Browne's urn-anatomy does not end with objective visual report, though. Near the close of *Urne-Buriall's* third chapter, Browne provides a discussion of the fluids and effluents that accompany sepultures of various kinds; and in doing so, Browne enters the final, most intimate phase of his unusual Hippocratic examination. While the urns at hand offer up "[n]o lamps, included liquors, lachrymatories, or tear-bottles," Browne notes that other antiquaries

> […] finde sepulchral vessels containing liquors, which time hath incrassated into gellies. For besides these lachrymatories notable lamps, with vessels of oyles and aromaticall liquors attended noble ossuaries. And some yet retaining a vinosity and spirit in them, which if any have tasted they have farre exceeded the palats of antiquity.

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[382] Claire Preston, "'An Incomium of Consumptions': *A Letter to a Friend* as Medical Narrative," in Reid Barbour and Claire Preston, eds., *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed* (Oxford: Oxford University Pres, 2008), 209. On the date of *A Letter to a Friend,* see Frank L. Huntley, "The Occasion and Date of Sir Thomas Browne's *A Letter to a Friend,*" *Modern Philology* 47 (1951): 157-71.

[383] Claire Preston also links *Urne-Buriall* and the *Letter* as both prompt "a disquisition on the failure of individuality against the anonymity and commonality of death." Reid Barbour and Claire Preston, eds., *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed*, 219.

Putting aside for a moment Browne's startling analogy likening these sepulchral 'incrassated gellies' to fine wines, what's striking about this passage is its reliance on the common medical practice of citing similar cases. While Browne's urns do not contain fluids of any kind, he has read accounts of those that do; in diagnosis, the absence of a sign is as telling as its presence. In addition to citing the observations of others, Browne reports comparable cases that he witnessed first-hand. Browne relates, for instance, that "[i]n an hydropicall body ten years buried in a church-yard, we met with a fat concretion, where the nitre of the earth, and the salt and lixivious liquor of the body, had coagulated large lumps of fat, into the consistence of the hardest castle-soap." The repellent precision of Browne's prose here and the passage's medical lexis further link Browne's antiquarian investigation with his training as a physician. Of course, this passage has a second purpose: as Browne makes clear, this soap-like 'corpse wax' (or adipocere) is of relatively brief duration, found only in a body "ten years buried." In pyral remains, Browne reminds us, such an abundance of sepulchral evidence is almost always absent, due chiefly to the violent diminution of the body into ash by way of ember and flame: "how the bulk of a man should sink into so few pounds of bones and ashes, may seem strange unto any who considers not its constitution, and how slender a masse will remain upon an open and urging fire of the carnall composition."[384] The inadequacy of ash and unadorned clay-y vessel to fully reconstruct physiognomy and history is made all the more poignant by the fact that Browne has the decade-old adipocere near at hand—it "remaineth with us", Browne writes, implying the opposite for the urns' inhabitants.

[384] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 153

Browne clearly views ashy remnants as unavailing. Further emphasizing this contrast in bodily endurance, he goes on to note that even a single bone might make possible a kind of bodily reconstitution, allowing the investigator to "conjecture at fleshy appendencies." Recalling my first chapter's synecdochic view of antiquarian investigation, Browne suggests that some corporeal remains facilitate inferential gap-filling: "For since bones afford not only rectitude and stability, but figure unto the body; It is not impossible Physiognomy to conjecture at fleshy appendencies; and after what shape the muscles and carnous parts might hand in their full consistences."[385]

Despite the slender evidentiary value of the urns and their ashy contents, Browne seems eager (perhaps compelled) to employ a strange blend of gustatory inspection, medical diagnosis, and antiquarianism, reaching for metaphors that hint at the possibility of a semiotic reading of the urns and their contents. Browne's imagined, speculative tasting of the oils and liquors that occasionally accompany sepultures (quoted above), for instance, recalls the emphasis that early modern medicine placed on the multisensory examination of patients' bodies. As Nancy Siraisi has noted, textbooks read in early modern medical schools, including those at Montpelier, Padua, and Leiden (all of which Browne attended), "urged the physician to consider variations in the color, odor, and consistency of all the excreta," including blood, feces, and (most commonly) urine.[386] Meanwhile, humoral theory assigned gustatory qualities to the humors—phlegm, for instance, was believed to make up a variety of "sweet, salty, acid, water, and

[385] Keynes, ed., *The Works:* Vol. I, 156
[386] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine,* 124-5.

mucilaginous" classes.[387] These conventions could claim a long and authoritative tradition. In a catalog of Browne's library, we find listed a copy of Hippocrates' *Coan Prenotions,* which describes the diagnostic art of examining various effluents by taste, color, and scent: in this work, physicians are advised, for instance, that "patients with consumption, whose sputum, when cast on a fire smells with a heavy meat odour […]" will inevitably die. The same work notes the significance of other salivary and pustular abnormalities besides: those who expectorate "ill-smelling sputa," "viscous salty sputa", or "dark sooty sputa, or whose sputa look like they came from dark wine" are said to be similarly doomed.[388]

In part, Browne's medical attentions are the consequence of habit and training: Browne was nothing if not the product of the seventeenth-century's renewed interest in observation and what Gianna Pomata has called a "shift from Galenism to Hippocratism in the orientation of late sixteenth-and early seventeenth-century medicine."[389] Early advocates of this Hippocratic turn set the tone and curricula of Browne's continental medical education (a multi-institutional affair that Reid Barbour rightly calls Browne's 'medical peregrination'), and in particular at the medical faculties of Montpelier and

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[387] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine,* 105.
[388] Paul Potter, ed., *Hippocrates: Volume IX* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 400 (p. 205), 401 (205), 406 (207), 426 (211). The 1588 edition of the *Coan Prenotions*, edited by Louis Duret and printed in Paris, is listed in Jeremiah Finch, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Browne and Dr Edward Browne, His Son*, 17[A], 41.
[389] For a history of the genre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Gianna Pomata, "Sharing Cases: The Observationes in Early Modern Medicine," *Early Science and Medicine* 15, no. 3 (2010): 216. See also Gianna Pomata, "Praxis Historialis: The Uses of Historia in Early Modern Medicine," in Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi, eds., *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), 105-46.

Leiden.[390] For instance, Lazare Rivière, one of Browne's professors at Montpelier whose *Observationes medicae et curationes insignes* (1646) modernized the Hippocratic *observationes* genre, brought renewed attention to the importance of signs in the identification and treatment of disease—indeed, semiotics was an entire branch of medical training that physicians were expected to learn and practice with skill. Notably, Browne owned a copy of Rivière's book.[391] Browne also owned a 1610 edition of Johannes Schenck's *Observationes medicae, rarae, novae, admirabiles et monstrosae,* François Valleriola's *Observationes medicinale*s, and the illustrated *Observationes Medicae* (1652) of Nicolaes Tulp—all of which sit squarely inside the seventeenth-century's New Hippocratism and its dual interest in objective description and semiotic conjecture.[392] Gianna Pomata has called Schenck's *Observationes* the "most important collection of *observationes* of the late sixteenth century," while Tulp's book would have appealed to Browne's interest in exotic fauna for its first printed depiction of a chimpanzee.[393] And

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[390] Reid Barbour, "Thomas Browne's A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease: A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease," *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 3 (September 8, 2009): 409. On Thomas Browne's peripatetic medical education, see also Reid Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). In particular, see chapters 4, 5, and 6, pp. 109-216.

[391] Finch, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Browne and Dr Edward Browne, His Son,* 48 [24, no. 54]

[392] Browne owned a 1588 edition of Valleriola's *observationes.* See Finch, 48 [24, no. 63]. On Valleriola's Hippocratism, see Gianna Pomata, "Praxis Historialis: The Uses of Historia in Early Modern Medicine," in Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi, eds., *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), 129: "Valleriola wrote: '[Hippocrates] wrote on tablets all that he saw occurring in the sick person, and narrated the complete *historia* of the disease and what happened to the sick each day, eac hour, each moment, giving specifically the name of each person…as shown in the books of *Epidemics.* In the same way, following Hippocrates' custom, I reworked for general use the things I wrote down […]."

[393] *Nicolai Tulpii Amstelredamensis Observationes Medicae* (Amstelredami: Ludovicum Elzevirium: 1652). The depiction of the chimpanzee appears on page 284 of the 1652 edition; a reduced version of the image sits at the base of the engraved title page. See Finch 48 [24, nos. 63 & 66].

while Browne was unlikely to have seen Rembrandt's painting of Tulp dissecting the arm of executed criminal Aris Kindt, it is somehow fitting that Browne owned a book written by a man immortalized in a painting that epitomizes the seventeenth century's concomitant innovations in medical learning and vivid depiction.[394]

Each of these works, among many other medical texts in Browne's library, were indebted to, and even directly modelled on the Hippocratic *Epidemics*. In some respects, Browne's medical books even operate as an intellectual microcosm, demonstrating the classical physician's rising stock in the period.[395] In *The Advancement of Learning* Francis Bacon offers his own Hippocratic diagnosis of Renaissance medical practice, remarking that early modern physicians erred especially in their "discontinuance of the auncient and serious diligence of Hippocrates, which vsed to set downe a Narratiue of the special cases of his patients and how they proceeded, & how they were iudged by recouery or death." Bacon found the discontinuation of rigorous medical recordkeeping regrettable for the simple fact that medical practice afforded many opportunities for the physician's

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[394] As Svetlana Alpers has shown, "In Holland the visual culture was central to the life of the society. One might say that the eye was a central means of self-representation and visual experience a central mode of self-consciousness. If the theater was the arena in which the England of Elizabeth most fully represented itself to itself, images played a role for the Dutch." Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), xxv. On the identity of the corpse in Rembrandt's portrait, see Berardo Di Matteo et al., "Nicolaes Tulp: The Overshadowed Subject in The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp," *Clinical Orthopaedics and Related Research* 474, no. 3 (March 2016): 625–29.
[395] David Cantor observes that Hippocrates "survived medicine's growing disenchantment with Galen [in the later Renaissance], and came to stand for empiricism and practice against Galen, who now stood for rationalism and theory." David Cantor, "Western Medicine since the Renaissance," in Peter E. Pormann, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Hippocrates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 362.

observational art: "if men will intend to obserue," he wrote, "they shall finde much worthy to obserue."[396]

But of what value this Hippocratic tradition to Browne's *Urne-Buriall,* or to antiquarianism, more generally? The answer rests, I suggest, in the inferential power of early modern semiology and symptom theory. As Carlo Ginzburg has observed, medicine and antiquarianism in the period both stood on "an unsuppressible speculative margin", and like medical learning, "historical knowledge is indirect, presumptive, conjectural."[397] Of course, the objective of writing and reading medical case studies was the successful determination of a disease—information often haltingly arrived at by guesswork and ambiguous indications. And for this reason, symptoms were particularly important to Hippocratic medicine, which "maintained that only by attentively observing and recording all symptoms in great detail could one develop precise 'histories' of individual diseases."[398] As the contents of his library reveals, Browne's training in semeiotics was thorough.[399] The *Coan Prenotions*, in particular, of which Browne owned Louis Duret's 1588 edition printed in Paris, "received considerable special attention at the time when

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[396] Kiernan, ed., *The Advancement of Learning*, OFB IV, 99 [2L1r]. See Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 92-93.
[397] Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method,* 96-7.
[398] Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method,* 95.
[399] See Peter Burke, "Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 295. "An early meaning of the term "evidence" is "sign." The epistemological problem of signs was a subject of some interest in the seventeenth century, and even the word "semiotics" was in use at this time, in Latin, Italian, French, and English, especially in a medical context. Nicholas Culpeper's *Semeiotica uranica* (1651), for instance, discussed the "astronomical judgement of diseases." The growing literature on physiognomy—Mascardi's *De affectibus* (1639) for example—discussed not only the form of faces but expression, posture, gesture, and even hairstyle and clothing as so many signs of character and emotions."

semeiotics played a central role in medical education and practice."[400] The popularity of this work is indicated by the number of times it was reprinted, appearing in four editions in the last quarter of the sixteenth century alone. But for Browne in particular, semiology was not always a matter of sign giving way to accurate conclusion by tidy inference. As Reid Barbour writes, "medical signs […] could prove highly deceptive, oblique, and messy."[401] Symptoms were not, in other words, transparent markers or signals, and their use in the antiquarian mode shares in the 'fundamental tension' of disciplines that David Freedberg finds in the period: "What we would now regard as experimental and empirical activity is [in the period] frequently accompanied by occult explanations", while "the old disciplines, such as physiognomy, phytognomy, and chiromancy […] are retained."[402] This was especially true for Browne, whose range of reading often inflected or even brought into doubt his physician's training: "the semiotics of medicine was rendered more challenging still by [Browne's] willingness to entertain a wide range of interpretive guides, from dreams to Roman comedies, and by his self-imposed moral burden to translate corporeal signs into ethical axioms and spiritual hieroglyphs by which the survivors might navigate the course of their lives."[403] Browne himself seems to acknowledge the proliferating strangeness of medical signs, writing in the *Letter to a*

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[400] Paul Potter, ed., Hippocrates: Volume IX (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 106. See also Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 134. Duret's edition is USTC 170915, see https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/170915.
[401] Reid Barbour, "Thomas Browne's A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease," *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 3 (September 8, 2009): 409.
[402] David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 1.
[403] Barbour, "Thomas Browne's A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease," 409.

Friend that for the same disease, physicians and classical authorities have argued for different physiognomic clues: Some look "for a Spot behind the ear, […] some eye the Complexion of Moals; *Cardan* eagerly views the Nails, some the Lines of the Hand, the Thenar muscle of the Thumb; some are so curious as to observe the depth of the Throat-pit."[404] Symptoms were idiosyncratic and open to various interpretations.

To be sure, much the same could be said of antiquities, a category of material clue that was often oblique and always potentially deceptive. This is, I think, what Camden meant in choosing medical semiology and symptoms as an analogy to defend the antiquaries' reliance on conjecture: symptom reading, the interpretation of clues of any kind, Carlo Ginzburg reminds us, is akin to "some sort of venatic lore"—it is a "knowledge characterized by the ability to construct from apparently insignificant experimental data a complex reality that could not be experienced directly."[405] This is the antiquary's quarry and curse.

This chapter has attempted to tease out an abeyant thread in the history of antiquarianism—that is, the apparent link between medical inquiry and antiquarian methods of inspection, and in particular, the reading of signs and symptoms. As I have argued here, Bacon and Camden's propensity to relate history and medical diagnosis was far from accidental; and Browne—a reader both—simply adopted it as a matter of course, centering his professional identity, training, and praxis in order not only to render

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[404] Quoted in Reid Barbour, "Thomas Browne's A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease: A Letter to a Friend and the Semiotics of Disease," Renaissance Studies 24, no. 3 (September 8, 2009): 412.

[405] Ginzburg, *Myths, Clues, and the Historical Method,* 93.

antiquarianism newly productive, but also to remake its objectives and tools—enabling it to ask new questions of old objects. In doing so, this final chapter closes the circuit of the dissertation: at root, signs (both symptomatic and artifactual) rely of the same kind of metonymic and inferential imagination that antiquarian fragments invite and impel.

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