

# Poetry, Anatomy, Presence

## I

In his *Defence of Poesie*, published in 1595, Philip Sidney borrowed the vocabulary of anatomisation to remark of poetry that ‘all his kinds are not only in their united forms but in their severed dissections fully commendable,’ analysing the features of verse as though he were considering a man’s ‘parts, kinds, or species’. Poetry is admirable not only as a finished whole, Sidney suggests, but also in each of its separate fragments. And in the prefatory epistle to Gabriel Harvey at the front of Edmund Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), E.K. describes writing as a ‘knitting of sentences (whych they call the ioints and members therof),’ registering the creation of new literary life as a painstaking process akin to cutting, piecing and re-assembling the body.<sup>1</sup> Both Sidney and Spenser imagine reading and writing as forms of anatomy, allowing them to describe how literary features can be neatly severed from one another and seamlessly rejoined. For a moment, the labour of composition looks logical and replicable, and poetry, spread out for inspection, appears static and knowable. Such theories seem far removed from familiar Renaissance theories of authorship based on spontaneous *inventio*, or theories of reading based on the combustible force of the imagination. I argue here however that anatomical vocabulary proved useful to Renaissance literary theorists not so much because it recognised how poetry’s diverse parts add up to a systematic and relational whole, but rather because it provided an unusually rich spatial vocabulary, encompassing height and depth, to describe afresh the experience of being immersed in a poem. As we will see, conceptualising reading as anatomical process allowed writers, especially Sidney, to re-negotiate the spaces between poems and their readers; and, in so doing, to rethink the ethical and human consequences of involvement with books.

Early modern literary and anatomical traditions overlapped in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in several important ways. Both set out to imitate nature, and to reveal human life in the broadest possible sense.<sup>2</sup> More specifically, the period witnessed the emergence of a poetics of anatomy which encompassed every aspect of human experience. Drawing on the Roman satiric tradition, where wit worked in corrosive, expurgatory or

caustic ways, Renaissance writers anatomised every conceivable subject including art, architecture, religion, women, and the soul.<sup>3</sup> John Lyly's *The Anatomy of Wit* (1578), Philip Stubbes' *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1583) and Thomas Nashe's *Anatomie of Absurdity* (1589) all dissect a 'body' of knowledge into different components with the eventual aim of eliminating doubt, correcting error, or exposing vice.<sup>4</sup> Although these authors often seem to treat their topics dispassionately, and to strive towards full and precise knowledge, their tone is often ironic or sceptical. Applied knowingly to inchoate subject matter, the methodical, partitioning routines of anatomy result in sophisticated forms of wit.

Such was the centrality of anatomical thinking to early modern culture, indeed, that some scholars see 'the part' emerging with its own agency and ontology. Focusing on social and psychic fragmentation in early modern drama, David Hillman and Carla Mazzio have argued that organs turned into important sites of meaning – such as the viscera where conscience resides; the heart as a locus of truth and salvation; or the liver, womb, bowels, kidney and lymph as places where private experience unfolds. Scientists, theologians and philosophers were all exploring the relationship between fragments and totalities, placing 'increasing stress on the possibility of the recuperation of part into whole'. The language of bodily partitioning indeed powerfully illuminates the relationship between fragments and unified forms, or between representative samples and the subjects they stood for. In each case, the part resonates because of its incompleteness, and social and symbolic practices of 'piecing out' appear so fundamental that 'the early modern period could be conceptualised as an age of synecdoche'.<sup>5</sup> To borrow John Hoskyns' definition, from his 1599 *Directions for Speech and Style*, 'Synecdoche is an exchange of the name of the part for the whole, or of the name of the whole for the part'.<sup>6</sup> The present essay shares with this work an interest in embodied knowledge, and in ideas of cutting up, piecing out, and gathering in. It argues that there is however another model which is more important than *synecdoche* – and which allows us to move beyond the idea that early modern selfhood resides in the material body which can be cut up, pieced out, or divided into categories. Drawing instead on theories of height, learned from the newly circulating theories of the Greek writer known as Longinus, Sidney in particular was beginning to imagine the experience of reading taking place in a spatial dimension where words lifted off the page, and into the world. Early modern literary theory came closest to early modern printed anatomies (and vice versa) when both were experimenting, sometimes through paper technology, not with *synecdoche* but with

*hypotyposis* – the rhetorical figure which brings things vividly to life and into presence. Both anatomy and poetry were therefore working at this time with the spatial implications of rhetoric, especially its potential for creating new models of life. For Sidney and others, reading was gathering a new experiential immediacy as literary encounters came to resemble encounters with complex others, confronting readers with new challenges of involvement and responsibility.

Critics interested in early modern embodiment have tended either to focus on anatomy (dealing with the dead) or on medicine and illness (dealing with the living).<sup>7</sup> Some twenty years ago, Jonathan Sawday uncovered the importance of anatomy to Renaissance ideological frameworks, revealing intimate connections between violence, criminality, and anatomy's darkly voyeuristic knowledge.<sup>8</sup> More recently, Jennifer Richards and Richard Wistreich have argued for a more holistic understanding of anatomy not as spectacular event but rather as 'primarily an oral and aural rather than a visual experience'.<sup>9</sup> Anatomy was taught and learned through the voice, they argue, revealing the importance of the wider sensorium in early modern knowledge-transmission. Others have moved away from anatomy *per se*, and towards the interface between art, words and living embodiment. An influential strand of criticism has focused on historical phenomenology with Gail Kern Paster, Michael Schoenfeldt, Mary Floyd-Wilson and Katherine Rowe all exploring inter-subjectivity through humoral frameworks, showing how bodily processes are mirrored and refracted in the lived environment.<sup>10</sup> Rather than separating anatomy from ideas about lived experience, this essay however argues that anatomical knowledge was in fact emerging at this time as a new version of life in the world – making it especially appealing to poets interested, as Sidney was, in capturing 'motion, spirit and life' on paper.<sup>11</sup> My starting point is one question which featured centrally in discussions of anatomy's place in medical education: what is the status of knowledge accrued indirectly through description compared to knowledge gained through direct experience? How reliable is text-based authority acquired through reading and listening compared to seeing (or even doing) a dissection for oneself? As Matthias Curtius had pointed out in 1540, dissection may happen 'in one way really or actually, in another way through description, e.g. in writing or lecturing.'<sup>12</sup> This same debate animates Sidney's literary theory, and those of his contemporaries, as they sought to investigate poetry's ability to capture, through textuality, a sense of the subject as 'really or actually' present. As we will see, Sidney imagines reading as an energetic reciprocity ignited between books and readers

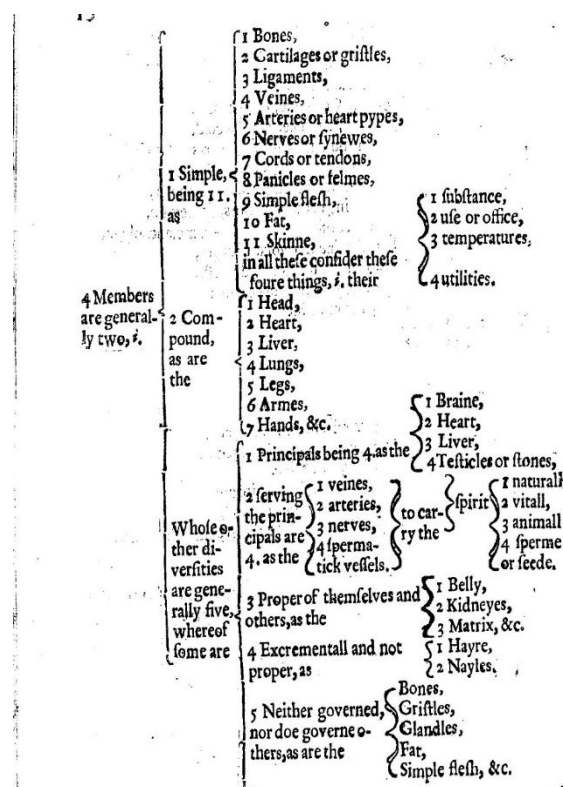
which extends far beyond the body's separable parts. The *Defence* indeed describes poetry as an encounter in the world, raising the question which the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas has articulated as 'the ethical relation of self to other'.<sup>13</sup>

Sidney was writing at a time when the science of human anatomy was advancing with breath-taking speed in the wake of Andreas Vesalius' magisterial *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem*, published in 1543 by Johannes Oporinus. Vesalius' book famously blends description with observation, showing that dissection as a practical, educational tool only makes sense alongside authority passed down from older writings. *De Fabrica* however brings textuality closer than ever to nature by including a series of extraordinarily life-like images - not least the flayed figures with improbably exposed vascular and nervous systems who stalk through ruined landscapes.<sup>14</sup> Later physicians and anatomists, including England's Helkiah Crooke, responded to Vesalius, exploring how the body's three-dimensional structure could be accurately and memorably captured on paper in order to suggest life-like human presence. I argue here that Sidney and other English literary theorists were devoting themselves with increasing commitment to this same question: can poetry step out of the confines of print and paper, and into the space beyond? As traditional forms of knowledge based on the authority of textual representation started to overlap with new ways of knowing through experience, poets shared anatomists' commitment to re-imagining the relationship between active, reading subjects and passive textual objects. English anatomists and literary theorists were therefore grappling with similar conceptual territory – using a similar spatial vocabulary, based on height and depth – to theorise spaces between texts and readers; and, in so doing, to reconceptualise complex encounters with others.

## II

At first glance, early modern English anatomical textbooks appear clearly focused on the relationship of each bodily part to the whole. Drawing on the resources of Renaissance technical writing which had developed first through Agricolan logic in the fifteenth century, and subsequently through Ramist dialectic, rhetoric and the liberal arts, medical anatomies presented detailed information in a visually arresting way through a meticulous system of

division and sub-division.<sup>15</sup> On the far left-hand side appeared the most general and familiar terms, with these broad categories then divided and sub-divided into narrower and narrower units until they could not be divided any further. In Edward Edwards, *The Analysis of Surgery* (1636), for example, the left-hand margin was labelled ‘members’. [Figure 1] This category was divided across the page, using brackets, into ‘simple’ and ‘compound’ members. Among the ‘simple’ members are bones, cartilage, ligaments, veins and arteries. Among the ‘compound’ members are the head, heart, liver, lungs. Below, a category defines the ‘principal’ organs, and sets out the parts of the body charged with serving them:



Complex knowledge is broken down into different parts, analysed, and then re-synthesised into a whole. As Roland Macilmaine explained in his 1574 English translation of Ramus' 1543 *Dialecticae Institutiones* (*Education in Dialectic*), this method not only provides a clear way of ordering information but also profoundly changes the process through which the truth is understood to emerge. Knowledge accrues incrementally through the elimination of uncertainty, working

from the most generall to the speciall and singular. By this method we proceade from the antecedent more absolutely knowen to proue the consequent, which is not so manifestly knowen.<sup>16</sup>

Among the many medical works which adopted this structure were Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Castle of Helth* [1539], Thomas Gale's *Certaine Workes of Surgery* (1563), Felix Platter's *De Corporis Humani Structura et Usu* (1583) and Edward Edwards' *The Cure for all sorts of Fevers* (1638). In his compendious *Mikrokosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (1615), Helkiah Crooke again describes the fundamental method of partitioning: 'A part is a body cohearing or cleauing to the whole, and ioyned to it in common life, framed for his vse and function.' *Mikrokosmographia* is accordingly divided into 13 books, with 294 chapters and 178 additional 'Questions' - making a total of 485 divisions.<sup>17</sup> In order further to assist navigation of the material, a system of typographical fastening developed with illustrations diagrammatically mapped onto their textual identifiers using a keying mechanism of letters or numbers. The body's territory is assembled incrementally, part by part, until the whole interior is pinned onto the page. The effect is something finished and knowable: a two-dimensional flattening of complex three-dimensional reality. This organisational method had in fact been central since Galen's *Anatomical Procedures* and *On the Use of Parts*, both of which had recommended systematic scrutiny of each part of the body, always keeping in mind *homo absolute*s - the ideal body against whose perfect balance and temperate complexion all abnormalities, rarities and idiosyncrasies could be measured.<sup>18</sup> By the early modern period, the body's unchanging structure was understood to reflect the shaping hand of God, the harmony of the natural world, and the correspondingly harmonious structure of the intellect.<sup>19</sup>

One particular challenge in realising these ideas through print is that anatomical knowledge involves 'the sensed perception of structures' which are singularly difficult to capture on a flat page.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps for this reason, many early modern anatomists imagined their work as an architectural process which methodically reversed nature's achievements through art. If nature begins with the body's foundations, then 'rayseth the stories' of the organs, the anatomist's task was to undo this divine architecture step by step, all the while building up a picture of the body as a fully integrated whole.<sup>21</sup> This does not however imply that text-based

anatomies were necessarily ancillary to performed process. Medieval anatomy had traditionally fallen under the category of *historia*, an inferior species of theoretical knowledge preparatory to more demonstrative *scientia*. By now, however, thanks partly to the development of print technology, the relationship between description and direct observation had swiftly evolved - and nowhere more assertively than in Vesalius' *de Fabrica*. Vesalius broke with traditional pedagogical practice by exploiting print technology to make anatomy 'more general, causal and "scientific"'.<sup>22</sup> The illustrations in *de Fabrica* are remarkable for their beauty as well as for their detail and technical accuracy, creating an appearance of three-dimensional height and depth with light and shadow indicating the contours, hollows and dips of the body's internal landscape. The reader starts at the surface and then moves forwards, building up a sense of layering and depth. As such, the images were designed to function (as Sachiko Kusukawa has argued) like '*enargeia* in classical rhetoric, in which the vivid, particular details helped the listener feel as if they were firsthand witnesses to an event.'<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile the accompanying Latin text remains integral. In order to bring text and image together, Vesalius' readers were obliged to flick repeatedly between the figures and written descriptions, using a key which linked together the book's various parts. In this way, *de Fabrica* makes clear that rhetoric remained a foundational aspect of medical enquiry - and that the real student of anatomy was also an accomplished *litteratus*.<sup>24</sup>

The indebtedness of Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* to *de Fabrica* has often been remarked. Crooke responded directly to the problem of how best to combine text-based authority with experiential knowledge, arguing that anatomy has a

double acceptance... it signifieth the action which is done with the hande; or the habite of the minde, that is, the most perfect action of the intellect. The first is called practicall Anatomy, the latter Theorical or contemplatiue.<sup>25</sup>

That this second 'contemplatiue' anatomy involves both word and image is suggested by Crooke's careful insertion of pictures within his text as a way of minimising the need for readers to need to flick between picture and description. Crooke's short handbook *A Description of the Body of Man* (1616), comprised largely of Vesalian illustrations and

explanations, points out that large compendia of anatomy such as Laurentius' *Historia Anatomica* (1600) posed obstacles to the understanding because

the descriptions of the parts being interposed betweene the Figures, distract the minde, and defraud the store house of memory; besides this the volumes are not portable: Whereas by the contrarie, this small volume presenting all the partes of the body of man by continuation to the eie, impresseth the Figures firmly in the mind, and being portable may be carried without trouble, to the places appointed for dissection: where the collation of the Figures, with the Descriptions, cannot but affoord great contentment to the minde.

Crooke again emphasises the inter-dependence of text, image and first-hand witnessing. Reading cannot lead to contentment when descriptions are awkwardly 'interposed' between illustrative figures - or, worse, 'sown asunder' at a distance of some pages.<sup>26</sup> Crooke's *Description* represents a concerted attempt to bring together textual authority and experience, acknowledging that the book cannot stand alone as a way of knowing the body any more than the directly witnessed body would be navigable without the help of the book. [Figure 2] On each verso, then, Crooke presents an illustration which attempts to capture the three-dimensional structure of the body through shading and perspective. Each illustration is explained on the opposite recto:





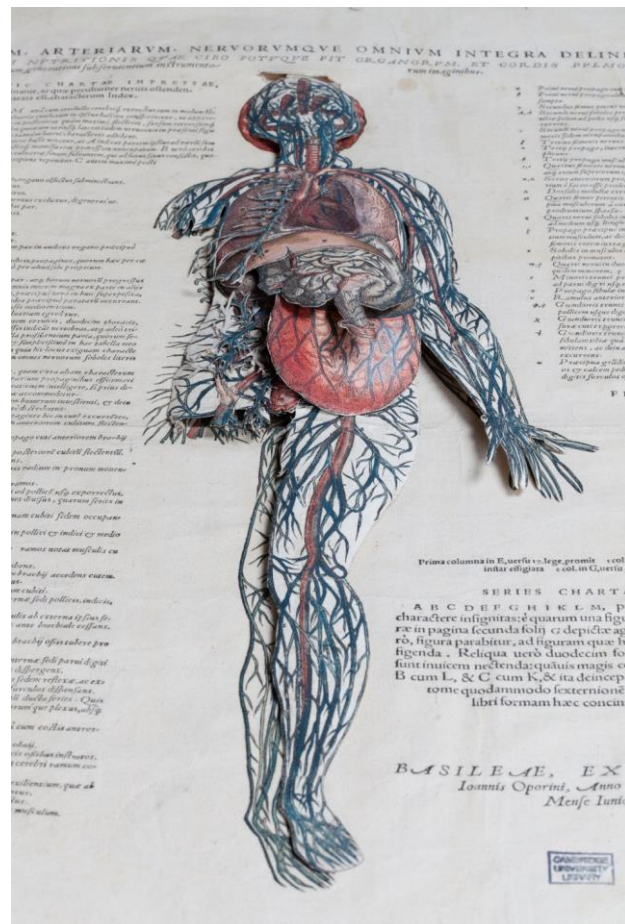
The book's real innovation is to allow the different forms of knowledge acquired by reading, seeing and witnessing to be absorbed simultaneously. Crooke emphasises the interdependence of his book with the occasion it strives to capture since *The Description* is compact enough to be held in the hand 'without trouble,' even while standing at 'the places appointed for dissection'. Such places are not only the literal theatres where anatomical instruction took place, for Crooke's more ambitious aim is to foster a spatially organised 'habite of the mind' capable of imagining, and then remembering, how 'the partes of the body' fit together.<sup>27</sup> In this way, the *Description* tries to capture, through textuality, an experience in and of the world - including a fully-sensed perception of depth and spatial structure. We will see later that this same challenge was emerging as a fundamental question for poets at the turn of the seventeenth century. Seeking to create vividness and presence before their readers' eyes, anatomists and poets were both re-thinking - through theories of height and depth - the nature of exchanges between readers and texts, and the differences between textual and experiential authority.

## III

We have seen that one of Vesalius' explicit aims in *de Fabrica* was to reverse the fashion of separating theoretical from experiential knowledge. He opposed in particular the 'detestable ritual' in teaching where the *incisor* undertook the practical work while *lector* read from a text describing the body's various parts. According to Vesalius, the *incisor* will 'hack things up for display following the instruction of a physician who has never set his hand to the dissection of a body but has the cheek to play the sailor from a textbook.' Textual authority without experience leads only to flawed and partial understanding. So how can the printed page do justice to the anatomical event? Vesalius' aim is not only to provide an *aide-memoire* to those who had attended his dissection classes but also – crucially – to be 'even more useful' to those who had no cadaver to learn from, so that 'the eye of whoever is occupied with the works of nature is simultaneously presented with a dissected body.'<sup>28</sup> Of course the question of how to capture life-like presence on a two-dimensional page is all the more singular when the subjects in question are not in fact invested with life - or when they exist on a strange hinterland between life and death, like Vesalius' moving musclemen.<sup>29</sup>

In this respect, the *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Librorum Epitome* (1543), published in two editions (Latin and German) as a companion piece to the *Fabrica*, went even further. The *Epitome* comprised thirty pages of anatomical pictures and text, sharing its frontispiece and several other illustrations with *de Fabrica*. It also includes a brief summary of the anatomical structures which *de Fabrica* had set out at greater length. Most interesting for our present purpose, however, are the male and female figures which appear in the middle of the *Epitome*. [Figures 3 and 4] Readers could either begin deep inside the body with the bones; or read from the outside in, working their way inwards from the surface anatomy. Each figure's blood vessels, organs, and veins were designed to be coloured in, cut out, backed with firm paper or vellum, and then re-assembled with the organs layered one on top of the other to create a three-dimensional 'manikin'. Unfolding the flaps one by one, the reader could then proceed methodically backwards (or inwards) from the naked to the fully dissected figure. The paper-thin latticework of the manikins' veins would have been extraordinarily fiddly to handle, and the series of stackable tabs, systems and organs exceptionally challenging to assemble. Through this early experiment in paper technology, or

pop-up books, Vesalius sought to recreate the stacking effect of perspective, and to capture, through height and depth, the body's topography. Properly assembled, with each organ nestling within the appropriate cavity, the body's fragments were pieced together to create a unified whole. Manipulating the space between text and reader, the manikins capture a sense of three-dimensionality unavailable to other kinds of textuality. The extendable paper surface represents depth beyond the page's flat plane, approximating the contours of the material world even as it brings its novel technology of representation to the forefront of the reader's attention.<sup>30</sup>



The manikins make an important concession to phenomenological witnessing, and aspire towards a richer, more experiential, and more tactile understanding of the body. Rather than casting one's eyes from text to image, or holding a book in one hand and looking simultaneously at the dissection, the *Epitome* offers - however ironically and partially - the promise of the real. As such, it is an interesting example of the 'renewal of the language of experience' which was taking place throughout Renaissance natural philosophy. Here, as Gianna Pomata has suggested, the development of the new term *observatio* suggests that knowledge was increasingly derived from direct, sensory engagement rather than remotely by deduction from first principles.<sup>31</sup> A parallel trend in literature hints at ideas of direct experience through theories of *hypotyposis* - the rhetorical technique which aimed to create vivid presence, bringing matters directly and urgently before the reader rather than simply capturing them with careful accuracy. As George Puttenham puts it in his description of *hypotyposis* in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589),

the matter and occasion leadeth us many times to describe and set forth many things in such sort as it should appear they were truly before our eyes though they were not present.<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, however, this aspiration is knowingly compromised in the *Epitome* as the manikins point up the difference between observing on paper a diagrammatically fastened body, and actually seeing (or even doing) a dissection for oneself. The version of anatomy these fragile figures present is a miniaturised and domesticated one, and the readerly impulse they address is the impulse to establish certainty through processes of division and re-assembly. In this way the *Epitome* glances at the emerging tension between the textual authority of the printed page and the phenomenological or experiential ways of knowing which would develop in so many spheres of enquiry throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – especially, as we will see, in literary theories such as Sidney's.

This same tension is memorably re-visited in the title page of Vesalius' *Fabrica* which sets a vivid anatomical scene before our eyes. [Figure 5] The elaborate symbolism includes (at the top right of the crowd) the fashionably slashed sleeves of the urban glitterati which resemble



dissected arms; the monkey (at the bottom left) which alludes to animal vivisection; and the cowed figure of death who surveys the scene impassively from the balcony. Readers have recently observed how the image puts women at the centre of Renaissance anatomical enquiry, revealing a history of ‘women’s bodies and men’s attempts to know them’; and have pointed out how the image suggests the particular ‘tactile richness’ of private anatomy theatres.<sup>33</sup> The tableau is astonishing not only for its symbolic detail, however, but also for the powerful sense of occasion it imparts. The anonymous engraver conveys an impression of movement, the swirling crowd capturing the excitement and unpredictability at the heart of the story unfolding below on the table. The engraver not only showcases the wonders of medical science, and its transcendental promise, but also reveals the felt presence of the moment.



This presence emerges partly through the manipulation of height. The scene takes place on a raised platform before us, and is organised in the form of a hemisphere showing the cross-section of an anatomy theatre. The subject of the anatomy, a middle-aged woman, lies with her feet towards us, her body tilted upwards. The familiar Renaissance organisation of the cosmos through co-centric circles which becomes so pronounced in later illustrations of Renaissance anatomy theatres (such as those at Leiden) is hinted at; and might lead us to expect height working in the service of order and containment. The engraving does indeed show tiered ranks of benches, and standing-room platforms, while the arcades at the top of the scene are crowded with figures craning their necks past the elaborate entablature. These levels are not however carefully segregated from one another – unlike the dissection scenes of only fifty or so years earlier where the lecturer sits holding a book at a height, divorced from dissection which takes place below; and unlike later illustrations of anatomy theatres which convey a sense of ‘constrained movement’ rather than jostling freedom.<sup>34</sup> In Vesalius’ title page, by contrast, spectators slip below or above their allotted spaces as they jostle for a better view, whilst others are distracted by mini-dramas taking place elsewhere. On the right, a young man has climbed onto a platform to gain a better position. On the left, a naked man – thought to represent the skin’s surface anatomy – clings onto a pillar and gazes downwards, distracting the attention of the old man beneath him. The presentation of anatomical learning as a series of shifting dramatic encounters disturbs any residual certainty that knowledge might be transmitted only one way: from the top to the bottom. If these encounters are organised through height, this is not the kind of height which works to confirm the relative authority of witnesses.

Intriguingly, the face of the corpse on the table is turned towards Vesalius himself, who is leading the dissection. Apart from the cowed figure of death above, she is the only figure looking in his direction. Vesalius looks slightly askance, focused partly on the cadaver and partly on the viewer. The system of perspective reaches out beyond the flat page, again demanding that we pay attention to our own act of looking. The dynamics of power and authority suggested by this mis-matched gaze, not quite eye-to-eye, calls to mind the face-to-face encounter described in Emmanuel Levinas’ philosophy. For Levinas, the face of the other makes an immediate ethical claim upon us. This claim has nothing to do with intellectual knowing, as the spontaneity of its command precedes reason, thought, and principle:

...the relation to the Face is both the relation to the absolutely weak - to what is absolutely exposed, what is bare and destitute, the relation with bareness and consequently with what is alone and can undergo the supreme isolation we call death - and there is, consequently, in the Face of the Other always the death of the Other and thus, in some way, an incitement to murder, the temptation to go to the extreme, to completely neglect the other - and at the same time (and this is the paradoxical thing) the Face is also the 'Thou Shalt not Kill'.<sup>35</sup>

The Other emerges in Levinas' discussion as a person rather than as a concept, and the face reveals, in all its profundity, the uncontainable presence of someone besides oneself. Above all, the face in its nakedness and disarmed mortality implies vulnerability, issuing the ethical call: 'Thou Shalt not Kill'. Calling inescapably to mind our own mortality, and simultaneously signifying the commandment to honour life, the face emerges as Levinas' foundational condition for ethics. Because of its innate vulnerability, the face always brings about 'the fear of occupying someone's place... a repelling, an exclusion, an exile'.<sup>36</sup> And, as Kent R. Leinhof has remarked,

The face of the other, Levinas frequently says, addresses me from an insuperable 'height', or 'elevation.' He and I are never on equal footing. Before the other, I can know nothing but my own obligation.<sup>37</sup>

To return to Vesalius, the image is remarkable not least for 'what it tells us of our own desire to establish authority, precedent, and certainty', summoning us instead to see subjectivity as something shared.<sup>38</sup> The height (and so the authority) of the living looks neither stable nor secure, and mortality is not clearly demarcated between the living and the dead. The image disturbs, through height, the previously stable hierarchy between the passive presence of the dead and the secure knowledge of the witness. As such, the page no longer looks static and knowable, but instead demands from the reader a more participatory, committed form of engagement involving risk and obligation.



As printed anatomies such as Vesalius' were contributing to emerging theories of experiential knowledge, developing increasingly sophisticated strategies for representing height and depth, literary theorists were also striving for vividness by manipulating the spaces between representation and reality. As Andrea Carlino has pointed out, anatomy was 'an epistemology applicable to diverse domains of knowledge – and perhaps above all to rhetoric, the master discipline of humanist cultural practice.'<sup>39</sup> The overlapping history of rhetoric and medical thinking has recently been illuminated by Stephen Pender, Nancy Struever and others who have shown 'the broad affinities between medical theory and practice and the arts of discourse, especially logic and rhetoric.'<sup>40</sup> The following section traces one particular strand of this shared epistemology, suggesting one way in which early modern poets turned to classical rhetoric in order to advance the debate about text-based experience and authority using the vocabulary of height and depth.<sup>41</sup> As poets debated how life enters into poetry and how poetry enters into life, they found themselves imagining textual substance neither divided nor knitted together, but instead emerging upwards and outwards into the living – thereby raising challenging new questions about intersubjectivity, personhood and authority.

#### IV

Vividness has always been central to rhetorical theory. Of the three principal aims of rhetoric – *movere, docere and delectare* (to move, teach and delight) – early modern theorists paid closest attention to the first, often remembering Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* which explores the ability of high or grandiloquent style to impact forcefully upon the passions even as it persuades through logical reasoning. Unlike plain or intermediate rhetorical styles, this third kind can overcome listeners, regardless of their intentions, like 'some great torrent that rolls down rocks... will sweep the judge from his feet, struggle as he may, and force him to go whither he bears him.' Listeners will find themselves following the speaker's emotions, swept 'from one emotion to the other' in spite of themselves, overpowered as though by a thunderbolt.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the most sophisticated ancient exploration of rhetorical vividness, however, is that of the Greek theorist known as Longinus whose ideas of height, or *hypsos*, were beginning to filter through continental sources into English literary culture in the

sixteenth century. Longinus' theories are usually regarded as peripheral to early modern poetry, partly because the treatise *Peri Hypsous* (*On the Sublime*) tends often to be considered in isolation from other traditions of classical thought. Its English readership is generally believed to have been confined to a small audience of scholars before the publication of Nicolas Boileau's *Traité du Sublime* in 1674.<sup>43</sup> But *Peri Hypsous* had already been circulating in various forms for some time before Boileau. It first appeared in print in the Basle edition of 1554 which included the Greek text together with marginal notes in Latin. This was followed by the 1555 Venetian edition, and then a 1575 manuscript translation by the Florentine scholar Giovanni da Falgano.<sup>44</sup> The availability of *Peri Hypsous* in Latin and vernacular translations and commentaries, as well as several Greek editions, justifies the serious scholarly attention it has already enjoyed among historians of early modern English literature and culture. Scholars including Patrick Cheney, Arthur Kinney and Brian Vickers have all noted the likely importance of *Peri Hypsous* to Renaissance thinkers increasingly interested in rhetoric's appeal to volition as well as cognition.<sup>45</sup> Deeply read in continental literary theory as well as the Latin and Greek classics, Sidney was particularly fascinated by the aesthetic freedoms offered by what he called in the *Defence* poetry's 'heart-ravishing' intensity which was able to 'strike, pierce, [and] possess... the soul,' and his description of poetry impressing itself forcibly upon the imagination indeed closely resembles Longinus's account of the searing quality of powerful rhetoric.<sup>46</sup>

Longinus offered an account of the five origins of 'excellence and distinction in language' – namely, great thoughts, strong emotion, figures of speech, noble diction, and dignified arrangement of words.<sup>47</sup> While the best examples of speech and the written word have 'beauty, clearness, weight, [and] strength', truly excellent rhetoric and literature also have emotional intensity, or *hypsos*. The most intense and affecting passages are not only themselves high but also have a correspondingly heightening effect on the listener. A thrilling exchange takes place between those who speak and write passionately, and audiences who find themselves entranced by them, so that

the true sublime naturally elevates us: uplifted with a sense of proud exaltation, we are filled with joy and pride, as if we had ourselves produced the very thing we heard.<sup>48</sup>

Excellent rhetoric aims at vivid presentation, and the spectator becomes fully and emotionally involved. This theory rests on language as an intensely felt encounter between rhetor and audience, or text and reader, and relies on a densely spatial vocabulary: good writing has height, weight and depth.

Height is also a feature of the most accomplished poetry in Sidney's *Defence*. Here, literary genius is capable of the 'highest-flying wit' with 'wings to bear itself up into the air' through art, imitation and exercise. Among the contemporary texts praised by Sidney is the tragedy *Gorboduc* which climbs 'to the height of Seneca's style'. But height is not simply a property of excellent writing. As in *Peri Hypsous*, height also describes poetry's 'forcible nature' which catches readers unawares and works powerfully upon them.<sup>49</sup> Considering whether poetry or philosophy 'hath the more force in teaching', Sidney remarks that while philosophy works through 'regular instruction', poetry more powerfully 'inflameth the mind'. Revisiting familiar questions about the relative value of observation compared to direct experience, Sidney admires poetry which requires us to live through it and commit ourselves to the events described – so that, as he puts it, 'we seem not to hear of them, but clearly to see through them'.<sup>50</sup>

Intriguingly, these ideas of height and involvement are explored in the *Defence* through the vocabulary of anatomy. We began with Sidney's description of poems whose figures and features could be dissected through careful, methodical scrutiny, and the *Defence* is full of such comparisons of poetry to fleshiness, and reading to anatomisation. Sidney begins with a discussion of poetry's godliness before moving towards what sounds like an anatomical investigation, undertaking 'a more ordinary opening of him, that the truth may be more palpable'. Sidney's discussion indeed often resembles an anatomy: poetry has 'poetical sinews', imperfect love poetry has 'swelling phrases,' and 'high and excellent Tragedy... openeth the greatest wounds, and showeth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue'. Here Sidney imagines poetry working like curative surgery, purging infection and making the body whole again. Like a person, poetry can be divided into parts which 'if severed they be good, the conjunction cannot be hurtful'.<sup>51</sup> Sidney probably here had in mind Aristotle's theory of

classification – which was the same in his works of biology, philosophy and aesthetics – where the terms *physis* (nature), *moria* or *mere* (parts), and *systema*, *synthesis*, and *systasis* (structure) are applied not only to the body, but also to the analysis of abstract entities. Even Aristotle's discussion of drama is quasi-anatomical: tragedy has six parts (plot, character, thought, speech, song and spectacle) with the plot resembling a 'living organism'.<sup>52</sup>

In a characteristically equivocating formulation, however, Sidney suggests that something is lost when reading becomes a forensic process which proceeds through division and subdivision:

Now therefore it shall not be amiss first to weigh this latter sort of Poetry by his works, and then by his parts, and if in neither of these anatomies he be condemnable, I hope we shall obtain a more favourable sentence.<sup>53</sup>

There is risk involved in anatomising poetry, as Sidney's striking legal vocabulary suggests. The best that can be said is that 'it shall not be amiss' to proceed as though reading were a matter of cutting and piecing. Dividing poetry up, and approaching it 'by his parts,' risks revealing it as 'condemnable' - so Sidney hopes only that he will at least afterwards be granted 'favourable sentence'. An anatomical approach to poetry which rests on cutting, piecing (and weighing) risks losing the deeply immersive experience characteristic of height, or *hypsos* - as becomes clear later in the *Apology*:

I am content not only to decipher him by his works (although works in commendation or dispraise must ever hold an high authority), but more narrowly will examine his parts; so that, as in a man, though all together may carry a presence full of majesty and beauty, perchance in some one defectuous piece we may find blemish.<sup>54</sup>

Effortlessly blending poetry with personhood (we may examine its parts 'as in a man'), Sidney points out that both can carry 'a presence full of majesty and beauty' which

transcends the blemishes which mar individual features. The parts of poetry do not necessarily add up to the whole, in other words, any more than a man's presence resides in the diagrammatised sum of his anatomised parts. Properly handled, anatomisation may however reveal poetry's forcefulness – not through separation of part from part, but rather through opening up the possibility of a vivid and surprising encounter so that poetry 'will entice any man to enter into it'.<sup>55</sup> The experience of reading Sidney describes is not conventional text-based study which works line by line, following a narrative led by adjudicating authority from beginning to end. The act of reading instead more closely resembles a teleology which proceeds through flashes of recognition as representation presses urgently and unpredictably into reality. It is a process more akin to *hypotyposis* than to *synecdoche* as reading becomes a phenomenological encounter in and of the world.

Several early modern theorists besides Sidney described poetry's presence emerging through height. Sometimes they are simply referring of course to the third style of rhetoric which is grander in scope and ambition than the lower or middle styles. But more complex and involving ideas of height again emerge in discussions such as George Chapman's epistle dedicatory to *Ovids Banquet of Sence* (1595) where the

*enargeia*, or clearness of representation required in absolute poems, is not the perspicuous delivery of a low invention but a high and hearty invention expressed in most significant and unaffected phrase. It serves not a skilful painter's turn to draw the figure of a face only to make known who it represents, but he must limn, give lustre, shadow and heightening; which though ignorants will esteem spiced and too curious, yet such as have the judicial perspective will see it hath motion, spirit and life.<sup>56</sup>

Excellent poetry with a 'high and hearty invention' – or what Sidney would call presence – rises off the page to meet us. As such, it achieves something more than mere accuracy of representation. Skilful poets use light and darkness ('lustre, shadow') to create an impression of depth, or 'heightening'. At such moments, the figure of a face re-animates before our eyes.<sup>57</sup> Although such poems may risk seeming 'spiced and too curious', alert readers will

recognise their ‘motion, spirit and life’. Again, ‘absolute poems’ are more than the sum of their features and phrases, and they achieve more than a resemblance to the real. Instead they demand our active engagement with the face which rises up before us. The kind of heightening Chapman describes is not so much a theory of authorship as a theory of reading which pays close attention to the dimensional space between reader and textual object. The reader is asked to engage intelligently and sympathetically, recognising the life within.

Chapman’s figure of a face recalls a passage in Horace’s *Epistles* which compares vivid poetic description to a skilled piece of carving. Thomas Heywood translates this same passage in his account of *hypotyposis* in his *Apology for Actors* (1612):

The visage is no better cut in brass,  
Nor can the carver so express the face,  
As doth the poet’s pen, whose arts surpass  
To give men’s lives and virtues their due grace.<sup>58</sup>

Here again, the face stands for a kind of authenticity, bringing real life before us. Just as a man’s features may be ‘moulded in statues of bronze’, so the poet strives towards realising these same lives and virtues. Poems invested with height and depth push out of the page like a sculpture which demands to be touched. Heywood and others may be remembering the etymology of *hypotyposis* which comes from the basic verb *typto*, meaning to beat or strike; or the nouns *typosis* and *typoma*, all of which are used to describe forming, moulding, or impressing one thing into another. Human presence - or what Heywood calls ‘due grace’ - is achieved when the poet pushes through the two-dimensional plane of the page, achieving a sense of height. Reading this kind of poem is like encountering its subject face-to-face, revealing life’s vivid, uncontainable presence beyond the sum of its separable parts.

Anatomy has always involved the separation of one organ from one another, or from the subject, as its etymological roots from the Greek *ana-* ‘up’ and *tomia* ‘cutting’ indeed suggest. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that the relationship between parts and wholes has always seemed so central to discussions about early modern embodiment – whether in the context of anatomy, or the study of the living body. As critics have emphasised the strange priority of the fragment, they have tended to see such fragments pointing back, finally, towards a lost bodily wholeness, or integrity. The isolated body part emerges as a source of anxiety, but this anxiety only momentarily puts the integrity of the whole under pressure. This essay has suggested however that the struggle to achieve height and depth in printed anatomy books points us instead towards a larger whole outside any orderly system of parts. Many of the questions posed by early modern medical anatomies involve a sense of incommensurability and wonder – and this cannot easily be dismissed as residual medieval faith confronting new science, nor simply as the inevitable consequence of witnessing the body’s undiscovered country for the first time.<sup>59</sup> Instead it suggests that the work of mapping the body also involved a recalibration of the relationship between self and other – with all the surprise, disorientation and vulnerability that this must involve. Manipulating the dimensional space between texts and readers, anatomists were also placing under pressure the fundamental categories of bounded personhood.

Reading Renaissance anatomies and literary theory side-by-side allows us to see how both were simultaneously addressing – for different reasons, and in different ways – important questions about knowledge formation, particularly the relative authority of textuality and lived experience. Printed anatomies and theories of poetry shared at this historical moment a commitment not to fragmentation, nor even to *synecdoche*, but rather to the vivid resources of *hypotyposis*. This is why the vocabulary of anatomy proved so useful to Sidney and others – not for its ability to scrutinise a landscape dispassionately through methodological order and containment, but rather for its re-negotiation of the spaces between texts and those who encountered them. Vesalius’ legacy in England prompted Crooke and others to probe further how older forms of anatomy (as *historia*) were morphing into mastery of the body’s territories through text and image; and how combining these two modes of representation might capture the pedagogically rich experience of witnessing an anatomy for oneself. Sidney and others were meanwhile exploring new theories of literary reception organised around ideas of height and depth, formulating a revised phenomenology of reading which could draw

on the same kinds of vividness, or presence, which animate our most involved and involving encounters. Through anatomy, then, poetry emerges not through its separable parts, nor even as the sum of its parts, but rather through the urgent questions it raises about our lived relations in the world. Anatomy and poetry were both working towards something new: an improvised, experiential knowledge which obliges us to recalibrate our relations with one another.



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- <sup>1</sup> *An Apology for Poetry, Or, the Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd, rev. R.W. Maslen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 100 and 97; *The Shepheardes Calender* in *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard A. McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999), p. 28.
- <sup>2</sup> See Cynthia Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy: Students, Teachers, and Traditions of Dissection in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 107-11.
- <sup>3</sup> Mary Claire Randolph discusses satire's 'omnipresent medical metaphor' in 'The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory: Its Possible Relationships and Implications', *Studies in Philology*, 38 (1941), 125-57 (p. 135).
- <sup>4</sup> On the modishness of anatomisation, see Devon L. Hodges, *Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985). Andrea Carlino also discusses 'the relationship of this science to other cultural determinants' in *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 3.
- <sup>5</sup> Hillman and Mazzio, eds., *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. xiii-xiv. See also Richard Sugg, 'The Anatomical Web' in Stephen Pender and Nancy S. Struever, eds., *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 101-109.
- <sup>6</sup> Brian Vickers, *English Renaissance Literary Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 403.
- <sup>7</sup> Stephen Pender, for example, proposes that critical fascination with anatomy has resulted in the 'relative neglect of the role of the living body'. See 'Signs of Interiority, or Epistemology in the Bodyshop', *Dalhousie Review*, 85.2 (2005), 221-37 (229).
- <sup>8</sup> *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995; repr. 1996), pp. 54-84. For a survey of literary responses to the new science of dissection, see Richard Sugg, *Murder After Death: Literature and Anatomy in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 127.
- <sup>9</sup> Richards and Wistreich, 'The anatomy of the Renaissance voice' in Anne Whitehead et al., eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 276-293 (277).
- <sup>10</sup> Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004); Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern*

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*England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. Paster, Floyd-Wilson and Katherine Rowe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> George Chapman's epistle dedicatory to *Ovids Banquet of Sence* (1595); see Vickers, *English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, p. 393.

<sup>12</sup> Baldasar Heseler, *Andreas Vesalius' First Public Anatomy at Bologna, 1540, an Eyewitness Report*, ed. and trans. Ruben Eriksson (Uppsala and Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksells, 1959), p. 47; quoted in Pender and Struever, *Rhetoric and Medicine*, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> Carrol Clarkson, 'Embodying 'you': Levinas and a question of the second person', *JLS*, 34 (2005), 95-105 (95).

<sup>14</sup> On the question of the images' attribution, see F. Guerra, 'The identity of the artists involved in Vesalius' *Fabrica* 1543,' *Medical History*, 13 (1960), 37-50.

<sup>15</sup> For a survey of this material, see Elizabeth Tebeaux, *The Emergence of a Tradition: Technical Writing in the English Renaissance, 1475-1640* (Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing Company, 1997), p. 53.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Tebeaux, *The Emergence of a Tradition*, p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> Crooke, *Mikrocosmographia* (1615), sig. D2v. On these divisions, see Matthew Landers, 'Early Modern Dissection as a Model of Organization', in Landers and Brian Muñoz, *Anatomy and the Organization of Knowledge, 1500-1850* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), pp. 9-23 (16).

<sup>18</sup> Vivian Nutton, 'Galenic Medicine' in *Ancient Medicine*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 236-53 (236). Sachiko Kusukawa however points out that Galen 'by his own admission had been unable to dissect humans'. See *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text and Argument in Sixteenth-century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 221.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Goulding, *Defending Hypatia: Ramus, Savile, and the Renaissance Rediscovery of Mathematical History* (Springer: London and New York, 2010), pp. 20 and 24.

<sup>20</sup> Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy*, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> The quotation is from Crooke, *Mikrocosmographia* (1615), p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature*, p. 22.

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- <sup>23</sup> Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature*, p. 9.
- <sup>24</sup> On the linked practices of ‘medical humanism’ more generally, see Carlino, ‘Medical Humanism, Rhetoric, and Anatomy at Padua, circa 1540’ in *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 111-128 (128).
- <sup>25</sup> See *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), sig. D1v.
- <sup>26</sup> *Somatographia Anthropine: Or, A Description of the Body of Man*, sig. A3v.
- <sup>27</sup> On the link between memory, knowledge and the spatial imagination, see Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2014), pp. 113-123.
- <sup>28</sup> Vesalius, *On the Fabric of the Human Body*, trans. W.F. Richardson and J.B. Carman (Norman: San Francisco, 1998-), 4 vols (vol. 1, p. 51). On the challenges involved in capturing the body’s complexity in textual form, see Robert Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration: From Antiquity to AD 1600* (London: Pitman Medical and Scientific Publishing, 1970), p. 105.
- <sup>29</sup> Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 115.
- <sup>30</sup> On early experiments in paper technology, see Braden Cormack and Carla Mazzio, eds., *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005), p. 104. ‘Flap anatomy’ books are described in Andrea Carlino, *Paper Bodies: A Catalogue of Anatomical Fugitive Sheets 1538-1687*, trans. Noga Arikha, in *Medical History* supplement no. 19 (London: Wellcome Institute, 1999).
- <sup>31</sup> Gianna Pomata, ‘Observation Rising: Birth of an Epistemic Genre’ in Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, eds., *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 45-80 (65).
- <sup>32</sup> George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca, N.Y. and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 323.
- <sup>33</sup> Katharine Park reconstructs the likely background of Vesalius’ subject in *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (Zone Books: New York, 2010), pp. 38 and 207-13. For a more general discussion of scopophilia in seventeenth-century writing, see Sarah Toulalan, *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 233-70. On public and private anatomy theatres, see Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy*, p. 35.

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- <sup>34</sup> Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy*, p. 98. See for example the title page woodcut for Martin Pollich, *Anathomia Mundini* (Leipzig, c. 1495), reproduced in Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration*, p. 63.
- <sup>35</sup> Emmanuel Levinas, *Entre Nous: Thinking of the Other* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), pp. 130-131 and 89.
- <sup>36</sup> Levinas, *Entre Nous*, p. 124.
- <sup>37</sup> Kent R. Lehnhof, 'Relation and Responsibility: A Levinasian Reading of *King Lear*' in *Modern Philology*, 111.3 (2014), 485-509 (494).
- <sup>38</sup> Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, p. 39.
- <sup>39</sup> Carlino, 'Medical humanism', p. 128.
- <sup>40</sup> Pender and Struever, eds., *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe*, p. 21. See also Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), pp. 1-24 (4).
- <sup>41</sup> On the links between medical knowledge and rhetorical theory more generally, see Ian Maclean's *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: the Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 101-205.
- <sup>42</sup> H.E. Butler, ed., *Institutio Oratoria*, 4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: W. Heinemann, 1920-1922), 12.10.61-62; vol. 4, pp. 484-7. On the place of the passions in ancient rhetoric, see Ruth Webb, 'Imagination and the Arousal of the Emotions in Greco-Roman rhetoric' in *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, ed. Susanna Morton Braund and Christopher Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 112-27.
- <sup>43</sup> Jonathan Lamb, 'The Sublime' in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 4: The Eighteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 394-416.
- <sup>44</sup> The early textual history is outlined by Bernard Weinberg, 'Translations and Commentaries of Longinus, *On the Sublime*, to 1600: A Bibliography', in *Modern Philology* 47 (1950), 145-51.
- <sup>45</sup> Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Republican Authorship: Lucan, Liberty, and the Sublime* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 12-21; Arthur F. Kinney, *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric and Fiction in Sixteenth-century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), pp. 199-201; and Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 297-99 and 307-10. See also David Sedley, *Sublimity and Skepticism in Montaigne and Milton* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), p. 10.

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<sup>46</sup> *An Apology for Poetry*, pp. 83 and 90.

<sup>47</sup> *Peri Hypsous (On the Sublime)*, trans. W.H. Fyfe and rev. Donald Russell (Cambridge, MA, 1995; rev. 1999), p. 163. For a summary of the treatise's engagement with the literary and rhetorical culture of the time, see J.W.H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity: A Sketch of its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 210-253 (esp. 219).

<sup>48</sup> *On the Sublime*, pp. 178-9.

<sup>49</sup> *An Apology for Poetry*, pp. 109, 110 and 101.

<sup>50</sup> *An Apology for Poetry*, pp. 91, 99 and 91.

<sup>51</sup> *An Apology for Poetry*, pp. 86, 110, 113, 98 and 97.

<sup>52</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Malcolm Heath (London: Penguin, 1996), 59a, p. 38; Aristotle later describes plots which have 'a single action of many parts' (59b, p. 39). *The History of Animals*, trans. A.L. Peck, 3 vols. (London: William Hienemann Ltd; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), vol. I, 491a-493a, pp. 34-49.

<sup>53</sup> *An Apology for Poetry*, p. 88.

<sup>54</sup> *An Apology for Poetry*, p. 97.

<sup>55</sup> *An Apology for Poetry*, p. 95.

<sup>56</sup> See Vickers, *English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, p. 393.

<sup>57</sup> Compare James Kearney's fascinating discussion of *praesentia*, or the presence of the holy, in Renaissance material objects – especially printed ones. See '“Relics of the mind”: Erasmian Humanism and Textual Presence' in *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 42-84 (esp. 54-63).

<sup>58</sup> Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.248-50; see *English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, p. 486.

<sup>59</sup> On the links between female dissection and holy spotlessness, see *Secrets of Women*, pp. 39-76.