

AN OPERA IN AID OF THE READING OF HISTORY

by

B. McEvoy Campbell

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2006

UMI Number: 3286469

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date Chair of Examining Committee Prof. Wayne Koestenbaum

Date Executive Officer Prof. Steven Kruger

Prof. Norman Kelvin _____

Prof. Scott Westrem _____
Supervisory Committee

Abstract

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Adviser: Wayne Koestenbaum

This thesis consists of six chapters and a frontispiece/CD recording of a song cycle, *Blue Orpheus: Hymns and Lullabies*, written and performed by the author. This arrangement responds to currents within queer theory, which view questions concerning its historical and philosophical origins as diversions from its ability to determine present conditions, by reframing these “presentist” (and its close relative, “performative”) orientations in terms of “place” and the corresponding laws and freedoms that originate from its cultivation—in politics, the art of memory, and systems theory and design. Generally speaking, to each concept of place I devote two chapters.

Chapter one develops the concept of “virtual place” deriving from systems theory and design to establish this text and its frontispiece—this “libretto” and its “music”—as an “opera” in six acts, i.e. chapters, with a large cast of philosophers, friends, authors etc.

The next two chapters explore the politics of place in terms of conceptions of the vernacular. In chapter two I discuss the linguistic geography and religiosity of Gertrude Stein’s quotation of Paul’s letter to the Galatians with the title of her Susan B. Anthony opera, *The Mother of Us All*. In chapter three I discuss the vernacular in terms of institutions; most particularly, the Erie Canal, the kinetoscope, and, above all, Henry James’s New York Edition.

Chapters four and five are grounded on the idea that a “premodern” art of memory (organized by *topoi*—places) operates beneath, and gives meaning to, “modern” forms and events. Chapter four explores a correspondence between frontispieces, those of Oscar Wilde’s *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.* and James’s New York Edition. Chapter five discusses how a diverse set of problems, including James’s relation to Paul Joukowsky, and Friedrich Nietzsche’s relation to Richard Wagner, may be “placed” according to the art of memory we know as music notation.

Finally, in chapter six I return to systems theory and design as a foundation for uniting the “places” disclosed in the forgoing chapters. These places, I conclude, return us to the philosophical and historical origins of queer theory.

The author would like to thank:

Profs. Patrick Cullen and Wayne Koestenbaum,
and his recording engineer/producer, Kazumi Umeda.

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Chapter One: Historically Informed Performance

I. Before

In Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Blue and Brown Books* I am surprised to find only a brief reference to the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, which reminds me that what must have first led me from the one book to the other—back home in Rochester, New York, (between semesters at the university in Chicago) where I looked up the *Tractatus* one afternoon at the old public library on the Genesee River—was that the Preface to the *Blue and Brown Books* was written by “Rush Rhees.” This peculiar name I knew well as it was also the name of the library towering over the University of Rochester, which I had come to know growing up as one of the more forlorn and constant echoes down the high-ceilinged hallways of the University's Eastman School of Music. This connection—mysterious and secret (for I told no one, and no one told me)—between Rochester and Wittgenstein would long remain beyond explanation, proof, or understanding, just as that afternoon at the Rundell Library and the walk home would long remain my measure of “religious” experience. It was in truth too far to walk, but I walked somewhere—guided by something (what had “understanding” to do with it?) which most resembled air.

But if asked to name what was in the air, my answer would be “Rush Rhees.” I have since learned that the Rush Rhees whose name I thought I recognized—the author of the Preface—bore the name of his father, after whom the university library was named, who in turn bore the surname of his family's benefactor, Benjamin Rush, the signatory of the Declaration of Independence and proto-psychotherapist. In 1899, having been

Professor of New Testament Interpretation at Newton Theological Seminary, the older Rhees became president of the University of Rochester, where his leadership was marked, above all, by his collaboration with George Eastman, the university's chief patron. He is buried behind the university in Mt. Hope Cemetery. His son is not, though in some ways, as will become apparent, he is even more emblematic of Rochester.

The writer of the Preface to the *Blue and Brown Books* was born in Rochester in 1905. After attending the Choate School in Connecticut, he went to his father's university for two years until certain of his activities and ideas were reported in February, 1924, on the front page of *The New York Times* beneath the headline "Radicalism of Rochester President's Son Causes Professor to Bar Youth from Class":

The "advanced ideas" of Rush Rhees Jr., son of the President of the University of Rochester, have caused him to be barred from the second semester of his ethics class at the university. His ideas are said to have conflicted with those of Dr. G. M. Forbes, head of the philosophy department. The student is 18 years old. His father and mother are abroad.

...

Young Rhees said the professor's action was "a blessing."

"I am a radical. Dr. Forbes is not. That is why I am barred from the course," the student said.¹

Rhees then moved to England, and from 1935 to 1939 studied with Wittgenstein at the University of Cambridge, and at the philosopher's death in 1951, became one of the three

¹ "Radicalism of Rochester President's Son Causes Professor to Bar Youth from Class," *New York Times*, 28 Feb. 1924, 1.

literary executors of his will.²

Sometime later, I would come to compare the “propositions” of the *Tractatus*—and the persistent if irrelevant associations of my *Tractatus* experience—with both the “axioms” of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s *Epistemology of the Closet* and the “polyvalence of discourses” originating at “the end of the sixteenth century” of Michel Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*.³

Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy.⁴

Wasn’t this “circulation,” however “contradictory,” also a “weaving of a fatefully impacted definitional fabric”?⁵ And if I did not understand it, or rather *because* I did not understand it, did I not nonetheless *feel* its “increased definitional pressure”⁶ as something like “the torsion, the mutual perversion ... of reference and performativity”?⁷

If the *Tractatus* seemed altogether too abstract for a sustained comparison, there was also, for me at least, Allan Bloom’s *The Closing of the American Mind* which, as Sedgwick assured her readers, was “unapologetically protective of the sanctity of the closet.”⁸

Around that time I came across a profile of Bloom in some Sunday magazine (not

² See “Introduction,” in Rush Rhees, *Rush Rhees on Religion and Philosophy*, ed. and intro. D. Z. Phillips (Cambridge, Eng.: University of Cambridge, 1997), xi-xxii.

³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980), 12.

⁴ Foucault, *History* 101-102.

⁵ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Some Binarisms (II): Wilde, Nietzsche, and the Sentimental Relations of the Male Body,” in *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California, 1990), 134.

⁶ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 136.

⁷ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Shame and Performativity: Henry James’s New York Edition Prefaces,” in *Henry James’s New York Edition*, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 208.

⁸ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 56.

The New York Times: I think it was *Parade*, but a day searching microfilms failed to turn it up) which described a class of his in which he was pestered by the politically correct questions of a student. Because I had dropped out of the University of Chicago before the end of that semester, this article was my only evidence that I had ever attended his class. Though I recognized myself in the author's "authentic" note of the student's black T-shirt, couldn't there have been other students in black T-shirts asking questions? For without this testimony, it would never have occurred to me to picture myself as having pestered Prof. Bloom, as my main recollection (besides his constant smoking) was more of a silent agreeing. The course was Shakespeare's Politics, and Bloom liked to soliloquize: "To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow..." When he finished, he looked about and asked if anyone ever felt "that way,"—meaning, presumably, like Macbeth—I almost said "about five times a day" but instead, and which I recall as being much more common, nobody said anything.

Years after his death in 1992, the world discovered from Saul Bellow's *Ravelstein* (2000), a novel about Bellow's friendship with Bloom, that he died from AIDS, uncannily fulfilling of one of the *Closet*'s tension-filled prophecies: "It is heartbreakingly premature for Bloom to worry, at least with regard to homophobic prohibition, that the times are now such that anything goes, that 'sexual passion is no longer dangerous in us.'"⁹ But whose heart has been broken?

I understood my enthusiasm for Bloom not in terms of his implicit or explicit (in which category does "unapologetic" belong?) defense of the closet, but in terms of his defense of music—about which in his particulars he was eccentric and uninformed, yet correct, and entirely alone, it seemed to me, in lamenting the wide chasm between music (popular and otherwise) and education (ditto). When I finally dropped out of college, after fading in and out for some years, it was to prove Bloom wrong by writing and

⁹ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 57-58.

singing songs. As I hadn't written or sung any yet, the first thing I did was to buy an autoharp.¹⁰

After learning the cause of his death I decided to "finish my semester" with Bloom by reading his translations: of Plato's *Republic* (the way in which Socrates "voice" took on Bloom's was uncanny), but more importantly, in retrospect, of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762). By this time I was fully embarked on my project of an "Epistemology of the Frontispieces" of Henry James's New York Edition. A friend once described the film version of *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) as America's Sistine Chapel, which description I thought contained much truth, for by then I had taken as the model for my opera the version of *Oz* with which I had grown up: the LP soundtrack recording and the film stills on the album cover in which it was packaged (and it was an *album*, opening like a book) had been the basis of my own mythology of what it was to be twistered at a young age to Rochester from Chicago's South Shore. However, it was no longer clear to me, if ever it was, whether *Oz* was the scene of my earliest childhood, to which I returned as a college student, or the intervening years of exile in Rochester.

James describes "The Curiosity Shop," the photograph of a store front that he chose for the frontispiece to the first volume of his novel *The Golden Bowl* (1909), as "a shop of the mind."¹¹ Here then, with my frontispiece-recording, would be an *opera* of the mind. This was the direction of my thoughts when I came across *Emile*'s "Explanation of the Illustrations":

I. The illustration, which relates to the first book and serves as

frontispiece to the work, represents Thetis plunging her son in the Styx to

¹⁰ A zither-like instrument with dampers for selecting chords, invented in mid-nineteenth century Germany, popular with folk and country musicians.

¹¹ Henry James, *Literary Criticism*, ed. Leon Edel and Mark Wilson, 2 vols. (New York: Library of America, 1984), 2: 1328.

make him invulnerable.

II. The illustration at the beginning of the second book represents Chiron training the little Achilles in running.

III. The illustration at the beginning of the third book and the second volume represents Hermes engraving the elements of the sciences on columns.

IV. The illustration which belongs to the fourth book and is at the beginning of the third volume represents Orpheus teaching men the worship of the gods.

V. The illustration at the beginning of the fifth book and the fourth volume represents Circe giving herself to Ulysses, whom she was not able to transform.¹²

“These explanations,” notes Bloom, “are Rousseau’s, who planned and commissioned the engravings. He considered them an integral part of the text.”¹³ That Bloom needs to explain this suggests that it was not generally recognized.

Of these illustrations I was and am most interested in that of Orpheus. Book IV contains the “Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar,” which, as Bloom explains,

had fatal consequences for Rousseau. It was condemned by the Catholics in France and the Protestants in Geneva. He thereby fell afoul of the authorities and became that outcast so familiar from *Confessions* and *Dreams of a Solitary Walker*. ... The theological-political situation was

¹² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Preface,” in *Emile or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (n.p.: Basic Books, 1979), 36.

¹³ Rousseau, *Emile*, 481.

such that he ... could [not] say directly all he thought on the question.¹⁴

Indeed, Orpheus is wearing a very heavy cloak.

Is it ever possible to say *directly* all one thinks on any question, or to know *everything* that one is saying? Not coincidentally, I think, this question comes up in a book review of *Ravelstein*:

Chick [the narrator] states that Ravelstein “despised campy homosexuality,” and yet he paraded about in gold Lanvin jackets, silk cravats, and diamond cuff links. The man was an academic Liberace ensconced in a drawing room complete with Oriental rugs, crystal chandeliers, and young men. How is it possible that someone can know intellectual matters so well, but not understand himself? Such a question is the focus of the novel, although Bellow may have not meant it to be.¹⁵

The reviewer’s comments also apply to the reviewer himself. His distinction between intellectual knowledge and self-knowledge, while obviously directed at Ravelstein/Bloom, and also at Chick/Bellow’s inability to control the discourse of his own novel, applies to his own literal understanding of Chick/Bellow’s literal understanding of Ravelstein/Bloom’s “I despise campy homosexuality.”

Liberace is famous for his camp, his closetedness, and for dying from AIDS; even more, he was simply famous, popular—one of the seven deadly sins of academia. This, I suggest, is the underlying meaning of the reviewer’s “Liberace”: he is common knowledge, vulgar. This is why “academic/Liberace” sticks out like one of Sedgwick’s endlessly

¹⁴ Rousseau, *Emile*, 490-491.

¹⁵ William G. Tierney, “Interpreting Academic Identities: Reality and Fiction on Campus,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 73.1 (2002): 161-172.

“productive” binarisms. The popular being vulgar, in bad taste, we are to laugh with the reviewer at Liberace’s ignorance. But do academics have good taste? Are their social positions comfortable? Here we might note in the fictionalization process that to effect the required distance between Chick and Ravelstein, to supply the required syllables for Bloom, the syllable subtracted from Bellow was insufficient. Then, we might choose not assume with the reviewer that “Ravelstein” was always “honest” with “Chick” who, being a “straight” (and monosyllabic) academic, could, in any event, hardly be misled by a (polysyllabic) “campy homosexual.”

Bellow’s critic does not consider that Liberace was also (above all?—*liber*—in Latin, “book” but also “free,” as in the seven liberal arts: the *trivium* (i.e., the trivial) plus the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music) a musician. It was Orpheus whom Rousseau chose to illustrate “The Profession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar,” and Bloom who chose to be his translator.

One of the things about camp is that it encourages us to assume that nothing is being told indirectly. That it could tell anything indirectly we find hard to imagine. But it is our own indirections that we thus deny; certainly we do not overcome them.

I am not the only one who has sensed that Bloom is best understood in terms of his relation to his teacher at the University of Chicago, Leo Strauss (1899-1973), the influential political philosopher best known for his “rediscovery” of the problem of natural right—“Professor Davarr” in *Ravelstein*. The Straussian vocabulary in Christopher Hitchens’s review alludes to this relationship:

There may or may not be a suggestive and contradictory connection between “Ravelstein’s” secretive sex life and his attachment to *arcane doctrines*—between the *erotic* and the *esoteric*—but Bellow can't seem to

be bothered with it [my emphasis].¹⁶

I, however, will be arguing that the connection between Ravelstein's "secret" sex life and Strauss's arcane doctrines is not simply contradictory or hypocritical—even if, in Hitchens's words, a philosophical movement associated with Strauss "regards 'sodomy' as sterile and nihilistic, and as an unmanly betrayal of tribe and family." This movement *may* use Strauss to justify its view of homosexuality as a violation of "natural law." Which trope *may* currently supply the moral cement of the American Right. But it is also possible to find in Strauss elements of a queer political philosophy. To a degree, Sedgwick recognized this queer philosophy when she characterized Bloom's "lesson" as "revealing oneself however *esoterically* [my emphasis]"¹⁷—but for her "esoteric revelation" has since been superseded by, if it is not simply antithetical to, the post-Stonewall demand for political rights—while for Bloom, queer philosophy can never be more than "tolerated."¹⁸

However much Bloom's vocabulary can be traced to Strauss—or, as I shall discuss below, however much Strauss's vocabulary can be traced to Carl Schmitt (1888-1985)¹⁹—it is equally true that it did not spring up fully-formed upon Strauss's entry into Hyde Park. As Paul Franklin demonstrates in "Jew Boys, Queer Boys: Rhetorics of Antisemitism and Homophobia in the Trial of Nathan 'Babe' Leopold and Richard 'Dick' Loeb," twenty years before Strauss and then Bloom arrived at the University of Chicago, from Germany and Indiana, respectively, the world (academics and non-academics) had come to know it as the scene of the "crime of the century."²⁰ I see the other end of this

¹⁶ Christopher Hitchens, "The Egg-Head's Egger-On," *London Review of Books* 22.9 (27 April 2000): 21-23.

¹⁷ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 55.

¹⁸ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 57.

¹⁹ The theme of "toleration" is Strauss's answer to Schmitt's friend/enemy opposition.

²⁰ In *Queer Theory and the Jewish Question*, ed. Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovits, and Ann Pellegrini (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 121-148.

cultural rainbow through mists and clouds on Canadian television when after the publication of *Ravelstein* Susan Sontag—"N.Y. Intellectual"—is said to share her "personal side" and "blasts fellow writer Saul Bellow for posthumously 'outing' celebrated American academic Allan Bloom."²¹ I *know*, however, that this is actually a *Chicago* story, that Sontag is settling turf wars from the South Side of her undergraduate days and before: this is not what I have done, I hope. If the "academic" vessel into which I have poured my story is centered there, this is because it is so: The person whom I shall call Eurydice was a "best friend" at my high school in Rochester, New York; though I little expected that after graduation I would see her again—much less that she would show up in Hyde Park, in Chicago, Illinois, at winter's end, as a fellow freshman. At first I did not recognize her.²² The following summer, with some other friends, we shared an apartment on 57th Street. Called away on a family occasion, I returned to be told of her having been kidnapped by her mother and step-father, as she had in fact obscurely prophesied. This is not the end of the story—I was to see her again, but if I mention that down the street there stood an abandoned Christian Science church which I then adopted as her shrine, let *this* stand as the beginning of the opera.

II. After

I was there when she was returned, some days later, to pick up her things, her kidnappers waiting in a car below (it was during the negotiations for this visit that we learned that she too was originally from Chicago). An encounter on the street with lots of shouting between all of us followed, during which Eurydice reproached me for going

²¹ "The Personal Side of N.Y. Intellectual Susan Sontag," *CBC Newsworld*, 22 January 2004 <<http://www.cbc.ca/hotttype/season99-00/00-05-12.html>>.

²² In part because of an operation she had had.

away, saying that this was what she had meant when she had asked me not to. I did not hear from her for two or three years. I later found out that, in a sad artificial retrograde motion, she spent part of this time at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts (the first stage in her kidnappers's obsession with getting her into Harvard). Much later I discovered that Joseph Cornell, the artist who would have understood her best, as I shall discuss in chapter three, had gone there too, sixty years too early.²³

She died of an overdose in Ithaca while a student at Cornell University. I found out a little more about her death while visiting a friend who was in graduate school. At a party someone said he recognized my name, for he too had been a friend of Eurydice's, and had in fact been the one who discovered her body. Should this have made us friends? It was too late for that; by then I had ceased seeking new interpretations. The drive up from New York City to Ithaca for her funeral crystallized the opera in terms of the Greek myth of Orpheus. I then did some research, determined to avoid the trap described in *The Madwoman in the Attic*: the several of us had lived together in that attic but none of us were mad, though we, each separately, often felt so. I saw the movie *Black Orpheus*, and read Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: that was another trap I wished to avoid as well. Eurydice was not my wife; I had not transferred my affections to boys. In fact, our friendship resembled most what I came across in a biography of Henry James, but even here it was not an exact match:

there had been between him and Fenimore a strange matching of the personalities, and strange distortions in the mutual vision of one another. ... Then apparently, in some way, Fenimore had made him feel that she made claims on him—claims he had not been prepared to meet.²⁴

²³ I will explore this in the chapter "Henry James and the Heart of New York State: The Quest for the Myth of the Kinetoscope."

²⁴ Leon Edel, *Henry James, A Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 309.

This is Leon Edel's version of James's friendship with Constance Fenimore Woolson, who killed herself by jumping out of a window in Venice, which he interprets in light of James's story "The Altar of the Dead." But he also mentions a later story, "The Beast in the Jungle," a later novel, *The Wings of the Dove*, and he finds other, earlier premonitions in the death of James's favorite young cousin, Minny Temple.

It was such a web of associations, not any particular strand, which I recognized from my own experience; as when Woolson first presents James (who was "still feeling his disillusion with Zhukovsky and it was pleasant to find a new admirer") with a letter of introduction from Minny Temple's sister, of Cooperstown, New York.²⁵ Zhukovsky was a young man with whom James, then also young, appears to have fallen in love; this, at least, is the conclusion of the most convincing of Sheldon Novick's artful reconstructions, in which scenes from James's fiction are lifted in their entirety and made part of his biography.²⁶

On this relationship Edel is not so explicit. For him, James's last meeting with Zhukovsky, whom he visited in a small town in Italy, remains an enigma. By this time Zhukovsky had attached himself to the inmost circle of Richard Wagner's entourage who lived nearby part of the year.²⁷ "What happened at Posillipo, in the environs of Naples, we can only guess." To this Edel adds an enigmatic coda:

Late in life Zhukovsky and James established touch again and a long, effusive, affectionate letter from the Russian remained among James's papers. It tells us little.²⁸

²⁵ Edel, *Henry James* 255.

²⁶ Here the work is *Confidence* (1879). See Sheldon Novick, *Henry James: the Young Master* (New York: Random House, 1996), 342.

²⁷ I will discuss this further in the chapter "Out of the Spirit of Music Notation."

²⁸ Edel, *Henry James* 253.

Here, I thought, were I able to reweave this web, was the model for the operatic song cycle which was slowly taking shape, *Blue Orpheus: Hymns and Lullabies*.

That Orpheus dealt in hymns—as Rousseau has it, “teaching men the worship of the gods”—was clear. But this left out (intentionally or not) the Orpheus who descends into Hades, who, to be sure that Eurydice is following, disobeys the divine order and looks behind himself—where we are still accustomed to believe lies the origin of things, and whose musical counterpart, so it seemed to me, was the lullaby. I sought what in German might be called the *Urlied*, the song from which all songs are sung, but which we can know only as two songs, hymns and lullabies, echoing one other or sounding together. Two of my songs from around this time (1991), “Tragic Blue” and “Ode to Henry James,” while not chronologically the first I composed, helped finally determine the opera’s spatio-temporal structure: one night’s cycle or succession of autobiographical dream-visions presented in the rough order of their occurrence or composition.²⁹

Behind my choice of the autoharp as my instrument lay several considerations. While a believer of the religion of the piano (Mrs. Zimmerman, my teacher, remains, for me, its high priestess), the practice of it proved too impractical. Another influence came from a different part of Rochester, and from a slightly earlier time: for some years I was one of a few kids who were fixtures on a children’s folk music show on the local public radio station. Its audience could not have been large. I was always surprised to meet anyone who had heard of, much less listened to it. “Fixture” is perhaps too strong a word, for the five or six of us youngsters were relatively anonymous back-up singers and raconteurs for the star, dulcimer virtuoso Mitzi Collins. That I have no memory of autoharps from Mitzi’s sessions (nor do I remember becoming aware of them) may be a direct reflection of her standards of historically informed performance: the autoharp was,

²⁹ See “Appendix I” for a complete program of the frontispiece.

by her standards, a late invention; as the fact that the word itself is a trademark indicates.

For education and music to mean anything, by themselves or for each other, or so it seems to me, there had to be a popular element, which neither the piano or the dulcimer could register. Neither was the guitar a temptation: I had contributed enough to the world's mediocrity as a pianist and violinist. From a technological and commercial standpoint, the autoharp's ease of operation anticipates the radio and the Kodak camera. I have since read that Maybelle Carter had a distinctive style of playing her autoharp but I don't believe anyone is prevented from imitating her. Finally, and, I suspect, most importantly, the form of the autoharp recalled to me a Greek lyre, so that it may be that an Orphic association was there from the beginning.

What I have discussed so far relates primarily to the "score" of my opera. Its "libretto," on the other hand, that which you are reading right now, involved many more questions, and remained an open question far longer.

One spring a couple years after dropping out, (it must have been when Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* first appeared in 1991) I read at a bookstore the entire seventy or so pages of its introduction ("Axiomatic"). The autobiographical passages relating to Bloom, so similar to my own, somehow helped to fill the sails of my operatic project. At the same time I gave up New York City—specifically the apartment on S. 2nd St. in Williamsburg, Brooklyn—for, eventually, Berlin, where I sought out the book some months later (to finish it) at the sleek *Staatsbibliothek*. But I did not find it and remember reading instead, for the rest of that long summer, the first two-thirds of Proust. What enabled me to complete so much was that within two days of my arrival I had met Sven, who invited me to move in. He had a couple of years earlier (as appears not to have been unusual), just before the Wall came down, entered West Germany from the East, through Czechoslovakia. It is perhaps too much to say that things didn't work out between us

because I was reading Proust all the time. In any case, Sven and Proust form a single figure, as is born out in two songs, “Remembrance of Things Past” and “Swann Lake,” written after my return to Rochester that fall and winter where I finished the final third. It was upon this return to Rochester that I also finished *Epistemology*, in the Rush Rhees library, I think.

During that summer in Berlin, I had been struck by the unexpected presence of something intimate to my childhood in Rochester: Christian Science churches.³⁰ Furthermore, the hopes and frustrations of that time revealed to me unimagined, unfathomed depths in these associations, so that I was later compelled to follow up these discoveries, lead where they may.

Perhaps I speak for others in saying that because I had come of age at the same time as queer theory, I had a greater faith (not that I recognized it as faith) in what its *Praxis* could accomplish. It is in this context that I contrast the *Staatsbibliothek*—and what I did not find there, with my Berlin Christian Science Church (red brick, midway between Arts & Crafts and *Bauhaus*, completely rebuilt after World War II)—and what there I did find: it did not lead backwards only; it was not just a museum; nor was it simply like the one I knew in Rochester; it was a miraculous bubble which for a time I hoped could be transferred to another medium, across an ocean, from “science” to “epistemology.” Returning to Rochester, disappointment with myself and the world set the stage for my disappointment with Sedgwick’s book’s second half (roughly equal in length to its introduction) which commenced for me a period of mourning and a melancholia entranced by its reflection in the chapter “The Beast in the Closet.”

In this chapter, Sedgwick, like Edel, reads “The Beast in the Jungle,” especially its

³⁰ My “method” of comparing passages from texts is not unlike, and may derive from, that suggested by the weekly lesson issued by the Church which pairs passages from the Bible with “correlative” passages from *Science and Health*. For more on this method see the section on Joseph Cornell in chapter three.

last paragraph, in light of James's relationship to Woolson.³¹ For me—now, at least—the more pressing issues of the story are whether a narrator and an author can, in fact, be identical, and whether an author's/narrator's epistemology might justifiably be “gorged” for rhetorical rather than “compulsive” (psychological) reasons (those of a fictional character no less).

Back then, however, what disappointed was not these theoretical points, but biographical ones, i.e., Sedgwick's hypothesis that James had depicted, despite himself, his own “heterosexual self-probation” (or “denied homosexual panic”) and that he “charged” this “expense” (“doubled,” in fact, by his “outrageous gift and his moral magnetism”) “most intimately” to Woolson.³² It was not clear to me why James's gift and magnetism should be counted as exacerbating circumstances of the relationship, rather than as its basis. I wondered whether the “doubly destructive interaction” stemmed entirely from James—his self-probation, his gift, his magnetism—and about Woolson's total passivity. Also, was it James's “mistake in life” (as opposed to some “mistake in art”?) to “move blindly” and then to “fail to resist actively”? Didn't the breakdown, said to occur in the story's final paragraph, between narrator and author (and the character Marcher) extend to the distinction between “life” and “art”? Wasn't this breakdown (plausibly, at least) itself an artistic effect?

The easy assumption (by James, the society, and the critics) that sexuality and heterosexuality are always exactly translatable into one another is, obviously, homophobic.³³

But by what standard was James's (or anyone's) assumption that sexuality and

³¹ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 200.

³² Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 196.

³³ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 196-7.

heterosexuality were translatable into one another judged to be “easy”? Rather, mightn’t the point be that it’s quite difficult, albeit compulsory, for all concerned? Was James compelled to bring this to our attention, or did he choose to? Amidst such questions, I held on to the life preservers thrown out in the sentence immediately following that which I have just quoted, on the “deeply heterophobic” which “denies the very possibility of difference in desires, in objects,” and in Sedgwick’s call for narrative “of a directly personal sort.”³⁴

But a recent rereading of *Epistemology* has reminded me of another set of objections from which I had long drifted, but which I have just as recently come to recognize as vital not only in terms of their importance to my former self, but to my current understanding of queer theory. Chapter Three, subtitled “*Billy Budd: After the Homosexual*,” contends that Herman Melville’s novella, *c.* 1891,

is a document from the very moment of the emergence of a modern homosexual identity. But already inscribed in that emergent identity seems to be ... the individual fatality that will metamorphose into the routine gay suicides and car crashes of the twentieth-century celluloid closet.³⁵

Here was not an over-reliance on questionable interpretations of James’s biography, but the absence of unquestionable aspects of Melville’s biography. Sedgwick glosses the narrator’s comment that Captain Vere “was old enough to have been Billy’s father” with a question: “what sentence could be, in itself, more classically equivocal (as prohibition, as invitation) than ‘I’m old enough to be your father?’”³⁶ This seemed (and still seems) an

³⁴ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 60.

³⁵ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 127.

³⁶ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 120 n.21. See also the quote from *Billy Budd* on page 117 ending: “The father in him [Vere], manifested toward Billy thus far in the scene, was replaced by the military disciplinarian.”

insufficient response, or no response at all, to the suicide, in 1867, of Melville's son, Malcolm, at the age of 18—even if one tried to justify it by the more general axiom: “The historical search for a Great Paradigm Shift may obscure the present conditions of sexual identity.”³⁷

Not long after I moved to New York City I visited Woodlawn Cemetery in The Bronx (probably in emulation of W.H. Auden's “At the Grave of Henry James”) where father and son are buried, in division 23. Only later, however, did it occur to me that what James and Melville had most in common, and of which James's grave in Cambridge, Massachusetts could give no indication, was the Empire State of New York.

My understanding of the significance of “empire” can be traced to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which I was partly inspired to read as a result of another of Sedgwick's asides:

if it is ambiguous whether every denizen of the obliterated Sodom was a sodomite, clearly not every Roman of the late Empire can have been so, despite Gibbon's connecting the eclipse of the whole people to the habits of a few.³⁸

I discovered, as I will discuss later in this chapter as well as in “Henry James and the Heart of New York State: The Quest for the Myth of the Kinetoscope,” the eclipse, and Gibbon's, James's and others's relations to it, are more complex.

In 1992 on the centenary of the death of the American architect, Alexander Jackson Davis, the Metropolitan Museum of Art presented an exhibition of his charming drawings, including one, from 1841, for “John B. James of Rhinebeck.” “At first sight” I

³⁷ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 44.

³⁸ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 128.

knew here was a relation of Henry James. This I confirmed some years later. That John B. and his son J. J. (or Johnny) both killed themselves, that the drawing in question was an unexecuted plan for Linwood, the Rhinebeck mansion on the Hudson memorialized in *A Small Boy and Others*: of this I knew nothing. However, as in my Berlin experience, I had begun to sense, and take literally, that architecture, rather than the more traveled routes of literary association, would be the “Northwest Passage” to my still as yet only vaguely sensed libretto.

Upon closer investigation into this matter, as I shall discuss later, I resolved to go to the University Library in Heidelberg, Germany. But first I was brought to the great Reading Rooms of the New York Public Library where the muffled sounds of 42nd Street given the effect of nature to the cloud-painted ceiling. As I waited for the call slip to be united with its bookish counterpart and brought to my assigned desk, I walked along a wall where for immediate access were displayed the works of our more prominent authors, including especially, in retrospect, those of Henry James, of which one title recommended itself to the occasion: *The Sense of the Past*. When later, in anticipation of the arrival of my prize, I placed it back on the shelf, the key had already turned within the lock.

The purpose of my visit was to see, following the revival of my interest in Christian Science during my time in Berlin, a rare first edition of *Science and Health* (1875), the Christian Science “textbook” by Mary Baker Eddy.³⁹ I found my purpose anticipated and described in the first chapter of James’s unfinished novel, which culminates with a quotation from the book on the philosophy of history written by its young hero, Ralph Pendrel, which I reproduce in its entirety:

There are particular places where things have happened, places enclosed

³⁹ The 1875 edition reflects her name at the time, Mary Baker Glover.

and ordered and subject to the continuity of life mostly, that seem to put us into communication, and the spell is sometimes made to work by the imposition of hands, if it be patient enough, on an old object or an old surface.⁴⁰

On the basis of Pendrel's book, *An Essay in Aid of the Reading of History*, a distant relative of his has bequeathed to him a townhouse in London. Pendrel moves in and, in the manner of ghost stories and his own *Essay*, exchanges places with the painted portrait of an ancestor.

If the intensity of this particular trip to the library was comparable to my earlier one involving the *Tractatus*, its duration was not, for I soon discovered that the particular object or surface I had sought (I quickly became an adept in Pendrellian thought) was forever locked away in the anonymous zeal of the benefactor who had too reverently taken the pages from their original brick-red cloth binding and "rebound" in what was more of a photo album. My hoped for "backward vision"⁴¹ did not exist—but as Pendrel takes on the life of another, might not I take on another's backward vision?

At any rate, this, I decided, is how I would proceed. Our vision leads us places, and even imparts knowledge, even if not of vision itself: the same holds true with our sense of the past. My intuition leapt to the logical culmination of these sorts of ideas: I would write my libretto in fulfillment of James's novel and Pendrel's essay on the philosophy of history; hence the titles of this work, *An Opera in Aid of the Reading of History*, and the final chapter "An Essay in Aid of the Reading of History" in which I suggest, among other things, that Beethoven's chamber music be read as history. Thus too began my search for a version of the Orphic myth which would unite its subject matter

⁴⁰ Henry James, *The Sense of the Past* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 34.

⁴¹ Another Pendrellism. See James, *Sense* 34.

with its mode of expression.

I finally came across the looked-for myth in 2001, in a retelling of the Orpheus myth attributed to John Scottus Eriugena,⁴² writing in the ninth century in a commentary on Martianus Capella's *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (c. 410-437). Eurydice is "the very art of music in its most profound causes." Orpheus

descends as if into a certain lower world of deep study, from which he brings back the rules of the art according to which musical sounds are arranged. But when he brings together the corporeal and transitory sounds with the profound invention of art, that very invention flees again into the depth of learning, since she cannot appear in sounds.⁴³

As I understand Scottus's myth, it reveals, most specifically, the ontology of music notation as it relates to the idea, at that time hardly a century old, of a new way of arranging musical sounds, i.e., that sounding phenomena are analogous to verbal phenomena.⁴⁴ Early notation was *itself* an art of music (whose relation to the other arts of music is precisely what was and is mysterious) and an art of memory, perhaps a new kind of memory. Early notation did not aim at "performance" but "memory," and memory was not mere storage, much less epistemologically "correct" storage of a static temporality ("of the past"), but rather dynamically contingent with the present ("the memory of God"), and future ("Prudence").

But my Orphic rediscovery of upstate New York led me to discover that it was not (only) James's *novel* which I had to fulfill. After James's death in 1916 and without

⁴² Not to be confused with the later (thirteenth-century) theologian Duns Scotus.

⁴³ Quoted by Susan Boynton in "The Sources and Significance of the Orpheus Myth in *Musica Enchiriadis* and Regino of Prüm's *Epistola de Harmonica*," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 60.

⁴⁴ I will develop this idea in my final chapter, "An Essay in Aid of the Reading of History," with reference to Plato's myth on the invention of writing.

his expressed authorization, *The Sense of the Past* and *The Ivory Tower* were published in 1917 as the last two volumes of the collection of stories and novels called The New York Edition whose first 24 volumes had been, in contrast, selected, revised, prefaced, and frontispieces chosen by James between 1907 and 1909. It slowly dawned on me that I was to fulfill not the Edition's homage to James's native *city* but to his *state* and the Edition's frontispieces which were to provide the underground passage between the philosophy of history of the Pendrellian *Essay* and the political philosophy of New York as it relates to both the State and the Edition; for if *music notation* has not been sufficiently recognized as an art of memory, neither have *frontispieces*. These two histories, these two divisions of history, are in some sense one, and their undivided history, finally, is the plot of my libretto.

III. Now

For Sedgwick, it is axiomatic that “The paths of allo-identification are likely to be strange and recalcitrant. So are the paths of auto-identification.”⁴⁵ Though I remain skeptical about the revelatory nature of speech acts, and of “identification” as *the* speech act, readers may take as proof of Sedgwick's axiom that I am recalcitrant about forming a narrative along the lines of “I identified myself *with* or *as* [insert category] when ...” and that I am strange because, when pressed, I shall identify myself with New York State, Christian Science and Orpheus. Illuminating these identifications is Leo Strauss's warning—which seems to me to diagnose both the danger which queer theory poses to itself and Bloom's actual relation to it—that “the intellectuals' attempt to escape

⁴⁵ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 59.

specialization through eroticism merely leads to specialization in eroticism.”⁴⁶ Given the esoteric framework of Strauss’s writing, his warning reveals its importance in two ways.

First, is its position, in a footnote, within a discussion of “the distinction between facts and values” as reflected in the contention of the sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) that “the ultimate values are simply in conflict with one another.”⁴⁷ In the main text, Strauss announces that he will discuss “two or three” of Weber’s proofs. The first proof is the undecidability of the ethical basis for social policy; the second is the conflict between the ethics “of responsibility” and “of intention.” If Strauss’s discussion of a third proof exists in the main text, it is not identified with anything like the clarity of the first two—at any rate, I am unable to identify it.

Second, the footnote seems calculated to mirror and deepen this lack of clarity: it numbers the examples⁴⁸ given by Weber as “three or four”—a statement qualified as follows:

The example which will not be discussed in the [main?] text concerns the conflict between eroticism and all impersonal or supra-personal values: a genuine erotic relation between a man and a woman can be regarded, “from a certain standpoint,” “as the sole or at any rate as the most royal road” to a genuine life...⁴⁹

One implication, then, given the larger context of Strauss’s discussion of facts and values, is that in contrast to the *questionable* “facts” (“two or three” or “three or four”) of the other proofs/examples is the *certain* “value” (positive or negative) of the conflict between

⁴⁶ Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 68n.

⁴⁷ Strauss, *Natural Right* 67.

⁴⁸ For simplicity, I am using Strauss’s terms “examples” and “proofs” as synonyms.

⁴⁹ The entire footnote should be consulted. See Strauss, *Natural Right* 67-8.

the supra-personal and the erotic.

The myth of Orpheus's being torn limb from limb echoes Strauss's warning against (but which is also an invitation of sorts) specialization in eroticism. At the same time, the freedom intrinsic to an "intellectual specialization" which has not been qualified in some way is the great strength of queer theory and worthy of preservation. This opera attempts to rewrite Orpheus's fate by rewriting what appears to be his only, and too vertiginous, alternative—"specialization in specialization"—as a specialization in "place," by drawing on its complimentary functions in political philosophy, the art of memory, and systems design.

I shall develop this specialization in place in terms of a critique of the political myth of "space" set forth in *Land and Sea* (1942) by Strauss's onetime mentor, Carl Schmitt, who cosponsored Strauss's successful application for the Rockefeller Fellowship which enabled him to leave Germany in 1932.⁵⁰ Schmitt not only connects his political myth of space to architecture ("[u]nlike the temples of Antiquity and the Renaissance architecture that would follow it, Gothic art imparts a particular thrust and movement that dislodge space") but to music, which "broke free from the constraints of the ancient tonalities and placed its tunes and harmonies inside the acoustical space of our so-called tonal system."⁵¹ By reconceiving 1) the "placement of tunes" in terms of "placement" as a function of music notation's relation to the art of memory and 2) "acoustical space" in terms of the "virtual places" of systems design, my critique will involve a reversal of the art-historical hierarchy (followed by Schmitt) that places architecture above and before music. As a response to a particular phase of queer theory this solution may already have been superseded, but I hope it may then still be of use for future research as a history in its own right.

⁵⁰ Jacob Taubes, *The Political Theology of Paul*, ed. Aleida Assman ... [et al.] and trans. Dana Hollander (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 4.

⁵¹ Carl Schmitt, *Land and Sea*, trans. Simona Draghici (Washington, D.C.: Plutarch Press, 1997), 33, 36.

1. *The Political Theology of Paul*

I had never heard of Carl Schmitt—the Leni Riefenstahl of “state law theorists”—until he appeared, at the end of the day, at the center of this dissertation. Placing him at this center is a letter addressed to him, in 1979, by Jacob Taubes, a former student of Gershom Scholem, who writes

I must return to your now forty-year-old little book about the symbol of Leviathan [published in 1938] and can only harbor sad thoughts about scholarly progress. I don’t know whether one ought not to read Hobbes even more literally than you propose. Why should Leviathan be considered only a “literary idea”?⁵²

Taubes pursued his proposal some time later in lectures given in Heidelberg at the end of his life as a sort of last will and testament titled *The Political Theology of Paul*, which reading of the symbol of Leviathan has much in common with my reading of James’s New York Edition.

Taubes complains that the literature on Hobbes

reads past the text—while Hobbes himself, in words and image, left no room for interpretation about the fact that the Leviathan discusses the situation of the commonwealth as (first) ecclesiastical (and then) civil.⁵³

⁵² Taubes 111.

⁵³ Taubes 111.

I wonder if, for Taubes, the “firstness” of the ecclesiastical is embodied in Hobbes’s frontispiece in the *Leviathan*’s holding his crosier towards the reader while keeping his sword at a distance. In any event, the striking implication of Taubes’s “sad thoughts about scholarly progress” is, I believe, found in his subsequently noting that the students of his lectures on Hobbes and Spinoza “at best have [Leo] Strauss.”⁵⁴ From this I conclude that one purpose of Taubes’s lectures is to supply or at least to indicate something better than what has been supplied or indicated by Strauss.⁵⁵ Thus, I shall read Taubes’s *The Political Theology of Paul* not only as his exoteric revelation of and reply to an actual meeting with Schmitt (which resulted from the letter I have quoted), but also as an esoteric commentary on Strauss, which, together, ultimately suggest a political theology of upstate New York.

Though Bloom credits Strauss with the “discovery” of esoteric—or secret—writing, and states that out of this discovery “emerged the great themes that dominated the rest of Strauss’s life: Ancients and Moderns, and Athens and Jerusalem,”⁵⁶ a sentence from Schmitt’s book on Hobbes suggests that more than one person may have been involved in this discovery: “Like all the great thinkers of his times, Hobbes had a taste for esoteric coverups.”⁵⁷ (Below, I suggest Strauss’s discussion of Weber’s distinction between facts and values present a similar case.) Not coincidentally, I believe, Taubes’s letter to Schmitt also includes a discussion of secret writing:

What is important for so distinguished a stylist ... is not (only) what he

⁵⁴ Taubes 112.

⁵⁵ Taubes’s book is thus an implicit critique of the “hidden dialogue” in Heinrich Meier’s *Carl Schmitt & Leo Strauss: The Hidden Dialogue*, trans. J. Harvey Lomax, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

⁵⁶ Bloom, “Leo Strauss: September 20, 1899 - October 18, 1973,” in *Giants and Dwarves* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 244.

⁵⁷ Carl Schmitt, *The Leviathan in the State Theory of Thomas Hobbes*, trans. George Schwab and Erna Hilfstein (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 26.

repeats often, and what can (and should) therefore be processed with a computer, but one must above all else attend to what is introduced for one time only, in a flash, his “leap” ...⁵⁸

Accordingly, I suggest, just such a flash or exception is Taubes’s reference to Strauss’s book on Hobbes (the “state of exception” is a key phrase from Schmitt’s *Political Theology* (1922), which influenced, among others, Walter Benjamin, as I will discuss below). Furthermore, if we can trust Taubes’s editors, the letter to Schmitt also includes a *silent* (esoteric) criticism of Strauss’s *Spinoza’s Critique of Religion* (1930/65):

(It would be a worthwhile project to write something about the two bridgeheads of Scripture in Spinoza’s doctrine [i.e., King Solomon and the Apostle Paul], which of course officially insists on effecting the division of theology and philosophy, a treatise that can be justified with reference to the Bible.)⁵⁹

To appreciate this parenthetical remark, it is helpful to keep in mind Miguel Vatter’s succinct analysis of a difference between Schmitt and Strauss. For Schmitt,

the alliance between Christianity and Enlightenment characteristic of modern European secularism is possible on condition that one construe Christianity as anti-Judaism, and Enlightenment as anti-Spinozism;

while in response to Schmitt Strauss affirms “the strict opposition, to the point of

⁵⁸ Taubes 111.

⁵⁹ Taubes 77.

contradiction, between Judaism and Spinozism.”⁶⁰ To the Pauline half of Taubes’s “worthwhile project” I hope to contribute by discussing in greater detail Strauss’s redefinition of his relation to Schmitt in two works from 1965, one being the first English edition of his *Spinoza’s Critique of Religion*.

To this English edition, Strauss added not only a translation of his “Notes on Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*” (1932) but a Preface that includes two statements placed significantly at the beginning and ending which refer back to the earlier time:

The study on Spinoza’s *Theological-Political Treatise* to which this was a preface was written during the years 1925-28 in Germany. The author was a young Jew born and raised in Germany who found himself in the grips of the theological-political predicament.

I now read the *Theological-Political Treatise* differently than I read it when I was young. I understood Spinoza too literally because I did not read him literally enough.⁶¹

Strauss’s second work of 1965 is the first German edition of his *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes* (my best guess for the work which Taubes qualifies as “at best”), to which Strauss added a Preface that explains its origins in Schmitt’s *The Concept of the Political* (1927) and the “reawakening of theology,” Christian and Jewish respectively, inaugurated by Karl Barth and Franz Rosenzweig.⁶²

⁶⁰ Miguel Vatter, “Strauss and Schmitt as Readers of Hobbes and Spinoza: On the Relation between Political Theology and Liberalism.” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 4:3 (2004): 165.

⁶¹ Leo Strauss, “Preface to *Spinoza’s Critique of Religion*,” in *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 173, 137.

⁶² Leo Strauss, “Preface to *Hobbes Politische Wissenschaft*,” in *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 453.

Taubes's letter deploys quotations from the *Leviathan* book of his correspondent (Schmitt) to draw a condensed, un-Schmittian parallel between Spinoza and Paul:

It was not only the "first liberal Jew" [Spinoza] who discovered the "barely visible crack," [in the artificial state] but the Apostle Paul (also highly "valued" by the "first liberal Jew") to whom I turn at the turn of the ages, distinguished inside and outside, [to whom I turn] also for "the political."⁶³

According to Strauss, Spinoza was "'a Christian with the Christians' in exactly the same way in which, according to [Spinoza], Paul was 'a Greek with the Greeks and a Jew with the Jews.'"⁶⁴ Though Taubes is more concerned with Paul's Judaism than Spinoza's, by claiming Paul as a Jew he nonetheless undermines the appropriation of Paul in Strauss's arguments in favor of Spinoza's anti-Judaism or atheism.

Another aspect of the Strauss-Schmitt relationship on which Taubes's parenthetical remark shines light is the distinction between facts and values. The rules of secret writing suggest that Taubes's above-noted silent reference to *Spinoza's Critique of Religion* may be a parody of the chapter of Strauss's *Natural Right and History* which criticizes Weber's position on the distinction between facts and values without mentioning similar discussions in Schmitt's *Political Theology* (1922) the thesis of which is that

all significant concepts of modern theory of the state are secularized
theological concepts not only because of their historical development ...

⁶³ Taubes 112.

⁶⁴ Leo Strauss, "How to Study Spinoza's *Theological-Political Treatise*," in *Jewish Philosophy* 216.

but also because of their systematic structure.⁶⁵

Taubes's own contribution to the question of facts and values, especially as it relates to the ability of "social science" or "social philosophy" to make value judgments, must first be understood in the context of his exoteric reply to Schmitt's Catholic antisemitism. Taubes interprets Schmitt's *The Concept of the Political* and its positing of a distinction for politics between "friend" and "enemy" analogous to those which commonly said to hold for aesthetics (beautiful/ugly), ethics (good/bad)—and by implication and most importantly, for Paul's theological allegory (Isaac/Ishmael)—in light of Romans 11:28: "As concerning the gospel, [they are] enemies for your sakes; but as touching the election, [they are] beloved for the fathers' sake."

Taubes's questioning of Strauss's authority on Hobbes, his claiming Nietzsche as an authoritative reader of Paul,⁶⁶ his identification of Walter Benjamin (rather than Strauss) as Schmitt's true interlocutor, and his rehabilitating and reinterpreting, as a worthy heir of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Sigmund Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*, all underscore that however absent Paul's Judaism is from Schmitt's concept of the political, its absence from Strauss's is even more profound.

Taubes's discussion of Nietzsche culminates in his reinterpretation of *Moses and Monotheism*. On Freud's comment on Paul's abandonment of the chosenness of his people (circumcision)—"a part may have been played in Paul's taking this step by his personal desire for revenge for the rejection of his innovation in Jewish circles"—Taubes comments: "Here you can hear Nietzsche. 'Desire for revenge,' that's resentment."⁶⁷

What remains to be said of Nietzsche can wait until we return to Freud.

As regards Schmitt's and Benjamin's relationship, even more important for

⁶⁵ Schmitt, *Political Theology* 36; see also 30-35.

⁶⁶ Taubes 79: "Nietzsche has been my best teacher about Paul."

⁶⁷ Taubes 92.

Taubes than the debt to Schmitt in Benjamin's *The Origin of the German Tragic Drama* (1928),⁶⁸ is the relation signaled in the eighth of Benjamin's eighteen "Theses on the Philosophy of History":

The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the "state of exception" in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is in keeping with this insight. Then we shall clearly realize that it is our task to bring about a real state of exception, and this will improve our position in the struggle against Fascism.⁶⁹

Directly related to Taubes's earlier-quoted comment about the need to read Hobbes's frontispiece "even more literally" (i.e., than, for instance, Strauss did) is his comment that Benjamin's theses were "written eye to eye with the theses of Carl Schmitt."⁷⁰ The literal reading of Paul Klee's painting *Angelus Novus* in the ninth thesis is a direct response to Schmitt's "reading" of Hobbes's frontispiece.

According to Horst Bredekamp, these visualizations of Hobbes, Schmitt and Benjamin constitute a "Pandora's box" of "art theory" that involves "the filling of time with substance."⁷¹ My understanding of Hobbes's frontispiece, its precursors and imitators is more historical, if equally obtuse. They are embodiments of the symbiotic evolution of the art of memory and the cultural hegemony of the codex over the scroll.⁷²

⁶⁸ Taubes 7: Schmitt's *Hamlet or Hecuba* is "the first and most interesting critical treatment of *Origin of Tragic Drama*."

⁶⁹ Quoted by Horst Bredekamp in "From Walter Benjamin to Carl Schmitt, via Thomas Hobbes," *Critical Inquiry* 25 (Winter 1999) : 263-64.

⁷⁰ Bredekamp 263.

⁷¹ Bredekamp 265. See also Bredekamp's note on page 264 to his "Kunsttheoretische Topoi in Thomas Hobbes's Definition des Leviathan," in *Formen des Wissensvermittlung*, ed. Gary Smith (Berlin, 1998).

⁷² The Torah's remaining as a culturally functioning scroll cannot be overestimated.

This evolution indicates a fundamental aporia of western culture to which Nietzsche's concern with Socrates might have been even more profitably directed. Underlying the codex (which is the necessary presupposition of the frontispiece) are presupposed distinctions between "Christian," "pagan," and "Jewish." Scottus's retelling of the Orphic myth is a palimpsest of this evolution.

The following quotation on the illustration on the dust jacket of the second edition of Schmitt's *The Leviathan in the State Theory of Hobbes: Meaning and Failure of a Political Symbol* (1982), because of its unjustified and inexact inferences into the intentions of Schmitt and Hobbes, provides a cautionary example of what, in later chapters, I hope to avoid in my explorations of the frontispiece:

The frontispiece that presently adorns Schmitt's *Der Leviathan* bears this [the "failure" identified in the full title] out: it features a beached whale, harpooned and subdued by the fishermen who surround it ... a far cry from Hobbes's English edition of his work.⁷³

However, as the following personal communication shows, because the illustration was chosen by Schmitt's editors it tells us nothing about his intentions, certainly not those of the first edition:

Asking Mr. Mashcke [Schmitt's editor] he told me that he had consulted Prof. Berhnhard Willms [sic], author of 'Die Antwort des Leviathan', and they decided together for the picture of the beached whale, because it

⁷³ John P. McCormick, "Fear, Technology, and the State: Carl Schmitt, Leo Strauss, and the Revival of Hobbes in Weimar and National Socialist Germany," *Political Theory* 22.4 (1994): 639. See also Reinhard Mehring, "Konfliktdynamik des Feindbegriffs. Über Carl Schmitts Suche nach dem 'wirklichen Feind,'" *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 48 (2004): 119-128.

shows the measuring of a large fish.⁷⁴

If this illustration says little about Hobbes or Schmitt's *Leviathan* book, it alerts us to the care that should inform readings of frontispieces, I will nonetheless suggest that it is indicative of Schmitt's subsequent career beginning with *Land and Sea* (1942/54) and his remarkable self-identification with the work of Herman Melville.

Despite or perhaps because of what Taubes's editors characterize as the "fragmentary" character of his reading of *Moses and Monotheism* ("Freud, who is involved with the basic experience of guilt, is a direct descendant of Paul") it impinges on each of the previously mentioned criticisms of Strauss.⁷⁵ At the same time, one need not establish that Taubes actually knew of Strauss's lecture "Freud on Moses and Monotheism" (not published until 1997) to be struck by the correspondence of their disagreements on several key points.

Freud's use of Robertson Smith's contention that the practice of a rite emerged before the formulation of its corresponding belief is one of Strauss's chief points of criticism:

[Freud] uses all the time ethnological theories, although ethnology is a field wholly outside his competence, as he readily admits, and he chooses to reject ethnological theories without even attempting to discuss them.⁷⁶

This criticism should be contrasted with Taubes's explicit defense of Smith (and thereby of Freud). On the censorship of the first edition of *The Religion of the Semites* by the

⁷⁴ Personal communication from Ernst Hüsmert, 5 June 2005.

⁷⁵ Taubes 89.

⁷⁶ Leo Strauss, "Freud on Moses and Monotheism," in *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 301.

Consistory of the Presbyterians in England Taubes comments:

This is a powerful book even today, and all the findings of its flaws in it don't approach its level. Here Freud's position is clear; he will not allow the newest fashions in ethnological literature to sweep away fundamental experiences.⁷⁷

Strauss and Taubes also disagree about the implications of the ideas of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744-1829) to which Freud remained stubbornly attached:

I have argued as if there were no question that there exists an inheritance of memory—traces of what our forefathers experienced, quite independently of direct communication and of the influence of education by example. When I speak of an old tradition still alive in a people, of the formation of a national character, it is such an inherited tradition, and not the one carried on by word of mouth, that I have in mind. ... This state of affairs is made more difficult, it is true, by the present attitude of biological science, which rejects the idea of acquired qualities being transmitted to descendants. I admit, in all modesty, that in spite of this I cannot picture biological development proceeding without taking this factor into account.⁷⁸

My sense is that as we look deeper into “the art of memory” we will find that Strauss, by avoiding the vocabulary of genetic biology (even though this is what he appears to mean), has inadvertently brushed up against its true cultural significance:

⁷⁷ Taubes 92.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Strauss, “Freud” 299-300.

Here is a great difficulty which is in no way disposed of but merely noted.

To put it mildly and politely, we do not have knowledge of the possibility of a group memory different from that actualized by tradition.⁷⁹

Equally significant, neither does Taubes attempt to “explain away” the problem of genetic biology; instead he simply distinguishes between a nineteenth-century and a twentieth-century Freud: “That there is a child, that the child has drives, that these drives are murderous, who was able to think these things in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?”⁸⁰ Taubes’s positive contribution to the question of facts and values is his locating the primary site of intersecting forces of Judaism in the presupposition of “fatherhood” and a “Father religion”—i.e., “childhood”: “What is here developed as a conceptual network in the way of historical truth, of tradition and memory, of distortion—against this, all the so-called exegeses that comes from here is simply trivial.”⁸¹ If behind Freud we also discern Nietzsche’s own understanding of “atavism” these points of disagreement between Strauss and Taubes relating to the “conceptual network” of Paul and Freud confirm Schmitt’s place at the center of my operative project.⁸²

Also in the shadows of Taubes’s defense of Robertson Smith is Freud’s even more ambiguous relation to Hans Blüher, a leader of the German Youth Movement and author of *The German Youth Movement as Erotic Phenomenon* (1917-18). As noted by Jay Geller:

While writing *Totem and Taboo* [1912-13] Freud was engaged in an extensive epistolary debate and an exchange of writings with Blüher over

⁷⁹ Strauss, “Freud” 300. Does Strauss mean to imply that “instinct” is not a group memory? That Darwinism is the last word on history? See also note 85.

⁸⁰ Taubes 88.

⁸¹ Taubes 95.

⁸² Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, trans. Marion Faber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 157.

the nature of homosexuality and its role, in particular, in the German youth movement and by extension in social formation.⁸³

With *Moses and Monotheism*, however, this debate with Blüher ends, according to Geller, ambiguously, if not contradictorily:

any suggestion of homosexuality in the relationships and rivalries between the brothers is avoided. Instead he writes that the brothers clubbed together and stole wives. ... Yet Freud implicates homosexual rivalry when addressing the origins of antisemitism.⁸⁴

While I am keen to point out the parallels between Freud and Hobbes which Geller helps us see in greater relief, my principal point is lost if we do not recognize in Geller's account that which Taubes would term trivial exegesis—Geller's unquestioning support for the “science” of genetics over that of psychoanalytic Lamarckism. Geller's geneticism trivializes his discussion of the relation between homosexuality and cultural formation: “while Freud can explain how humanity survived, he still begs the question of how these dispositions were genetically passed on.”⁸⁵ There is a powerful correspondence between a refusal to trivialize Lamarckism (*and* homosexuality) and the sense that Freud was

⁸³ Jay Geller, “Freud, Blüher, and the *Secessio Inversa: Männerbünde*, Homosexuality, and Freud's Theory of Cultural Formation,” in Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovits, and Ann Pellegrini, eds., *Queer Theory and the Jewish Question* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 94.

⁸⁴ Geller 110-11.

⁸⁵ Geller 100.

essentially, or importantly, on target.⁸⁶

Put differently, Paul's abandonment of the chosenness of his people bears comparison to Freud's "abandonment" of central role of homosexuality in cultural formation during the Ice Age which he formulated in the once-lost "Overview of the Transference Neurosis" (recovered in 1983, but not mentioned by Taubes):

it is very possible that the long-sought hereditary disposition for homosexuality can be glimpsed in the inheritance of this phase of the human condition. The social feelings that originated here, sublimated from homosexuality, became mankind's lasting possession, however, and the basis for every later society.⁸⁷

Having established the correspondence between *Leviathan* (which describes something composed of men who have renounced civil war, i.e., revenge) and "Overview of the Transference Neurosis," one step remains to bring Freud to bear in greatest elucidation of Schmitt and Strauss.

⁸⁶ If currently, a renewed sense of the *scientific* possibilities of Lamarckism (which points towards its *historiographical* possibilities) is associated with the interaction between evolution and quantum mechanics, I also believe that future progress will be aided by recognizing on a conceptual level the decisive contribution of Lamarck's *Philosophie zoologique* (1809) to the 18th century zoological understanding of "method" as a kind of artificial memory and the related, more ancient idea of "a total correspondence between the terms of the encyclopedia and the reality of things." See Paolo Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), xxv. Cf.: "We need a new scientific theory which has nothing to do with religion. But we can guess that like the Big Bang theory in comparison to the theories which preceded it, or like quantum physics in relation to classical physics, this new theory will, without proving the existence of a 'designer', be much more compatible with a non-materialist conception of the world than Darwinism. Meanwhile what we need to remember is that there is a lot of potential research while we leave the dogma of Darwinian fundamentalism (and, for historical reasons the non- existence of Lamarkien processes in nature is perhaps the most essential [dogma] of all)." Jean Staune, "Darwinism Design and Purpose: A European Perspective." Science and Religion: Global Perspectives. Philadelphia, PA. 12 Aug. 2005 <<http://www.metanexus.net/conference2005/pdf/staune.pdf>>.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Geller 99.

2. *Land and Sea*

The other letter of Taubes's reproduced in *The Political Theology of Paul* has a slightly different target—Schmitt's post-Nazi, postwar memoir, *Ex Captivitate Salus* (1950), but it also includes a criticism aimed, so it appears, at either Schmitt's *Land and Sea* (1942/54) or at the restatement of its theme in *Nomos of the Earth* (1950), Schmitt's *magnum opus*. Taubes's comment: "Earth and sea—without human beings, the elements after all remain 'matter' (not even 'matter')," may be understood to refer to the idea set forth in *Land and Sea* that the history of global politics is dictated by the four elements (earth, water, air and fire).⁸⁸

Schmitt's translator argues that *Land and Sea* is in fact an extension of the Leviathan book: "he takes it upon himself to rescue the symbol and restore it to its original element."⁸⁹ Thus Schmitt argues that the British Empire resulted when Britain devoted itself to the sea, when it became Leviathan. All previous Empires, it seems, where land-bound, especially—for comparison—that of Venice. To illustrate this point Schmitt notes that the last feat in Venice's history, the battle of Lepanto in 1571, "was given with the same technical means which by and large had been employed at Actium":

the Roman's boarded the enemy vessels by thrusting gang planks at them as bridges and so were able to board their enemy's ships in a way that made the confrontation that followed look like a land battle.⁹⁰

Schmitt's myth, like all well-constructed myths, is deceptively simple: each part is

⁸⁸ Taubes 109.

⁸⁹ Simona Draghici, "Foreword," in Carl Schmitt, *Land and Sea*, trans. Simona Draghici (Washington, D.C.: Plutarch Press, 1997), viii.

⁹⁰ Schmitt, *Land* 2.

necessary; none is affected without affecting the whole, as suggested Schmitt's professed ambivalence about pursuing its future implications,

the question of the two elements that are to be added to earth and water ...
give occasion to ruminations in which serious thinking is too tightly bound
to speculation.⁹¹

Nonetheless, he speculates that the dominant element of our era is not air but fire. (While Schmitt does not explicitly say so, the period of the element of air seems to have begun in the perfection of sailing and, one guesses, ended at Kitty Hawk.) Another corollary of Schmitt's is that the distinction land/sea is now redundant.⁹² However it is precisely this "redundancy" that I wish to revisit, not simply as it relates to Schmitt's history of space (for, according to Schmitt, a different history of space corresponds to each element) but as this history relates to his understanding of, and identification with, Herman Melville.

For Schmitt, perceptions of space are all-important: they contain "the true core of the global mutation, political, economic and cultural."⁹³ "Every basic order is a spatial order. To talk of the constitution of a country or a continent is to talk of its fundamental order, of its *nomos*."⁹⁴ Though Schmitt cites the historian Jules Michelet (whom we shall encounter in later chapters), his central informant on oceanic space is a native of New York State, Herman Melville:

he is to the world of oceans what Homer was to the Eastern
Mediterranean. His *Moby Dick* (1851) is a vivid fresco and the most

⁹¹ Schmitt, *Land* 58.

⁹² Schmitt, *Land* 59.

⁹³ Schmitt, *Land* 29.

⁹⁴ Schmitt, *Land* 37.

beautiful epic dedicated to the oceanic element.⁹⁵

A rule of secret writing—that which is more important is more secret—suggests that Melville is more important than Michelet, as in the following passage:

Looked at from the sea, a whole country may seem the very picture of a shipwreck washed ashore by the waves. An illustration of this perspective, extreme in its formulation and quite astounding, are Edmund Burke's words: Spain—a great whale stranded on the shores of Europe.⁹⁶

Schmitt's translator, without specifying his source, identifies this as a silent reference to Melville because Burke's words, it turns out, were not, directly, Burke's, but were found by Schmitt in the "Extracts" which functions as a written, rather than illustrated, frontispiece to *Moby Dick*. There, Melville identifies his source as "*(somewhere)*."⁹⁷ (I have therefore adapted the translation to match Melville's actual quotation, inexplicably not followed by Schmitt's translator.) Taking Schmitt's quotation of Melville in the spirit of Taubes, i.e., as literally as possible, I suggest that the "political, economic and cultural" placement of "*somewhere*" ends by re-affirming Henry James's considering (without his making a final decision) the river town of Hudson, founded 110 miles inland as a whaling port by Nantucketers, as "the heart of New York State."⁹⁸ Prior to the arrival of the whalers Hudson was known as Claverack, a Dutch word meaning "clover reach" or field, reflecting the practice of Dutch explorers to name points along rivers to aid navigation.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Schmitt, *Land* 13-14.

⁹⁶ Schmitt, *Land* 51.

⁹⁷ Melville, *Moby Dick* (New York: Penguin, 1986), 84. According to Melville's editor, they issue from a speech in the House of Commons c. 1780.

⁹⁸ Henry James, *The American Scene* (New York: Penguin, 1994), 41-2.

⁹⁹ Captain Franklin Ellis, "Claverack, Columbia County, New York, 1878," 31 July 2005 <http://www.usgennet.org/usa/ny/county/columbia/clav/intro_clav.htm>

This corresponds to what we are told in *Land and Sea*: “At the beginning, the Dutch were the undisputed role models in two essential sectors: whale-hunting and ship-building.”¹⁰⁰

Thus, in relation to the concept of “spatial revolution,” to use Schmitt’s term,¹⁰¹

Melville/Burke’s phrase “looked at from the sea” takes on an uncanny, mythic literalness, for this is also how the Leviathan of Hobbes’s frontispiece, rising (“naturally”) from the sea behind and beyond a land mass, looks *at the reader*.

However, I shall be arguing that the spatial revolution of New York State is not found in Hudson but Rochester. In this I am guided not only by Henry James’s ultimate equivocation about Hudson’s identity but also by a quote from *Ex Captivitate Salus*:

Every situation has its secret, and every science bears in itself its own arcanum. I am the last conscious representative of the *ius publicum Europaeum*, the last to have taught and investigated in an existential sense, and I am living out the end just as Benito Cereno lived out his voyage on the pirate ship. Here it is well and it is time to be silent. We must not be frightened of it. By being silent, we remember ourselves and our divine origin.¹⁰²

While one may object to this characterization of Melville’s *Benito Cereno*—isn’t the point of the story that the “pirates” are actually slaves seeking freedom?—I am inclined to believe Schmitt’s reading of Melville is justified in its calling attention to the elaborately ambiguous nature of the story and thereby of the heart, the *nomos*, of New York State.¹⁰³ More specifically, this ambiguous nature is related to the fact that the

¹⁰⁰ Schmitt, *Land* 13.

¹⁰¹ Schmitt, *Land* 28.

¹⁰² Quoted in Gioacomo Marramao, “The Exile of the Nomos: For a Critical Profile of Carl Schmitt,” *Cardozo Law Review* 21 (2000): 1587.

¹⁰³ Mediated by the readings of Schmitt by Benjamin, Strauss and Taubes.

Leviathan myth of *Land and Sea* and Schmitt's reading of Melville share a common over-determined blindness to technology. For Schmitt (as for Martin Heidegger) technology, and its (negative) secularizing effects, are a basic theme whose fundamental form (for Schmitt, at least) is the artificial man, Leviathan, which, as has been noted, Schmitt sought to rescue and perfect, and in which task it is not difficult to see how he could have perceived Melville as an ally:

the American Civil War saw the advent of the armoured steamship ... the beginning of the modern industrial and economic wars ... This latter step, though, also marked a new stage in the relationship between the two elements, land and sea. ... A fish until then, the leviathan was turning into a machine.¹⁰⁴

However, the *nomos* of New York State is most closely aligned to a different technological involution of land and sea. The *nomos* linking the Roman Empire, the “thalassic” Venetian Republic, and New York State—where alone it finally empties into the world of oceans—is the remarkable reversal/inversion of land and sea with the Erie Canal which Melville depicted “Homerically” in “The Town-Ho’s Story” of *Moby Dick*. On its surface Schmitt felt himself secretly reflected and we find him reflecting the conceptual network indicated by Taubes via the cloacal theory which Freud associated with the sexual researches of childhood.¹⁰⁵ These researches, I would argue, are the origin of all intellectual specialization and, in particular, and more assuredly, the axioms of queer theory.

¹⁰⁴ Schmitt, *Land* 53-4.

¹⁰⁵ Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 60-63.

When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face.¹⁰⁶

The Erie Canal, the First Church of Christ, Scientist of Berlin, the frontispieces of the New York Edition... : concluding this chapter I momentarily put away these childish things to better discern the face of Leo Strauss.

Taubes's interest in both Schmitt and Strauss directs us again to the year 1965: not only is it the year of Strauss's public autobiographical statements and gestures, but it is also (coincidentally?) the year of Schmitt's last essay on Hobbes, "Die vollendete Reformation," in which he sought once and for all to defend Hobbes from charges that he was either a "Gnostic, or a materialist, or an Epicurean or an atheist."¹⁰⁷ From Heinrich Meier we learn that Schmitt "in the final years of his life" wondered whether Strauss knew of this essay and its "challenge" to Strauss "that Jesus is the Christ."¹⁰⁸ In Taubes's letter to Schmitt, he too stresses the importance of this phrase: he, at least, seems to have been aware of the challenge. It may be that Strauss's autobiographical gestures are to be construed as an esoteric response to Schmitt to the extent that they may be in terms of Schmitt's spatial revolution.

In *Land and Sea* Schmitt supports his assertion that "space is no longer mere depth, void of contents ... [but] has become the field of man's energy, activity and creativity" with a quote from an unnamed "contemporary German philosopher"—who is nonetheless easily identifiable as Heidegger—according to whom "it is not the world that

¹⁰⁶ Paul's first letter to the Corinthians 13: 11-12.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Vatter 187.

¹⁰⁸ Meier 61-62.

is in space, but rather, it is the space that is in the world.”¹⁰⁹ By indicating the degree to which a concept of “space” makes coming to terms with the art of memory so difficult Heidegger’s oracular pronouncement embodies the slow (re)discovery of “place” in the twentieth-century. This difficulty engendered by space is all the more remarkable when we consider the degree to which the “spaceless” and “virtual” *places* of contemporary systems theory and design (such as this opera) appear, as in a recent paper, to embody, and even exceed the tendency of Schmitt’s ideas: “While spaces have up and down, left and right, places have yesterday and tomorrow, good and bad.”¹¹⁰

Strauss’s avoidance of discussions of space strikes me as a purposeful response to Schmitt’s insistence on it. This avoidance is born out by the fact that in a rare instance in which he explicitly addresses world space (to be discussed in the final chapter) Schmitt is not mentioned—but Heidegger is. However, spatiality of a sort can still be inferred from Strauss’s discussions of public and private, inside and outside, and Hobbes and Spinoza, as in the formula quoted earlier: “a Greek with the Greeks and a Jew with the Jews.” Accordingly, it is Strauss’s attempt, in response to Schmitt, to make the case for Hobbes’s atheism that is most revealing of his spatiality or lack thereof.

To appreciate Strauss’s response, it is helpful to consider Vatter’s characterization of Schmitt’s political theology as being marked by “a constitutive blindness ... to the atheological or heterodox conception of the public use of reason” which is said to “coincide” with the anti-Judaism (the anti-Spinozism) of Schmitt’s theory of secularization.¹¹¹ I believe, however, a stronger understanding of Schmitt, because it does not rely on “coincidence,” is to be found in the term “secularization.”

¹⁰⁹ Schmitt, *Land* 58. Compare with Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996.) 103.

¹¹⁰ S. Harrison, S. and P. Dourish, “Re-Place-ing Space: The Roles of Place and Space in Collaborative Systems,” *Proceedings of the ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work CSCW '96* 15 July 2005 <<http://www.ics.uci.edu/~jpd/publications/place-paper.html>>.

¹¹¹ Vatter 201.

Schmitt is obviously anti-Judaic, but he cannot be said to be “blind.” He explicitly describes the “crack” in Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, i.e., its vulnerability to secularization, as “barely visible,” i.e., it is neither invisible nor illusory: it exists. In designating “the present world,” what is “secular” is most fundamentally in opposition not with “infinite space” but “infinite time,” eternity. Schmitt delves into “spatial revolutions” in his attempt to rescue the *Leviathan* from Spinoza, not because he is “blind” to heterodox public reason but because he understands (rightly or wrongly) that the seeds of secularization, the revolt against eternity, lie in concepts of space.

What Strauss characterized, in the self-consciously Schmittian “Preface to *Hobbes Politische Wissenschaft*,” as his own “laying bare the simple leading thought of Hobbes’s teaching about man” corresponds directly to Schmitt’s discernment of the “barely visible crack” of the *Leviathan*. For Strauss, Hobbes’s primary fault is that “the relation between man’s natural peculiarity and speech becomes obscure,” i.e., unnatural.¹¹²

Here, Strauss is manifestly unaware that because because the relation between man’s natural peculiarity and speech was vouchsafed by an art of memory Hobbes could reasonably leave “obscure” that which informs not only the (un-speech-like) frontispiece and the elaborate table diagramming what Hobbes calls the “Knowledge of Consequences,” but also the chapter “Of Speech” in which Hobbes declares: “The first author of Speech was God himself.”¹¹³ Hobbes’s presentation calls into question the *Biblical proof* of this declaration, not the declaration itself.

Adapting Strauss’s formula, speech is inconceivable as other than a “group memory.” Hobbes’s suggestion that tradition, as represented by the Bible, is not essential to speech suggests further the possibility of a group memory different from that

¹¹² Strauss, “Preface to *Hobbes*” 454, 456.

¹¹³ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, (New York: Penguin, 1985), 149, 100. It is worth considering whether we might arrive at a deeper understanding of liberalism by recognizing the extent to which the arguments of its critics are premised on an unawareness of the art of memory, and the extent to which our own understanding of the art can be improved.

actualized by tradition. When to this is added the explicit message of Rousseau's frontispiece, i.e., the existence of an avenue of human "peculiarity" other than "speech" (i.e., music), we begin to discern the foundations of the art of memory in relation to an "other" mode of "speech"—*kerygma*, proclamation, interacting with *kairos*, the right time *and place* (as opposed to "clock time").¹¹⁴ The kerygmatic interpretation required by kerygmatic expression¹¹⁵ requires kerygmatic presentation. Thus does "Orpheus Teaching the Worship of the God's" point towards the possibility of a combined speech and not-speech.

This leads me to offer the following "reformulation" of Strauss's response to Schmitt. The theologian Hans Frei, who also was awake to the mystery of literal reading, recommended as *the* urgency facing the Church,

the unpredictable consequences of learning the "language" of the Jewish tradition. ... To discover Midrash in all its subtlety and breadth of options and to understand *pshat* (the traditional sense) may well be to begin to repair a series of contacts established and broken time and again.¹¹⁶

But even if Taubes revealed to Schmitt in secret the *pshat* of "Call me Ishmael"—those famous first words of *Moby Dick* which recall Paul's allegories in Romans 9 and Galatians 4—its being understood will have been hindered by a superficial knowledge of the "Jerusalem which now is" (Galatians 4: 25). To the deepening of which knowledge I offer my frontispiece and the following chapters.

¹¹⁴ Paul Tillich, *A History of Christian Thought*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), 1.

¹¹⁵ Hans Frei, "Scripture as Realistic Narrative: Karl Barth as Critic of Historical Criticism," in *Unpublished Pieces: Transcripts from the Yale Divinity School Archive*, ed. Mike Higton, 14 July 2005 <<http://www.library.yale.edu/div/Freiindex.htm>>, 33.

¹¹⁶ Hans Frei, "The 'Literal Reading' of Biblical Narrative in the Christian Tradition of Scripture: Does it Stretch or Will it Break?" in *The Biblical and the Narrative Tradition*, ed. Frank McConnell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 152.

Chapter Two: Towards a Vernacular of Upstate New York

*But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.*¹¹⁷

I. Galatians 4:26

1. New Perspectives on Paul

I am aware of no discussion of Gertrude Stein's opera libretto *The Mother of Us All* that takes into account to its possible connections to Paul's letter to the Galatians. It seems to me that by such a discussion more than the feminist readings, with which it is usually associated, would be enriched.

In Paul's allegory, the question of identity, as it relates to Abraham's two sons—whether one is of the persecuted or the promised—depends on the status of woman: “the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman,” (Gal. 4: 22), i.e., the Jerusalem which is *now*, or the Jerusalem which is *above*. My discussion of Stein will take into account not only Paul's text but, more specifically, what has become known over the last thirty years as “the new perspective” on Paul. This perspective seeks to engage first-century Judaism on its own terms, not in the context of the Christian Protestant-Catholic debates of the sixteenth century, and recognizes that Paul's arguments with the Judaizers are not about Christian grace versus Jewish legalism but the status within the early church of Gentiles, for whom, in the specific instance of Galatians,

¹¹⁷ As I wish to call attention to the specificity Christian Science, which includes Stein's encounter with it, unless otherwise specified, I shall quote from the King James Bible which Mary Baker Eddy proclaimed the Bible of Christian Science. Its version of the scriptures is that to which her *Science and Health* is the “key.”

the Judaizers advocate circumcision—for men, of course.

The “new perspective on Paul,” however, can also be understood to a great extent as an attempt to escape from, or to reformulate, the problem of “the historical Jesus,” including the difficulty of identifying the specifically *religious* (i.e., timeless) meaning of a historical problem. With this in view, it is easier to see why and how the new perspective is closely related to “realized eschatology.” I first encountered this phrase in a key text of the new perspective, Daniel Boyarin’s *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity*. For Boyarin, realized eschatology means “the ways in which the world is already changed by the coming and crucifixion and rising of the Christ from the dead.”¹¹⁸ I, however, shall use it in this and the following chapters as it relates to apocalyptic thought in general, i.e., not only in relation to Christ but to any fervent expectation (though much of the latter has been culturally conditioned by the former).

In the narrow Christological sense, the historiographical aspect of realized eschatology has been demonstrated by Richard Landes in an article “On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time: A Historical Method for Reading a Refractory Documentation.”¹¹⁹ Landes calls our attention to the profound historical role of eschatological beliefs and behaviors (primarily in reference to medieval contexts) which has been obscured by the phenomena of “apocalyptic time,” especially by its last phase when documents are made to bow before “the editorial blade of post-apocalyptic normal time, with its retrospective knowledge that the end did not come.” As I have suggested, these phenomena of apocalyptic time can be applied to other expectation-situations. Though Landes does not

¹¹⁸ Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 4.

¹¹⁹ Richard Landes, “On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time: A Historical Method for Reading a Refractory Documentation,” *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 49 (1996), 10 Oct. 2004 <<http://www.mille.org/people/rlpages/landes-rob.html>>: “Since successful mutations are (by definition) functional, there is a tendency both on the part of group members and outside observers to view the group’s origins in functional terms. But this is to take the later stages of the movement as, for all analytic intents and purposes, the beginning. It produces the kinds of analyses that leave apocalyptic phenomena out of the grand narrative of history.”

use the phrase “realized eschatology,” I see apocalyptic time as fundamentally connected to Boyarin’s concerns, and vice versa, as demonstrated by the similarity between the historiographical method which I have adapted from Landes—dressing bare facts with apocalyptic material borrowed from related contexts—and what Stein has done in her title.

In another related work, *Unheroic Conduct*, Boyarin identifies Sigmund Freud’s theories, with their reliance on Greek prototypes and normalization of stereotyped antisemitic pathologies, as a playing-out on a scientific level of the collective crisis experienced by central European Jews entering society in the nineteenth century.¹²⁰ A more anguished example of this phenomenon, to which I shall often refer, is Otto Weininger and his book *Sex and Character* (1906) (*Geschlecht und Charakter* [1903]). This Jewish enlightenment is a key example of apocalyptic time. In post-apocalyptic fashion, Weininger’s life and work are generally derided as being full of deranged self-loathing, misogyny and antisemitism. However, this view of Weininger does not explain the powerful interest in him felt by intelligent people like Gertrude Stein, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Henry James, to mention only those connected to the present work. On some level, these people experienced his work apocalyptically.

Further informing my effort to come to terms with their experience rather than dismiss it as delusional is my sense that a similar apocalyptic informs Leo Strauss’s attitude towards his younger self when he wrote that the author of *Spinoza’s Critique of Religion*, written during the Weimar era, was “a young Jew born and raised in Germany who found himself in the grips of the theological-political predicament.”¹²¹ Strauss’s orientation with this last phrase is indicated by the fact that it reflects the title of Spinoza’s *Tractatus Theologicus-Politicus*, which, as I have quoted Taubes as putting it,

¹²⁰ Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct* (Berkeley: University of California, 1997), 1-29. See also Matti Bunzl, “Sexual Modernity as Subject and Object,” *Modernism/Modernity* 9.1 (2002): 165-175.

¹²¹ Strauss, “Preface to *Spinoza*” 137.

officially insists on effecting the division of theology and philosophy with reference to the Bible. For Strauss, Spinoza's book remained for Strauss the founding text of historical criticism of the Bible.¹²² What seems to have changed is Strauss's realization that Spinoza was not only *addressing* the "theological-political predicament" but writing from within it. Because Strauss had not fully appreciated Spinoza's historical predicament, i.e., the persecution of heterodox opinion, he had not read him literally enough.¹²³ A similar situation attends to Stein's opera libretto: it has been understood too literally, because it has not been read literally enough. This is what I shall attempt, using the three critical tools just described as a kind of Midrash.

2. New Perspectives on Weininger

A feminist reading of Galatians quickly encounters difficulties. The controversy over circumcision excludes women while Galatians 3:28 denies the basis of feminism itself: "there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." For a feminist reading we are forced by Stein's text to look to the other Pauline letters, which also means, quite literally, other places.¹²⁴

Here we may be guided by a firsthand account of Stein's objection to "the bastard" Paul's condemnation of homosexuality.¹²⁵ Stein's reported interpretation that "he

¹²² According to Noel Malcolm there was no "founder," it grew out of a Church tradition. But it seems to me that in so far as the theological-political predicament is the crux of the matter, Spinoza stands quite alone. See Noel Malcolm, "Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible: The History of a Subversive Idea," in *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 431.

¹²³ Strauss, "Preface to *Spinoza*" 173.

¹²⁴ Stein's geography may be compared with Boyarin's idea of "diasporized identity." See Boyarin, *Radical* 245.

¹²⁵ "Are you queer of gay or 'of it' as the French say or whatever they are calling it nowadays [...] It bothers a lot of people [...] But like you said, its nobody's business..." For whatever reason this does not quite sound like my idea of Steinese, but I take the *subject matter* as authentic. See Samuel Steward, *Dear Sammy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 55.

was complaining about youngsters who were not really that way, they did it for money” points to the “effeminate” males of 1 Corinthians 6:9-10. However, a connection between effeminate males and feminism is more understandable as *antifeminist*. For this reason, I am inclined to see that we are directed, instead, to Romans 1:26: “even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature.” Indicating an apocalyptic content in these words is that their feminism is not immediately apparent and becomes apparent only in reference to the Hebrew Testament (as opposed to some Gentile source).¹²⁶ all homosexual prohibitions in the Hebrew Testament have only men in view.¹²⁷ In other words, Stein calls attention to a tension between Galatians and Romans related to that between inspiration and the historical orientation of the new perspective and between realized eschatology and apocalyptic time. Strauss, elaborating the view of the “Preface to *Hobbes Politische Wissenschaft*” on the importance of Karl Barth, addressed this tension in “A Giving of Accounts”:

The preface to the first edition of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans is of great importance also to nontheologians: it sets forth the principles of an interpretation that is concerned exclusively with the subject matter as distinguished from historical interpretation.¹²⁸

And yet it must be recognized that if Barth assigned to “historical criticism” a distinctly secondary role, the result is nonetheless a massive critique of *contemporary* history, albeit in terms of the subject matter of Romans. Because Barth’s strained allegiances alert us to

¹²⁶ Compared to Plato’s *Laws* and the first-century C.E. Stoic Musonius Rufus, Paul is “a virtual liberal”: Dan Via and Robert Gagnon, *Homosexuality and the Bible: Two Views* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 32.

¹²⁷ Via and Gagnon 13-14.

¹²⁸ Leo Strauss, “A Giving of Accounts,” in *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 460.

similar strains in Stein's libretto, I shall trace the argument in Barth's *The Epistle to the Romans* that begins by with his comment on Roman's 1:26: "In 'naturalness' there is always secreted that which is non-natural, and, indeed, that which actually contradicts nature."¹²⁹

Barth returns to this subject with Romans 9: 20—"Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?"—by denouncing Blüher's advocacy of suicide as a sacrament in *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (1921). The English translation being published in 1933, Barth's translator notes Blüher's support of the German Nationalist Party.¹³⁰ On Romans 12:9 ("Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good"), Barth quotes Blüher's literal definition of the Greek word for evil as "burdensome." Why Blüher is cited as an authority on evil is explained by Barth's reference to Romans 1:27¹³¹ in his comment on the immediately following verse ("Be kindly affectionate one to another—with brotherliness!"):

Grossly immoral (i. 27!) is all direct and particular brotherhood unless it be strictly a matter of service. In the Epistle to the Romans, to be *kindly affectionate* means—means, that is, when it is understood existentially—to be serviceable, veritable, directed towards the goal, critical. Only when it is thus defined and conditioned is brotherliness a demonstration against the form of this world. Only so can it withstand the rebound of failure and disappointment, which is inevitable in all brotherliness with which we are familiar.¹³²

¹²⁹ Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Edwyn Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 52.

¹³⁰ Barth 356.

¹³¹ Romans 1:27: "and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another..."

¹³² Barth 455.

Underlying Barth's struggle with "brotherliness" are concepts of nature and politics, i.e., *the nature of politics*. For Strauss, this struggle points back to the theological-political problem: the earthly or divine source of law. Accordingly, via the intertextual detour through Romans territory Stein's ingenious quotation of Galatians 4:26 answers Paul's use, in Galatians 3:19, of the theological-political problem with regard to, of all things, the Mosaic law: "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator." As J. Louis Martyn notes, a tradition in which "the incomparable glory of the Law was thought to be attested by angelic participation in its genesis" has existed since, at least, the Septuagint's translation of Deuteronomy 33:2 (300-200 B.C.).¹³³ As Martyn notes further, Paul "stands that tradition on its head, speaking of the angels [Gal 3:19-20] as the active party who themselves instituted the Law, and saying that they did that in God's absence!" Martyn observes that Paul's argument is *rhetorical*—he compels the Gentile Galatians "in *their* setting—to gaze for a moment into the abyss of a Law that is for them godless, the Law of Sinai."¹³⁴ I suggest that it is precisely the presence of rhetoric that makes problematic distinctions between subject matter and historical interpretation; which problem underlies, I believe, Strauss's quoting Spinoza about Paul being a Greek with the Greeks and a Jew with the Jews.

How confidently can we ascribe to "Paul's rhetoric" a view in which he was not himself profoundly caught up (and vice versa)? For example, it was not immediately obvious that the Paulism of Marcion (70 C.E. - 150 C.E.) was heretical. More recently, Pamela Eisenbaum inadvertently raises similar questions with a question of her own: "*Why* did Paul associate the death and resurrection of Jesus with the transcending

¹³³ J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 357.

¹³⁴ Martyn 370.

distinctions between people, particularly the Jew-Gentile distinction?"¹³⁵ Her answer is that, in analogy to circumcision, the sacrifice of Jesus performed the necessary ritualistic, purifying act (following *all* births in Mediterranean cultures) to adopt the new born (Gentiles) into the genealogy of the father, Abraham (Jews). The resurrection

represents the other side of the sacrifice, namely, the divine inheritance bestowed on the beneficiaries of the ritual participants, adoptions as sons of God, and rebirth as immortal beings who transcend fleshly birth from a woman.¹³⁶

Indeed, Stein's quotation of Galatians raises most fundamentally and literally the analogical rhetoric that holds between the sacrifice of Jesus and circumcision, and between Jerusalem and the resurrection, by pointing to its counterpart, Romans 5:15-16:

Because the law worketh wrath: for where no law is, there is no transgression. Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed; not to that only which is the law, but to that also which is the faith of Abraham; who is the father of us all.

In Taubes's Freudian reading of Romans, the attempt to reconcile with the Father, through the obedience of the Son and the avowal of the original sin of the (repressed) primordial murder of the Father, does not escape the fatal necessity of demoting the Father because of the divinizing the Son. Eisenbaum's sacrificial reading of Romans

¹³⁵ Pamela Eisenbaum, "A Remedy for Having Been Born of Woman: Jesus, Gentiles, and Genealogy in Romans," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123/4 (2004): 672.

¹³⁶ Eisenbaum 685.

supports Taubes's return to a sacrificial interpretation of the death of Jesus.¹³⁷

Indeed, certain weaknesses in Eisenbaum's reading suggest how her interpretations may be integrated further into Taubes's. For Eisenbaum, there is no distinctly "religious" knowledge: Paul's "association" of death and resurrection is either sociologically determined or with different emphasis "merely" rhetorical. Its sociological or rhetorical determination having gone so long unremarked, however, (Eisenbaum claims to be one of the first to raise the question) might suggest perhaps a remarkably (i.e., divinely) skillful adaptation of a figure to an audience. Furthermore, how is sensible is it that Paul "the radical" (Gal 3:28, for instance) should come to a full stop at what is "genealogical efficacious in a cultural context where patrilineage and sacrifice are integrally related," unless what this limit really signifies is the expressive limit of language and context?¹³⁸ More constructively, we can recognize certain "sociologies" (that of *Moses and Monotheism*, for instance) as more fundamental than others (Nancy Jay's *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity*, cited by Eisenbaum).

At such junctures "historical interpretation" *commands* a leap into "subject matter." Abraham is our father; Jerusalem, our mother: parents do not always see eye to eye. But concerning the difference between Romans and Galatians I am most struck (as I believe was Stein) not by "natural" differences of sex or gender, but by the categorical (i.e., apocalyptic) difference between person (Abraham) and place (Jerusalem). In complimentary correspondence to Taubes's association of the "person" of Romans with conceptual network of Freud (and Lamarck), I shall associate the "place" of Galatians with the poetic theories of Stein and Dante. The relevance of Landes's method to the

¹³⁷ See Alain Gignac, "Taubes, Badiou, Agamben: Reception of Paul by Non-Christian Philosophers Today," trans. Sybil Murray-Denis, 15 July 2005
<http://www.vanderbilt.edu/AnS/religious_studies/SBL2002/Philos.htm>.

¹³⁸ Eisenbaum 676. I am most wary of Eisenbaum's inferences into Paul's "consciousness" on page 701: "Paul does not—perhaps cannot—view Christ as an archetypal progenitor analogous to Abraham" because "by Paul's time" Christ had already been established as "the Son" so that it would have been difficult for him to conceive of Christ as a patriarchal figure.

poetic theories of Dante is not dependent on a connection between Dante and Stein. The clearest expression of Dante's poetic theories is *De vulgari eloquentia*, a short, incomplete yet fascinating theological-political treatise masquerading as a guide to the linguistic landscape of his time.

One sign of this masquerade (its esoteric character) is its vocabulary. Though writing in Latin, Dante never uses the word "Latin" but instead refers to "*grammatica*," or a language governed by "rules," or a "regulated" language.¹³⁹ Dante's failed hunt for an "illustrious vernacular" fit for a "court" must be understood in terms of 1) his exile from Florence, to which he explicitly calls attention, and 2) the Church (another word scrupulously avoided) as Ancient Rome's worldly usurper and the particular employer of the language "shared by all" (Latin). Thus, as Steven Botterill suggests, we are brought, via linguistic geography "to the core of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, and in some ways also to that of Dante's thinking as a whole," i.e., the *Divine Comedy*.¹⁴⁰

Barbara Reynolds observes that the new form of allegorizing the human individual invented by Dante involves "not personification or symbolism, but the perception that actual persons can be images of qualities beyond themselves"¹⁴¹ which suggest that *De vulgari eloquentia* offers the linguistic/geographic equivalent of Dante's method of personal allegorization. The actual combination of human individuals and the vernacular is the realized eschatology of the *Divine Comedy*.

That it is entirely appropriate to read Stein's title in light of Dante's eschatologized language is suggested by her autobiographical novella, "Q.E.D." (1903), in which Stein's character, "Adele," reads the *Vita Nuova* with new comprehension of Beatrice after a mysterious unspoken communication with a Spanish woman on a

¹³⁹ As discussed by Steven Botterill in the Introduction to Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and tr. Steven Botterill (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3, 57.

¹⁴⁰ Botterill, Introduction, in Dante, *De vulgari* xxii.

¹⁴¹ Barbara Reynolds, "Introduction" in Dante, *Vita Nuova*, ed. and trans. Barbara Reynolds (London: Penguin, 2004), xxii.

Granadian hilltop.¹⁴² However, the relation between *De vulgari eloquentia* and the theological-political predicament from within which *The Mother of Us All* was written is best understood by Stein's encounter with one whose existence was unknown to her during the writing of "Q.E.D."—Otto Weininger.

Though Stein nowhere names Weininger there are at least two passages that are recognizably influenced by his *Sex and Character*. One is the "Introduction" to *Everybody's Autobiography* in which Stein refers to the sculptor David Edstrom:

he used to complain so that I liked everybody in character.

In those comparatively young days I did. I thought everybody had a character and I knew it and I liked them to be in character.¹⁴³

A second passage, in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, closely reflects Weininger's argumentation:

Gertrude Stein concluded that negroes were not suffering from persecution, they were suffering from nothingness. She always contends that the african is not primitive, he has an ancient but a very narrow culture and there it remains. Consequently nothing does or can happen.¹⁴⁴

Leon Katz, on the basis of his unpublished interviews with Toklas, asserts that Stein learned of the author's remarkable suicide—his shooting himself through the heart in Beethoven's death chamber in Vienna—only after *Sex and Character* had made its impression on her. Then, it seems, the questions plaguing her life fitted anew: Weininger's

¹⁴² Brenda Wineapple, *Sister Brother: Gertrude and Leo Stein* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), 146-8.

¹⁴³ Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography* (Cambridge, MA: Exact Change, 1993), 4-5.

¹⁴⁴ Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933; reprint, New York: Vintage, 1990), 238.

suicide after his brilliant achievement, her own “sense of failure” at twenty-nine (that is, in 1903, after the abortive May Bookstaver affair recounted in “Q. E. D.”) and the “suicide” of her research partner in Hugo Münsterberg’s Harvard psychology lab, Leon Solomons (who “chose” cancer at the age of twenty-nine).¹⁴⁵ It may be further imagined that part of the “fit” stemmed from her own Viennese connection—the three years she spent there as an infant.

In making this connection I do not want to reduce Weininger to a convenient symbol of the social, intellectual and moral tensions of *fin de siècle* Vienna.¹⁴⁶ My Straussianism consists, at least, in the presupposition that philosophers are not concerned with symbols but truth, i.e., the intelligibility of a fragment from history such as: “Otto Weininger, a Viennese Jew who converted to Protestantism the day he became a doctor of philosophy” in 1902.¹⁴⁷ For a significant period Weininger was for Stein not a symbol but realized eschatology (a similar distinction underlies her famous deathbed utterance).¹⁴⁸ In reformulating the meaning or “the question,” of Weininger, we may nevertheless be guided by the multiplicity of existing interpretations, especially that composed by his father:

¹⁴⁵ Alice Toklas quoted by Leon Katz, in “Weininger and *The Making of Americans*,” *Twentieth Century Literature* 24.1 (Spring, 1978): 17. It is necessary to defuse Brenda Wineapple’s assertion that Katz’s attribution of Solomons’s death to “cancer” was prompted by his misreading of the word “career” in one of Stein’s notebooks. That Katz’s source was most likely Toklas herself is itself suggested by his placing in quotes not the supposedly questionable word “cancer,” but obviously more related “suicide” and “chose.” Second, Wineapple seems unaware of the undoubted influence on Stein of Christian Science ideas, vocabulary and locutions—in which disease, insofar as it is not “real,” (much less “natural”) *can* appear as something “chosen.” See below and Wineapple 433.

¹⁴⁶ Ray Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 20. Wittgenstein’s biographer writes that Weininger’s suicide “seemed to many to be the logical outcome of the argument of his book.” But by his own admission, the book *has* no logic: “Its claims to scientific biology are transparently spurious, its epistemology obvious nonsense, its psychology primitive, and its ethical prescriptions odious.” See pages, 19, 23.

¹⁴⁷ *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, ed. Nancy Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 3.

¹⁴⁸ “By this time Gertrude Stein was in a sad state of indecision and worry. I sat next to her and she said to me early in the afternoon, What is the answer? I was silent. In that case, she said, what is the question?” See Toklas 173.

This stone marks the resting place of a young man whose spirit found no peace in this world. When he had delivered the message of his soul, he could no longer remain among the living. He betook himself to the place of death of one of the greatest of all men, the Schwarzpanierhaus in Vienna, and there destroyed his mortal body.¹⁴⁹

The cumulative effect of these interpretations is to reduce what is “most revealing” about Weininger’s death to an “aesthetic articulation.”¹⁵⁰ This result coincides with one of Strauss’s observations: “The comprehensive theme of history is now no longer the political deeds and speeches, but something called ‘civilization’ or ‘culture.’”¹⁵¹ I argue, accordingly, that the eschatology of Weininger is not to be had from cultural history but from his political deeds and speeches (rather than “speech acts”). This means taking literally, in discussing Weininger’s suicide, the presupposition of the phrase “most revealing”: Weininger was trying to reveal something.¹⁵²

To understand Weininger’s suicide in this light, it is helpful to consider the passages in the autobiography of the anarchist Emma Goldman in which she discusses the attempted assassination (in the midst of the Homestead Strike of 1892) of coke and steel magnate Henry Clay Frick by her comrade Alexander Berkman. This is termed an *Attentat*, propaganda by deed, and was clearly revelatory by intention:

A blow aimed at Frick would re-echo in the poorest hovel, would call the attention of the whole world to the real cause behind the Homestead

¹⁴⁹ Harrowitz and Hyams frontispiece.

¹⁵⁰ Chendak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger: Sex, Science and Self in Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), 164n.

¹⁵¹ Strauss, L. “Thucydides: The Meaning of Political History,” in *The Rebirth of Classical Political Rationalism*, ed. Thomas Pangle (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1989), 75.

¹⁵² Thus Johann Most’s 1892 article “*Attentats Reflexionen*” is translated as “Reflections on Propaganda by Deed.” See Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), 105.

struggle.¹⁵³

However, in theory at least, because Frick survived the assassination, Berkman's message to the world was garbled.¹⁵⁴ Weininger's message too has been garbled, not (obviously) by the failure of his deed but by the ideology of cultural historicism.

Stein's wanting *The Making of Americans* to end "like a symphony of Beethoven" suggests a "literal" (Straussian) interpretation of Weininger's suicide as a deed of music notation.¹⁵⁵ In other words, a literal *reading* of Stein's libretto should be *sung*.

3. Eliot, James, Stein—The Great Tradition

Stein's concern with the historical figure of Susan B. Anthony alerts us to the importance of a similar concern for history in her predecessors, George Eliot and Henry James, and suggests a Great Tradition with a very different trajectory than the one identified by F. R. Leavis.¹⁵⁶ This new trajectory recognizes in the history of the novel the primary importance of historical criticism of the bible.¹⁵⁷ It is in the field of religious rather than literary studies, specifically Hans Frei's *Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics*, that I have found the the themes and origins of this tradition treated with the thoroughness they deserve:

¹⁵³ Goldman 1: 87.

¹⁵⁴ Compare this to the discussion of the assassination of President William McKinley in Goldman 1: 323.

¹⁵⁵ Stein notebook quoted in Wineapple 256.

¹⁵⁶ "Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James, Conrad, and D.H. Lawrence: the great tradition of the English novel is *there*." F. R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1954), 41.

¹⁵⁷ The clear implication of his comparison between Eliot and Joseph Conrad is that the translation lies *outside* Eliot's art: "It is not that [Conrad] had not an intellectual career outside his art—that he did nothing comparable to translating Strauss, Spinoza and Feuerbach." See Leavis 46.

*In England, where a serious body of realistic narrative literature and a certain amount of criticism of that literature was building up, there arose no corresponding cumulative tradition of criticism of the biblical writings, and that included no narrative interpretation of them. In Germany, on the other hand, where a body of critical analysis as well as general hermeneutics of the biblical writings built up rapidly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, there was no simultaneous development of realistic prose narrative and its critical appraisal [original emphasis].*¹⁵⁸

George Eliot's mid-nineteenth century English translations of German Biblical criticism and her subsequent career as a novelist fundamentally transformed the divisions of the earlier part of the century of which Frei has given such a rich account.

Eliot's translations of David Friedrich Strauss's *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (1846) and Ludwig Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* (1854) are no secret. But less recognized is that her last novel, *Daniel Deronda* (1876), can be considered as a massive commentary on a sentence from Spinoza's *Theological-Political Treatise*, a translation of which Eliot began in 1849 but never finished:

Indeed, were it not that the fundamental principles of their religion discourage manliness, I would not hesitate to believe that they will one day, given the opportunity—such is the mutability of human affairs—establish one more their independent state, and that god will again choose them.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 142.

¹⁵⁹ Baruch Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise*, trans. Samuel Shirley (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2001), 46.

Eliot returned to this theme one last time in *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (1879).¹⁶⁰

In his unfinished autobiography, *The Middle Years*, James defended Deronda's "philosophic vocabulary":

I was to become, I was to remain—I take pleasure in repeating—even a very Derondist of Derondists, for my own wanton joy: which amounts to saying that I found the figured, coloured tapestry *always* vivid enough to brave no matter what complication of the stitch.¹⁶¹

With *The Tragic Muse* (1890) and its heroine, a Jewish actress, James followed Eliot's example:

From the moment I made out ... my lucky title, that is from the moment Miriam Rooth herself had given it me, so this young woman had given me with it her own position in the book, and so that in turn had given me my precious unity.¹⁶²

There is good reason to think that some of James's confidence in Miriam ("more than half a Jewess"¹⁶³) was derived from his confidence in Deronda's Jewish mother, Lenora Halm-Eberstein, "the greatest lyric actress of Europe."¹⁶⁴ James all but mentions Eliot's example when he presents Miriam's mother through the eyes of Miriam's portraitist, Nick

¹⁶⁰ George Eliot, "The Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!" in *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994).

¹⁶¹ Henry James, "The Middle Years," in *Autobiography*, ed. Frederick Dupree (New York: Criterion, 1956), 584-5.

¹⁶² Henry James, "Preface to *The Tragic Muse*," in *Literary Criticism: Volume Two: French Writers, Other European Writers, The Prefaces to the New York Edition* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 1111.

¹⁶³ Henry James, *Novels 1886-1890* (New York: Library of America, 1989), 741.

¹⁶⁴ George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda* (London: J.M. Dent, 1999), 617

Dormer, who sees

... a sudden pictorial glimpse of the element of race ... it had never occurred to him before that she was of Hebrew strain, except on the general theory, held with a pertinacity by several clever people, that most of us are more or less so.¹⁶⁵

By several clever people (we are clearly instructed to find more than one) is meant, I suggest, not only the “nonfictional” author of *Daniel Deronda* but the “fictional” aesthete who floats in and out of *The Tragic Muse*, Gabriel Nash. This identification suggests that Gabriel is a tragic muse in his own right, as demonstrated in a passage correlative to the one just quoted, which makes the correspondence between Miriam and Gabriel (the Jewess and the male homosexual), as seen through the eye’s of another (male) character (Peter Sherringham), even more explicit:

As Sherringham had perceived, you never knew where to “have” Gabriel Nash; a truth exemplified in his unexpected delight at the prospect of Miriam’s drawing forth the modernness of the age. You might have thought he would loathe the modernness; but he had a brilliant, amused, amusing vision of it, saw it as something huge and ornamentally vulgar.¹⁶⁶

This leads to a description of the technological production and consumption of celebrity unprecedented, so far as I know, in nineteenth-century literature. Delivered in the name of a prophet, Gabriel, it is an exhilarating prediction of what Heidegger would later call the

¹⁶⁵ James, *Novels 1886-1890* 1165.

¹⁶⁶ James, *Novels 1886-1890* 1091-2.

“night of the world.”¹⁶⁷ I make this connection to Heidegger because James here offers a picture of the theological-political predicament (deriving via George Eliot from Spinoza) that is directly comparable and perhaps in contrast to that of Strauss and his protégé, Bloom

Not only Miriam but Gabriel too can be derived from Eliot’s example. The narrator of *Theophrastus* styles himself “Theophrastus,” i.e., after Theophrastus (c. 372-c. 287 BC), Aristotle’s successor at the Lycaean, and author of treatises on botany but also of the *Characters*, a series of caricatures which was Eliot’s model. (The narrator’s device also points to the obvious parallel of Mary Ann Evans, a woman, styling herself “George Eliot,” a man). The narrator is himself a character who affects classical learning. Thus there is an conspicuously asymmetric relation between the title of one chapter—“So Young!”—and the specific literary type it caricatures, introduced as “Ganymede”—“once a girlishly handsome precocious youth”:¹⁶⁸

I saw something of him from his Antinous period, the time of rich chestnut locks, parted not by a visible white line, but by a shadowed furrow from which they fell in massive ripples to right and left.¹⁶⁹

If it is too much to see this as a description of Oscar Wilde (who was about 23 at the time of its writing), it is even more far-fetched not to wonder why the chapter title identifies “youthfulness” as the distinguishing characteristic of “Ganymede” who then becomes “Antinous”: two infamous examples from ancient Greece and Rome, respectively, of a young male sexually pursued by an older male. If Eliot’s target is not Wilde

¹⁶⁷ Leo Strauss, “An Introduction to Heideggerian Existentialism,” in *The Rebirth of Classical Political Rationalism*, ed. Thomas Pangle (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1989), 43.

¹⁶⁸ Eliot, *Impressions* 99.

¹⁶⁹ Eliot, *Impressions* 100.

(“Ganymede”/“Antinous”), then perhaps her target is the pretensions of “Theophrastus”: as I will discuss in the chapter “Epistemology of the Frontispiece,” Benjamin Jowett, the Victorian translator of Plato, claimed “Greek love” to be a figure of speech.¹⁷⁰

James’s Gabriel Nash presents a stronger connection to Oscar Wilde. After Gabriel stops showing up for sitting’s at Nick’s to have his portrait done, Nick experiences a difficulty with Gabriel similar to Peter’s. The resulting unfinished portrait has a peculiar quality:

[Nick] couldn’t catch it in the act, but he could have a suspicion, when he glanced at it, that the hand of time was rubbing it away little by little (for all the world as in some delicate Hawthorne tale), making the surface distinct and bare—bare of all resemblance to the model. Of course the moral of the Hawthorne tale would be that this personage would come back on the day when the last adumbration should have vanished.¹⁷¹

Though Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (in its initial magazine version) did not appear until June of 1890 (i.e., after James had finished *The Tragic Muse*), what had appeared (in July of 1889) early enough to be incorporated into James’s portrait of the Wildean Gabriel is the magazine version of his story about a forged portrait containing the secret of Shakespeare’s Sonnets, “The Portrait of Mr. W. H.”

Nick’s perspective, by the end of his meditation, has been fused with, or

¹⁷⁰ Further evidence of Eliot’s knowledge of these things is found in her translation of Feuerbach. The rather tepid gibe, “The thou between man and woman has quite another sound than the monotonous thou between friends,” is later contradicted: “Love is nothing else than the self-consciousness of the species as evolved within the difference of sex. ... But this result of love is produced by friendship also, at least where it is intense, where it is a religion, as it was with the ancients.” Ludwig Feuerbach, “The Distinction Between Christianity and Heathenism,” in *The Essence of Christianity*, trans. George Eliot (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), 156. Compare this with: “Everything to be true must become a religion” in Wilde’s “*De Profundis*,” in *Collected Works* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 915.

¹⁷¹ James, *Novels 1886-1890* 1236.

subsumed by, the narrator's: very much as we also found Peter's fused to and subsumed by Gabriel's. The reader, left to divine the moral of Gabriel's disappearance, or of Nick's fantasy of this disappearance, on her own, is guided only by the implied stipulation that it somehow *is not* Hawthorne's¹⁷² and *is* James's (I pursue this possibility in the second part of this chapter)—or *maybe* Wilde's. One moral that may thus be divined is that Gabriel's connection to Miriam, the ventriloquistic aspect of Gabriel's soliloquy on modernity, and the virtual simultaneity of "Gabriel's portrait" and "the portraits" of "Mr. W.H." (the boy actor Willy Hughes) and Dorian Gray, are contemporary confirmations—as the bodiless frontispieces of the New York Edition are retrospective confirmations—of the representational and interpretive challenges, and accompanying desires, presented by the *fin de siècle* (male) homosexual.

In the Preface for the New York Edition, James's discussion of the problem posed for him by Miriam's career suggests another aspect of the correspondence between Miriam and Gabriel:

the challenge of one's right, in any pretended show of social realities, to attach to the image of a "public character," a supposed particular celebrity, a range of interest, of intrinsic distinction, greater than any such display of importance on the part of eminent members of the class as we see them about us.¹⁷³

Later in the Preface, James returns to this theme with a different focus:

The trade of the stageplayer, and above all of the actress, must have so

¹⁷² This leaves open the chance that it also somehow *is* Hawthorne's, which I shall explore in the chapter "Henry James and the Heart of New York State."

¹⁷³ James, *Literary Criticism* 2: 1113-4.

many detestable sides for the person exercising it that we scarce imagine a full surrender to it without a full surrender, not less, to every immediate compensation, to every freedom and the largest ease within reach: which presentment of the possible case for Miriam would yet have been condemned—and on grounds both various and interesting to trace—to remain very imperfect.¹⁷⁴

In this second passage, in which James excuses the novel's abrupt ending, James is referring to the proverbial (and indisputable) connection between "stageplaying" and prostitution. However, James is a rhetorician. His claim to have left unpresented "a full surrender, not less, to every immediate compensation, to every freedom and the largest ease within reach" presents its opposite: *full surrender, immediate compensation, every freedom, largest ease, within reach, various and interesting*.

But with this identification of Gabriel as a stand-in for Wilde, the identity of the "public character" of which James is speaking becomes more ambiguous, for then "the range of interest, of intrinsic distinction" is no longer limited to Miriam. Gabriel emerges as another solution to the problem of "one's right" in the "pretended show of social realities." The standards of "realism," demanding that only Gabriel, and not the narrator, be allowed such an extravagant interpretation of Miriam, leaves James in a queer position because Gabriel's interpretation, or, rather, James's interpretation of Gabriel, is, in fact, the true one.¹⁷⁵

Gabriel's last words, "I dare say I'm eternal," strike the final note of his connection to Wilde,¹⁷⁶ as an echo, transposing time and space, of Wilde's and James's

¹⁷⁴ James, *Literary Criticism* 2: 1117-8.

¹⁷⁵ This is the context in which to consider the elaboration of the statement, "I have found the difference between Shakespeare's sonnets and Shakespeare's plays," in the "Henry James" section of Gertrude Stein's *Four in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), 119.

¹⁷⁶ James, *Novels 1886-1890* 1235.

one recorded meeting in 1882 in Washington, D.C., in which James said to Oscar that he was homesick for London and Oscar replied, “Really! You care for places? The world is my home.”¹⁷⁷ Places and homes are not simple things. After 1897, Wilde kept his words from being put to the test by traveling Europe incognito as “Sebastian Melmoth” of *Melmoth the Wanderer*.¹⁷⁸ Likewise, despite James’s “homesickness,” he would not become a naturalized British subject until 1915.

4. New Perspectives on Eddy

An unpublished document, The Glover Memoir (named after the phrase penciled on its cover in what may be Stein’s hand), in the Stein papers at the Beinecke Library at Yale University evinces the struggles involved in Stein’s consciousness of Eliot’s and James’s “theological-political treatises” and the apocalyptic clarity of *The Mother of Us All*.¹⁷⁹ It is one of several thin notebooks filled with notes from the time of the composition of *The Making of Americans*, circa 1912.

Others have recognized the importance of one specific passage from the Memoir in a general way. I believe that it warrants a more literal and philological reading. The following transcription both indicates the presentations of previous commentators and “diagrams” the “stages” to which it refers.¹⁸⁰

Three stages,

¹⁷⁷ Edel, *Henry James* 273.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Ellman, *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 523.

¹⁷⁹ Notebook 14, YCAL.

¹⁸⁰ Lisa Ruddick’s omissions are underlined; Brenda Wineapple’s (who also splits up the passage) are italicized. See Lisa Ruddick, *Reading Gertrude Stein* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1990), 235; Wineapple 290, 294.

- 1) early just being of the earth,
- 2) then ethical questioning that May¹⁸¹ laughed at asking to find out—then experience in Spain when got the awful depression of repetition in history,¹⁸² then realization much later that I did not believe in progress, that I was in that sense not an optimist, then realizing that I was not a pragmatist¹⁸³ just recently do not believe that all classification is teleological,¹⁸⁴ then realize, that aesthetic has become the whole of me, *not so sweet as I was or virtuous,*
- 3) *and then through christian science realizing gullible through a certain fear like Mike¹⁸⁵ but au fond like the Jew in Auctioneer¹⁸⁶ but I did see him.*

The first part of the second stage are the events that inspired “Q.E.D.”—Stein’s affair with May Bookstaver and the “Beatrice episode” in Granada. Stein’s disbelief in progress and skepticism towards the philosophic pragmatism of William James, which are reminiscent of Leo Strauss and his antagonism towards social science, may be linked to her enthusiasm for Weininger. Furthermore, the comparison in “Q.E.D.” of May Bookstaver’s character to Kate Croy of Henry James’s *The Wings of the Dove* suggests an opposition between pragmatism the “aesthetic” in terms of the two James brothers.

¹⁸¹ May Bookstaver, whom Stein met through her Johns Hopkins colleagues. “Helen Thomas” in “Q.E.D.”

¹⁸² Gertrude and Leo traveled to Spain in the summer of 1901. This should be connected with the Granada/*Vita Nuova* episode discuss above.

¹⁸³ William James reintroduced the term in 1898 and published his series of lectures with this as the title in 1907. See William James, *Pragmatism* (Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1963), 43.

¹⁸⁴ A related notebook entry reads: “When Leo said that all classification is teleological I knew I was not a pragmatist.... I believe in repetition. yes. Always and always. Must write the hymn of repetition.” Quoted in Wineapple 294.

¹⁸⁵ Stein’s brother Michael was married to Sarah (Sally) Stein, a fervent Christian Scientist.

¹⁸⁶ Presumably *The Auctioneer*, by Charles Klein and Lee Arthur, which opened in at the Bijou in New York, 23 September 1901 (after Stein returned from Spain) and was reviewed in the *New York Daily Mirror*, 29 September 1901: “The play is a effort to equip Mr. Warfield [the star] with a consistent life-like Hebrew character such as he has so often been called upon to travesty in burlesque and musical comedy.”

Her encounter with Christian Science, which has perplexed Stein's commentators,¹⁸⁷ I shall explore below in terms of her concept of the vernacular—in comparison to which which is the importance, in Stein's Jewish identity, of an ephemeral play such as *The Auctioneer*.

Carolyn Fraser has called Stein's attendance at the Christian Science Church in Florence (along with Leo and the poet Mina Loy) "a surreal moment in Christian Science history" but it might also be called, with greater charity and truth, a Christian Science moment in American history.¹⁸⁸ The many (neutral, negative and positive) references to Christian Science in Stein's notebooks place the Glover Memoir within a period of sustained interest in religion. On one page Mrs. Eddy is mentioned with Saint Theresa with no negative comparison. On another, Stein, predicating her penetration of women on her being penetrated by a flea, reveals an Eddy-like, rustic, omniscient, solipsistic lesbianism: "I have in truth some penetration; I am able to say when a flea bites me from what woman it came."¹⁸⁹ Stein may rebuke Christian Science for its "ridiculous improved optimism ... that is afraid of animal magnetism" but does not question the existence of "animal magnetism" or the extremely fraught terms of its appropriation by Christian Science.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, the same passage continues,

It was alright for Quimby who was an abstract idealist to deny matter but for the hide bound practical Edstroms, Mrs. Eddy's and Hutches to deny matter is to be essentially divided in two.

¹⁸⁷ Ruddick suggests Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *Woman's Bible* (1895). See Ruddick 232.

¹⁸⁸ Caroline Fraser, *God's Perfect Child: Living and Dying in the Christian Science Church* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999), 208.

¹⁸⁹ Notebook B, YCAL.

¹⁹⁰ Eddy and others frequently reduced "Malicious Animal Magnetism" to its initials, M.A.M., and thereby, one assumes, its power.

Phineas P. Quimby was the mind healer based in Maine whom, depending on one's allegiance, Eddy either plagiarized or outgrew. Either way, the mention of his name shows Stein's familiarity with the more obscure (though all-important) facts of Christian Science lore: it is only because of Eddy that Quimby is even remembered, much less remembered as an "abstract idealist"! Finally, the phrase "to be essentially divided in two" is suggestive of Stein's extended work, "Two," which I shall discuss below.

In her analysis of *Tender Buttons* (1914) Lisa Ruddick is struck, as am I, by the word "eddy," and also by a crucifix composed of a plank and a tree in the following passage:

CREAM.

In a plank, in a play sole, in a heated red left tree there is shut in
specs with salt be where. This makes an eddy.

Necessary.¹⁹¹

No doubt, this image involves a whirlpool or vortex of meanings, but these correspond most to the specific metaphysical recipe of the Christian Science "cross and crown" insignia, according to which verb and noun (cream) are to be combined, as in a bowl, taking care to inspect, to take with salt, and beware—Eddy, "the discoverer and founder," the necessary ingredient and cook.

Though Stein presents last the least stylistically adventurous section of *Tender Buttons* (titled "Rooms"), Ruddick, endorsing the researches of others, finds it to have been composed first, without accounting for Stein's ordering. Here a comparison with painting is useful. The sections "Objects" and "Food" aim at something like the still lifes

¹⁹¹ Gertrude Stein, *Tender Buttons* in *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl van Vechten (New York: Random House, 1962), 493.

of Cézanne and Picasso. With “Rooms,” however, we have a situation for which a painterly analogy was less available, in part, at least, because its basic “facts” are those of a specifically American Christian Science middle class ideal. The progression from specific “Objects” and “Food” to abstract “Rooms,” i.e., from objects and food to entire rooms, makes epistemological sense. Consider, for example, Matthew 6:6:

But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

When we take *Science and Health* as it was taken, as a “key to the scriptures”; when we recognize the supreme value of domesticity within Christian Science; and more analytically speaking, when we take this domesticity as a theater in which the Christian Science idea of “Supply” is demonstrated, i.e., supplied, through a combination of concealments (“closet,” “secret”) and revelations (“reward thee openly”), we approach the ontological conditions for the reconstructed syntax of *Tender Buttons*. Stein turns the cubist space of Jesus’s closet, his room within a room, inside out:

ROOMS

Act so that there is no use in a centre. A wide action is not a width. They do not eat who mention silver and sweet. There was an occupation.¹⁹²

Lest the impression be given that Christian Science is to be associated only with an early stage of Stein’s career, I call attention to her “Lynn and the Collège de France”

¹⁹² Stein, *Tender Buttons* 498.

(1931). One is elected to the “Collège de France”—but what has this to do with “Lynn”? The shoe manufacturing town in Massachusetts is also a site of election (which connects to the justification by faith of Romans and Galatians): Lynn was home to the last spark thrown out by the Second Great Awakening (begun in Rochester) which Eddy fanned religion whose “founding moment” (in 1866) is when Eddy fell on some ice, injured her back, and was healed through “Christian Science.”¹⁹³ This is known by the Christian Science faithful as “the fall in Lynn.” This “falling on ice” is literally a “water-fall.” Stein thus connects Lynn, the Collège de France, the reader, and her unnamed addressee (Toklas? Eddy?) as sites or scenes of “election”:

The water-fall. Is still in view. And so. Are you.

The anniversary of the College of France. Four Hundredth.¹⁹⁴

As for the several candidates that have been nominated as the “Two” of Stein’s extended word portrait, we might question why, given *any* Stein text, we must limit ourselves to two and only two.¹⁹⁵ Stein may even be understood to be dividing in two a multiple of three—“Edstroms, Mrs. Eddy’s, and Hutches”—a result is not wholly incompatible with my identification of the third stage of the Glover Memoir with the archetypal pair of Stein’s title, Eddy and Weininger:

each one of them is one having sound coming out of that one. ... They are

¹⁹³ Lynn was also the home of Frederick Douglass before his move to Rochester.

¹⁹⁴ Gertrude Stein, “Lynn and the Collège de France,” in *Operas and Plays* (Barrytown, NY: Station Hill Press, 1987), 289.

¹⁹⁵ “Two,” Brenda Wineapple explains, was first published after Stein’s death as “Two: Gertrude Stein and Her Brother.” Earlier titles appear to have been “Two” and “Leo and Sally.” The longer title appears to have been added in Stein’s hand on the typescript “evidently long after the fact”: “perhaps Stein forgot the original subject of the portrait or, more likely, wanted aspects of it suppressed. Moreover, she was in a coded way trying to explain her views of Leo after having excised him from *The Autobiography [of Alice B. Toklas]*.” See Wineapple 343, 475.

alike in being ones going on having sound come out of them. They are not alike. One of them is a woman. One of them is a man.¹⁹⁶

5. Justification

Informing these preparations for setting forth in terms of Pauline justification¹⁹⁷ the reluctance to recognize Rochester, New York as the subject of *The Mother of Us All* is the root of the word “vernacular”—meaning “a language or dialect native to a region or country rather than a literary, cultured or foreign language”—in the Latin word *verna*, meaning “a slave born in the master’s house, native.”¹⁹⁸ The vernacular is what you learn from your mother—your mother tongue.¹⁹⁹ This is to say *The Mother of Us All* is Steinian justification: it anticipates the new perspective without dissociating subject matter and historical interpretation.

Dante’s “eloquent vernacular” overcomes the historical—“that which now is” (Dante’s exile from Florence)—via the transhistorical, “that which is above.” Similarly, Stein’s title overcomes the hierarchy between Rome and Galatia, between the epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, between the Second Great Awakening and Christian Science. Christian Science is not the vernacular of Rome but the eloquent vernacular of “Galatia,” of the Second Great Awakening—of Rochester, New York.

This Steinian approach to the vernacular is evident in her description of her visit

¹⁹⁶ Gertrude Stein, “Two,” in *Two: Gertrude Stein and Her Brother* (New Haven: Yale, 1951), 2.

¹⁹⁷ “Traditionally, justification has been understood as God’s once-for-all, forensic declaration that someone is ‘in the right.’ ... ‘the new perspective on Paul’ has... brought, first of all, awareness of the ‘covenantal’ facet of justification; secondly, the fact that there are ‘present’ and ‘future’ dimensions (besides the ‘once-for-all’ dimension); and thirdly, the ‘Jewishness’ of the forensic aspect.” See Wan Kee Cheong, “Toward a Richer Doctrine of Justification,” *The Paul Page*, 25 Mar. 2005 <<http://www.thepaulpage.com/Keong2.html>> .

¹⁹⁸ *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, tenth ed. 1312.

¹⁹⁹ Scott Westrem pointed out this crucial connection.

to the University of Chicago in *Everybody's Autobiography*. Upon being presented with list of “the ideas that had been important in the world’s history,” Stein recounts:

Ah I said I notice that none of the books read at any time by them was originally in English, was that intentional I asked him. No he said but, in English there have really been no ideas expressed.²⁰⁰

Stein objects: “creation and the expression of that creation” are more interesting than sociology. She argues that “the real ideas are not the relation of human beings as groups but a human being to himself inside him.”²⁰¹ When I was first introduced to this passage by a friend, what most impressed me was Stein’s redefinition of “ideas.” The correlation of ideas to language seemed accidental. Now, however, I recognize this correlation between ideas and language as an apocalyptic concept of the vernacular.

My reading of Stein as if an apocalyptic narrative were sealed within, as much as it is proclaimed without, stems not simply from the realized eschatology of *The Mother of Us All*, but also from Stein’s relation to Dante. I have been brought closer to Stein by considering Dante’s relation to Joachim of Fore (c. 1132-1202), whom Saint Bonaventura points out to Dante in Paradise: “beside me shines the Calabrian Joachim, who was endowed with prophetic spirit.”²⁰² At least two passages in the *Paradiso* may be identified with Joachim.²⁰³ The first, Canto XVIII, is Dante’s vision of a tree “which has life from its top and is always in fruit and never sheds its leaves”²⁰⁴ which then transforms into an eagle of “patterned fire.”²⁰⁵ The second is Dante’s vision, in Canto XXXIII, of the

²⁰⁰ Stein, *Everybody's* 212.

²⁰¹ Stein, *Everybody's* 213.

²⁰² Dante, *Divine Comedy*, tr. Charles S. Singleton, vol. 3 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1975), 139.

²⁰³ See Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The “Figurae” of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972).

²⁰⁴ Dante, 3: 201.

²⁰⁵ Dante, 3: 205.

Trinitarian circles, the culmination of the entire poem.²⁰⁶

Joachim's significance, as the theologian Paul Tillich explains, is as a historian:

[Joachim] developed a philosophy of history which became an alternative to the Augustinian interpretation of history and formed the background to most of the revolutionary movements in the Middle Ages and in modern times. ... [His] ideas about the meaning of historical development should be taken seriously. They should not be rejected just because of these names [of persons] in the Old Testament, which are certainly arbitrary. *Every historian knows about the arbitrariness of every periodization of history* [my emphasis].²⁰⁷

Tillich's exposition of Joachim contains several features which I shall consider separately.

First, it does not distinguish between verbal and diagrammatic signification, or, even more importantly, their interactions. Rather, Tillich may be said to ignore entirely the figural aspects of Joachim's thought. In this Tillich may have followed Ernst Bloch, the German historian whose first mention of Joachim is in his most famous book, *The Spirit of Utopia* (1918).²⁰⁸ (Walter Benjamin praises this book in his "Theologico-Political Fragment.")²⁰⁹ A further connection between Tillich and Bloch is their focus on the "three dispensations" embodied in the figure of the Trinitarian Circles. As Fabio Vander explains, in *The Spirit of Utopia* Bloch cites Joachim

²⁰⁶ "Within the profound and shining subsistence of the lofty Light appeared to me three circles of three colors and one magnitude; and one seemed reflected by the other, as rainbow by rainbow, and the third seemed fire breathed forth equally from the one and the other." Dante 3: 379.

²⁰⁷ Tillich, *History* 175, 177.

²⁰⁸ Fabio Vander, "Ernst Bloch and Joachim of Fiore," *Telos* 122 (Winter, 2002): 128.

²⁰⁹ Walter Benjamin, "Theologico-Political Fragment," in *Reflections*, ed. Peter Demetz, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 312.

with the “heretic Marcion,” as the announcer of a “new eon,” i.e., a new era in which man will be able to live “without masters” but “with a community,” or as Bloch put it using a term borrowed from Joachim, “with an empire (*mit Reich*).”²¹⁰

In a work from 1935, *Erbschaft dieser Zeit*, Bloch would explicitly connect Hitler’s Third Reich to Joachim’s “third Evangelium of the Holy Spirit.”²¹¹ That Bloch can be described as there arguing that the Nazi *Reich* “does not coincide perfectly” with Joachim suggests Bloch was ignorant of another crucial aspect of Joachimist thought: the division of history into two *tempora*, from Adam to Christ and from Christ to the end of history. The three status and two tempora comprise two complementary *deffinitiones*.

As Joachim’s tree is a figure of Paul’s,²¹² Dante’s is a figure of Joachim’s:

In the *Liber figurarum* there is a drawing of two vines which, representing the two peoples, Jewish and Gentile, intertwine to form three circles, bearing fruit as they grow upward. At the top they flower luxuriantly in an overwhelming abundance of blossoms. In this picture Joachim has left us his vision of history.²¹³

Now, Tillich’s distinction between “historical development” and “arbitrary names” also pertains to E. Randolph Daniel’s discussion of Joachim’s *deffinitiones*. Though Daniel, unlike Tillich, does not look beyond Joachim’s subjective vision of history (or the apparent or relative fulfillment of that vision in his followers, who believed it to be, or

²¹⁰ Vander 129.

²¹¹ Vander 130.

²¹² See the allegory of the grafted wild and cultivated olive trees in Romans 11:16-24.

²¹³ E. Randolph Daniel, “The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore’s Understanding of History,” *Speculum* 55.3 (1980): 483.

acted as if it were, true) to the relation of the *tempora*—by themselves or, rather, interwoven through the *status*—to the structure of *history itself*,²¹⁴ it stands to reason that Tillich’s recommendation concerning the *status* (even taking into account its weakness relating to diagrammatic versus verbal signification) also apply to the *tempora*: their “arbitrary” content may be discarded, leaving intact the crucial scheme. This, of course, still leaves to be determined three sets of fundamental relations: between “historical structure” and “subject matter,” between “diagrammatic” and “verbal” signification, and between signifier and signified. In the last two chapters I shall explore these relations in terms of music notation.

Joachim’s *tempora* are an interpretation not merely of Paul’s olive trees but of his apocalyptic eschatology. A historian may yet thereby be open to the possibility that the third stage in the Glover Memoir, Stein’s “but I did see him,” is an image of the double procession of the Holy Spirit.

For Stein, geography, mapping, “seeing everything as flat,” is characteristic of human mind: “When you look at anything and you do not see it all in one plane, you do not see it with the human mind.”²¹⁵ In this sense *The Mother of Us All* is literally geographical, a translation of Dante’s apocalyptic-eschatological geography of Florence and Rome to Rochester and Washington, D.C.²¹⁶ Act II, Scene VII—the *first scene for which “place” is indicated*—begins: “Susan B. Anthony busy with her housework.”²¹⁷ “Housework” can only mean Rochester, Anthony’s home for over sixty years. In the next and final scene (the conspicuous proximity of these scenes, as in the two sides of a coin, denotes their apocalyptic-eschatological value) the “place” is changed to: “The

²¹⁴ Such a discussion may be contained, or at least implied, in a book I learned of too late to incorporate into this work: Robert E. Lerner’s *The Feast of St. Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

²¹⁵ Gertrude Stein, *The Geographical History of America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 175.

²¹⁶ The composite New York Edition is similarly geographical

²¹⁷ Gertrude Stein, *Last Operas and Plays* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 79.

Congressional Hall” completed by “the replica of the statue of Susan B. Anthony and her comrades in the suffrage fight.”²¹⁸

The relation between “the Congressional Hall” in Washington and the Anthony’s home in Rochester may be expressed in terms of Dante’s vision of Joachim’s eagle. Dante, invoking Pegasus (from the stamp of whose hoof sprang the fountain of the Muses), sees, as if spelled out by the choreographed flight of a flock of birds, “*DILIGITE IUSTITIAM QUI IUDICATIS TERRAM*” (Love justice, you who judge the earth). From the form of the last appearing “M” Dante’s or Joachim’s eagle appears.²¹⁹ This bird allegory is comparable to that found in Stein’s *The Geographical History of America or the Relation of Human Nature to the Human Mind*, whose title it would be hard to take too literally:

And what have the mocking birds done.

They have spread.

They used to be only in the Eastern south, and now they go farther and farther North and they have gone West to Los Angeles and further and further north perhaps they will be all over, the national bird of the United States.²²⁰

To mock is to ridicule or to imitate, yet there is a meaning between these meanings. In its second sense, “mocking” (“parroting”) appears to be the way we learn language, the vernacular. In the spreading of the mocking bird we have an image of the Jerusalem which is at once free—and in bondage (to each specific place, each specific vernacular). The eagle has been mocked (“the offense of the cross,” Gal 5:11); the eloquent vernacular, however,

²¹⁸ Stein, *Last Operas* 83.

²¹⁹ Dante 3: 205.

²²⁰ Stein, *Geographical* 90.

is native to Rochester, and there it remains.

The mocking bird, in its technological aspect, i.e., mechanical reproduction, connects Anthony to Stein's experience of fame following the publication of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. With new urgency she reexamined the identity of the "stageplayer" of Hollywood:

I want to write a novel about publicity, a novel where a person is so publicized that there isn't any personality left. I want to write about the effect on people of the Hollywood cinema kind of publicity that takes away all identity. Its very curious you know very curious the way it does just that.²²¹

The result was *Ida: A Novel* (1941). *The Mother of Us All* presents the technological apparatus of fame in the apocalyptic, *electric* light of Christian Science; in its ritual candles play no part, having been, presumably, only an accidental aspect of only the earliest churches.²²² Christian Science history is electric, "scientific." Thus there is at least a kernel of truth in the story that a telephone was placed in Eddy's tomb.

The apocalyptic key to the Glover Memoir and the Joachimist progression that culminates in *The Mother of Us All*—the intertwining of Mary Baker Eddy and the Second Great Awakening—is a sentence in the first edition of *Science and Health* (i.e., before it became a "key to the scriptures") written by Mary Baker Glover: "The Rochester rappings inaugurated a mockery destructive to order and good morals."²²³

²²¹ Quoted in John Malcolm Brinnin, *The Third Rose* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1959), 359.

²²² Paul Eli Ivey, *Prayers in Stone: Christian Science Architecture in the United States, 1894-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 52. On page 49 Ivey notes: "[T]he first church erected specifically for Christian Science worship was a small frame church built by women students in Oconto, Wisconsin, in 1886."

²²³ Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health* (Boston: Christian Scientist Publishing Company, 1875), 92. Glover is Eddy's maiden name. The "rappings" began in 1848.

II. “The Chimæra”

In this chapter’s second part, I consider Stein’s concept of the vernacular as it relates to the reference in *The Tragic Muse* to “some delicate Hawthorne tale.” I shall argue that James’s concept of the vernacular of upstate New York is best understood in terms of “The Chimæra” of *The Wonder Book* (1852), Hawthorne’s retelling of Greek myths for children.

The deaths of Lincoln and Hawthorne, as recounted in James’s memoir *Notes of a Son and Brother* (1913), which link the nation’s fate to Ashburton Place in Boston (where he hears of these deaths), may appear to correspond straightforwardly to Stein’s linking of Washington, D.C., and Rochester.²²⁴ However, in the midst of a civil war, a war between the states, the “loyal” tears shed by James (a New Yorker) for Hawthorne (a New Englander of ambiguous loyalty, as I will discuss in the next chapter) demand further consideration. The definitive identification of Boston as Hawthorne’s regionalism, not James’s, is James’s response, later in life, to his sister-in-law’s invitation that he move to closer to her:

... when I think of how little Boston and Cambridge were of old ever my affair, or anything but an accident, for me of the parental life there to which I occasionally and painfully and losingly sacrificed, I have a superstitious terror of seeing them at the end of time again stretch out

²²⁴ Henry James, *Henry James: Autobiography*, ed. Frederick Dupee (New York: Criterion Books, 1956), 478.

strange inevitable tentacles to draw me back and destroy me.²²⁵

Significantly, James terms his encounter with Hawthorne just prior to his death a “reintroduction”:

This prolonged hanging off from true knowledge had been the more odd, so that I couldn’t have explained it, I felt, through the fact that *The Wonder-Book* and *Twice-Told Tales* had helped to enchant our childhood; the consequence at any rate seemed happy, since without it, very measurably, the sudden sense of recognition would have been less uplifting a wave.²²⁶

I am less interested in James’s recognition of Hawthorne than his recognition of his younger self, as a reader of the myth of Bellerophon and Pegasus, which seems to have both drawn and repelled him, as in his essay on Hawthorne, which draws the flimsiest veil over what is clearly a personal childhood experience:

I have been careful not to read [*The Wonder-Book* and *Twice-Told Tales*] over, for I should be very sorry to risk disturbing in any degree a recollection of them that has been at rest since the appreciative period of life to which they are addressed. They seem at that period enchanting, and the ideal of happiness of many American children is to lie upon the carpet and lose themselves in *The Wonder Book*. It is in its pages that they first make the acquaintance of the heroes and heroines of the antique mythology, and something of the nursery fairy-tale quality of interest

²²⁵ Henry James, *Letters*, ed. Leon Edel, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974), 657-8.

²²⁶ James, *Letters* 4: 406-8.

which Hawthorne imparts to them always remains.²²⁷

Significantly, *The Wonder-Book* receives special emphasis.

The two principal sources of the myth of Bellerophon are the *Iliad*, Book VI, and the 13th Olympian Ode of Pindar. Homer tells how Bellerophon, grandson of Sisypus, was visiting King Proteus where the wife of his host, Queen Anteia, was attracted to him. When he rebuffed the queen's amorous advances, she told her husband that Bellerophon had attempted to rape her. Since the king could not summarily execute a guest, he instead asked Bellerophon to deliver a sealed letter to the queen's father, King Iobates. Unknown to Bellerophon, the letter reported her charge of attempted rape and asked the king to kill him, hence the term "Bellerophonic Letter" to signify a message detrimental to its own bearer. King Iobates decides to kill two birds with one stone by giving Bellerophon the deadly task of slaying the vicious Chimæra. Pindar, on the other hand, tells of how with Athena's help, Bellerophon tames Pegasus, with whose help he slays the Chimæra.

Exoterically, Hawthorne's retelling of Bellerophon follows Pindar. However, the crucial element of the Homeric Bellerophonic Letter, its message of illicit sexuality, has not been eliminated, only repressed. The Homeric element is displaced onto the unnamed boy whom Bellerophon befriends:

Then Bellerophon embraced the gentle child, and promised to come to him again, and departed. But, in after years, that child took higher flights upon the aerial steed than ever did Bellerophon, and achieved more honorable deeds than his friend's victory over the Chimæra. For, gentle and tender as he was, he grew to be a mighty poet!²²⁸

²²⁷ James, *Literary Criticism* 1: 417-8.

²²⁸ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1972), 237.

But in James's Hawthorne essay, it is James himself who literally supplies the missing crucial element. There he relates that his first memory of Hawthorne concerns *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), which indeed predates *The Wonder Book* by two years. By a remarkable substitution James not only provides the missing Letter but the name of the boy (Henry):

The writer of these lines, who was a child at the time, remembers dimly the sensation the book produced, and the little shudder with which people alluded to it, as if a peculiar horror were mixed with its attractions. He was too young to read it himself, but its title, upon which he fixed his eyes as the book lay upon the table, had a mysterious charm. He had a vague belief indeed that the "letter" in question was one of the documents that come by the post, and it was a source of perpetual wonderment to him that it should be of such an unaccustomed hue.²²⁹

Hawthorne's letter "A" stands for, among other things, adultery, i.e., illicit sexuality, and so, among other things, does the letter King Proteus sends via Bellerophon.

Another displaced image of the Bellerophonic Letter in "The Chimæra" is the Fountain of Pirene (on whose reflective surface—like the cover of *The Scarlet Letter*—the unnamed boy first sees Pegasus), which

was once a beautiful woman; and when her son was killed by the arrows of the huntress Diana, she melted all away into tears. And so the water, which you find so cool and sweet, is the sorrow of that poor mother's

²²⁹ James, *Literary Criticism* 1: 402.

heart.²³⁰

This fountain is also the source of James's loyal tears.

The Wonder Book is structured by a sophisticated narrating device framing each of its stories. Each framing interlude is named after a place in the Berkshire Mountains (once, the distant Catskills of New York are pointed out), where Hawthorne was then living, in which a particular myth has been told by Eustace, the youthful stand-in for Hawthorne, to an audience of children, each named after a flower. Thus the final section, which follows "The Chimæra" and calls attention to the artificiality of the narrating device, is titled "Bald Summit":

"Hush, Primrose, hush!" exclaimed Eustace, in a thrilling whisper, and putting his finger on his lip. "Not a word about that man [Hawthorne], even on a hill top! If our babble were to reach his ears, and happen not to please him, he has but to fling a quire or two of paper into the stove and you, Primrose, and I, and Periwinkle, Sweet Fern, Squash-Blossom, Blue Eye, Huckleberry, Clover, Cowslip, Plantain, Milkweed, Dandelion, and Buttercup,—yes, and wise Mr. Pringle, with his unfavorable criticisms on my legends, and poor Mrs. Pringle, too,—would all turn to smoke, and go whisking up the funnel!"²³¹

Another level of sophistication is that Eustace has just referred the children to various writers living in the immediate vicinity, ending with: "On the other side of Pittsfield sits Herman Melville, shaping out the gigantic conception of his 'White Whale,' while the

²³⁰ Hawthorne 207.

²³¹ Hawthorne 241

gigantic shape of Graylock looms upon him from his study-window.”²³²

The insistent floral/moral theme of James’s *Hawthorne* indicates that a search for the moral of the delicate not-Hawthorne tale of *The Tragic Muse* might well begin at “Bald Summit”:

This moral suggests that the flower of art blooms only where the soil is deep, that it takes a great deal of history to produce a little literature, that it needs a complex machinery to set a writer in motion. American civilization has hitherto had other things to do than to produce flowers, and before giving birth to writers it has wisely occupied itself with providing something for them to write about. Three of four beautiful talents of trans-Atlantic growth are the sum of what the world usually recognizes, and in this modest nosegay the genius of Hawthorne is admitted to have the rarest and sweetest fragrance.²³³

James did not need to reread *The Wonder Book* because he’d taken Eustace’s words to heart. *The Wonder Book*’s geographic frame also forces us to take literally the suppressed autobiographical implications of the sentence that immediately follows James’s floral fantasy: “Out of the soil of New England he sprang—in a crevice of that immitigable granite he sprouted and bloomed.”²³⁴ Hawthorne’s native state of New Hampshire is the Granite State; New York is the Empire State. In the next chapter I shall look closer at what this New York regionalism holds for both James and Melville. As a prelude to that discussion I close this chapter with a discussion of a James character who is named after a Greek myth about a flower, Hyacinth Robinson of *The Princess Casamassima* (1886).

²³² I discuss James’s connection to Melville in the next chapter.

²³³ James, *Literary Criticism* 1: 320.

²³⁴ James, *Literary Criticism* 1: 320.

The Hyacinth first sprang from the blood of a boy of the same name, beloved by Apollo, but accidentally killed by him, as in Milton's elegy "Lycidas"—"Like to that sanguine flower inscribed with woe" (106)—or, as in the version glossed by Keats in *Endymion*, killed out of jealousy by Zephyr. But James's character combines this Greek myth with another—the role of Apollo or Zephyr is played by a Bellerophonic Letter:

"Hyacinth is to receive a card of invitation to a certain big house," he went on, "a card with the name left in blank, so that he may fill it out himself."²³⁵

Hyacinth, rather than fulfill this invitation in an assassination plot (i.e., an *Attentat*), shoots himself through the heart.²³⁶

But the card of invitation is not the only Bellerophonic Letter encountered by the apprenticed book binder. Though Hyacinth has made a pledge to "the International"²³⁷ to perform at some unspecified time (within five years) some unspecified deed, he feels that in the meantime his life is his own:

... he proposed to write something. He was far from having decided as yet what it should be; the only point settled was that it should be very remarkable and should not, *at least on the face of it*, have anything to do

²³⁵ James, *Novels, 1886-1890* 542.

²³⁶ Note two other Jamesian Bellerophonic Letters. In *The Wings of the Dove*, Merton Densher is the sender of the letter from Milly Theale to Kate Croy that dooms their liaison: "She had laid on the table from the moment of her coming in the long envelope, substantially filled, which he had sent her enclosed in another of still ampler make." See Henry James, *The Wings of the Dove* (New York: Oxford, 1990), 503. In *The Bostonians*, Olive Chancellor identifies herself as a Bellerophonic Letter (and Verena Tarrant as Bellerophon) when she says to Verena, "I should like to say you are my form—my envelope. But you are too beautiful for that!" See Henry James, *The Bostonians* (New York: Vintage/Library of America, 1991), 146.

²³⁷ For the New York Edition James changed this to "the Subterranean." See below and James, *Novels, 1886-1890* 128.

with a fresh deal of the social pack. That was to be his transition—into literature; to bind the book, charming as the process might be, was after all much less fundamental than to write it. It had occurred to Hyacinth more than once that it would be a fine thing to produce *a brilliant death-song* [my emphasis].²³⁸

Sheldon Novick has argued against Alfred Habegger’s “attribution” of the theme of suicide in James’s work to the suicide of his uncle, John Barber James, because he finds no evidence that James even knew of it.²³⁹ I intend no such attribution (no causal explanation) with my observation that the Jamesian theme of suicide, including his representations of the suicide of Henry’s cousin J.J. (two years after that of his father John Barber), is presented in terms of a Bellerophonic Letter, written, as it were, in the vernacular of upstate New York. This vernacular is embodied in James’s use of “our” when speaking of an earlier generation of the extended James family:

our lack of the instinct for the market needn’t have been so much worth speaking of: other curiosities, other sympathies might have redressed the balance. I make out our young cousin J.J. as dimly aware of this *while composing the light melodies that preluded his extinction*,²⁴⁰ and which that catastrophe so tried to admonish us to think of as promising; but his image is more present to me still as the great incitement, during the few previous years, to our constant dream of “educational” relief, of some kind of social issue, through Europe.

²³⁸ James, *Novels, 1886-1890* 360-1.

²³⁹ Novick 460.

²⁴⁰ My emphasis: this phrase and Hyacinth’s “brilliant death-song” also suggest variations of the Orpheus myth.

It was to Europe J.J. had been committed; he was over there
forging the small apologetic arms that were so little to avail him.²⁴¹

How much of the glamor of Europe pervading James's writing is less an escape from than a disguise of grim realities closer to home? At the time of J.J.'s suicide, James would have been approximately fifteen years old, and the clear implication is that, regardless of what he knew of the earlier suicide of his uncle, he knew of this one when it happened. Of James's teenage consciousness of his cousin's deed there is more evidence .

James met the president of the United States, Chester Alan Arthur (1829-1886), at a dinner party in Washington, D.C. Arthur was in deep official mourning: his wife had recently died, and he had become president the previous year through the assassination of his predecessor.²⁴² Given this, it is not too surprising that the conversation between Arthur and James took a somber turn. But Arthur then revealed that "he had assisted at the suicidal deathbed of Johnny James, who was his intimate friend!"²⁴³ The interest for James in offering this information in a letter to his mother (days before her own death) appears to lie *not* in J.J.'s suicide, but in Arthur's *intimacy*, which suggests that the suicide was already known to both mother and son. Thus James's loyal tears for Lincoln and Hawthorne, or rather the printed words "loyal tears," are a Fountain of Pirene on whose surface we may see not only a reflection of the intimacy between President Arthur and J.J., but of James's mother (who lost her favorite child to no one but a "life of letters"—not to mention Pegasus).

In the next chapter I will discuss James's long, bleak story "In the Cage" as a key artifact of James's relation to upstate New York. I anticipate that discussion by noting James's own comment on the story's heroine:

²⁴¹ Henry James, *A Small Boy and Others* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1913), 201.

²⁴² Fred Kaplan, *Henry James the Imagination of Genius* (New York: Morrow, 1992), 244.

²⁴³ Alfred Habegger, *The Father* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994), 362.

she wonders ... very much after the fashion of our portentous little Hyacinth... tainted to the core, as we have seen him, with the trick of mental reaction on the things about him and fairly staggering under the appropriations, as I have called them, that he owes to the critical spirit. He collapses, poor Hyacinth, like a thief in the night, overcharged with treasures of reflexion and spoils of passion of which he can give, in his poverty and obscurity *no honest account* [my emphasis].²⁴⁴

Especially in light of Hyacinth's planned but unexecuted "brilliant death-song," which was to have nothing to do "at least on the face of it" with "a fresh deal of the social pack," James's Preface prompts the question of his having changed the name of the organization in which Hyacinth is embroiled, in revising the novel for the New York Edition, from "the International" to "the Subterranean."

This substitution is bit of Symbolist poetry. The substituted "Subterranean" is at once less and more subversive than "International"; less because "Subterranean" obscures actual labor and anarchist organizations recognizable as "the International"; more because it calls attention to the subversive deceptions of Hyacinth's death-song relating to its ambiguous presentation in the narrative, including its possible relation to his suicide, not to mention the "scheme" of Hoffendahl, the leader of the secret organization:

Humanity, in his scheme, was classified and subdivided with a truly German thoroughness, and altogether of course from the point of view of the revolution, as it might forward or obstruct it.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ James, *Literary Criticism* 2: 1170.

²⁴⁵ James, *Novels, 1886-1890* 292.

These opposite effects, leading in opposite directions, touch on the other side, alerting us to the possibility of a secret writing connected to a theological-political predicament.

I shall return to the subterranean aspects of Hyacinth's "transition into literature" with a closer examination of the intersection of Greece and upstate New York in Hawthorne's *The Wonder Book*—with a closer look at "the other side of Pittsfield," i.e., Melville. Hoffendahl's scheme, however, in its likeness to those of "Sade, Fourier, and Loyola," suggests that the transition will resemble Barthes's idea of the *logothete*, i.e., one "who disperses himself across the framework he sets up and arranges *ad infinitum*."²⁴⁶

In this way "portentous" Hyacinth Robinson emerges as an Otto Weininger *avant la lettre*. A year or so after James dictated his remembrance of J.J., an echo of its phrase "preluded his extinction" found its way into a letter he wrote on 7 September 1913:²⁴⁷

—I spent an evening at a club 3 or 4 years ago over Weininger's Sex + Character which I thought *so* portentous on the part of of [sic] the meere boy who produced it that nothing indeed *could* be left him but to blow his brains out.²⁴⁸

Like Johnny, Weininger was twenty-three years old, and there was an ominous music to his suicide as well—its notoriously having been "staged" in Beethoven's death-chamber. Johnny's melodies and Weininger's *Sex and Character* are further united in their both being interpreted by James as Bellerophonic Letters. However, Weininger did not "blow his brains out"; instead, like Hyacinth, he shot himself in the heart. About this

²⁴⁶ Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1976), 6.

²⁴⁷ James dictated *A Small Boy and Others* in 1912.

²⁴⁸ Letter to Herbert H. Gilchrist, Tintner-Janowitz Collection, Bx 175, Folder 26, Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

discrepancy I shall say more.

Chapter Three: Henry James and the Heart of New York State
(The Quest for the Myth of the Kinetoscope)

The heart, nourished in the ebb and flow of seas of blood,
Is the main seat of what men call understanding.

Empedocles

I. Jules Michelet: *History of the French Revolution*

The “reading of history” of the title of Ralph Pendrel’s fictional *Essay* is Pendrel’s metaphor for the writing of history which the metanarrative of James’s novel transforms into a metaphor for the acting of history. As such it is directly comparable to the crucial introductory passage on Jules Michelet’s *History of the French Revolution* (1847-53) in Edmund Wilson’s *To the Finland Station: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History* (1940):

There is no book that makes us feel when we have finished it that we have lived through and known with such intimacy so many generations of men. And it makes us feel something more: that we ourselves are the last chapter of the story and that the next chapter is for us to create.²⁴⁹

This chapter attempts to answer the question raised by the suggestion that “reading

²⁴⁹ Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1953), 34.

history” and “acting and writing history” may be more similar than they at first appear, which is: if they do designate the same thing, does one do so better than the other?

As I will show, Wilson’s Michelet is also crucial to not only the New York State and Henry James of his *Upstate: Records and Recollections of Northern New York* (1971) but to the James of Wilson’s study of the literature of the American Civil War *Patriotic Gore* (1962):

Henry James, though he had not traveled widely at home, nevertheless knew both New York and New England—which presented at that time stronger contrasts than are likely to appear today.²⁵⁰

At the center of these relations is the syllogistic argument in *Upstate* according to which the feudal grandeur of the reigning class in interaction with the various New York religions led to Henry James. My treating feudal grandeur as Wilson’s major premise is only partly accounted for by its chronological priority:

The fading-out in New York within such a brief period of the ideal of feudal grandeur is of course only a special case of the swift transience of everything in the United States. These mansions mostly date from the early years of the nineteenth century, and the family estates were acquired in the later years of the eighteenth.²⁵¹

There is at least one other claim to preeminence to be made for feudal grandeur:

²⁵⁰ Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore* (New York: Norton, 1994), 700.

²⁵¹ Edmund Wilson, *Upstate: Records and Recollections of Northern New York* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1971), 381.

[E]very upstate New Yorker whose family belongs, or once belonged, to this landlord class retains something of this feudal mentality. They have never been able to get over the conviction that they ought to have the say as to what is good for the lower orders. Franklin Roosevelt was an obvious example of this.²⁵²

The frontispiece to *Upstate* emphasizes Wilson's point with a photograph of his family's Stone House in Talcottville. He explains what I call his minor premise (because it connects to no president, certainly none of Roosevelt's stature) as the result of the "spiritual vacuum":

created ... by the sloughing off the old religion [that] was not to be filled by ... Congregationalism in competition with Methodism and Baptism but by a great proliferation of entirely new cults that had no Calvinism or even Wesleyanism to restrict them to older theologies.²⁵³

The examples he gives are the Mormons, the Shakers and the Oneida community ("morally and intellectually the most dignified of the cultist organizations").²⁵⁴ Of course, these sects were, or at least professed to be, unaware that they lacked this restriction—for they all possessed, albeit in different ways, the King James Bible. In any event, both premises are present in Wilson's conclusion:

The Roots are real Henry James characters—not the timid Americans abroad of the New England Prufrock type, but like the Jameses, New

²⁵² Wilson, *Upstate* 12.

²⁵³ Wilson, *Upstate* 15.

²⁵⁴ Wilson, *Upstate* 43.

Yorkers from the better upstate towns: he from Clinton, she from Albany.

I was reminded by one of the guests that “the American” had come from

Utica and Daisy Miller from Schenectady.²⁵⁵

By “better upstate towns” he means towns where something of the feudal dispensation still reigned. By “Pruftrock types” he means the religious experiences of

“Congregationalism ... Methodism ... Baptism ... Calvinism or even Wesleyanism.”

Elsewhere, however, Wilson might be understood to equivocate slightly on James’s relation to New York religion:

James, who was a Protestant but an Irishman, a New Yorker and not a New Englander, whose father rejected with revulsion the stiff orthodox Calvinist doctrine of the Princeton Theological Seminary and invented for his spiritual needs his own benevolent brand of Swedenborgianism, did retain some Presbyterian traits—his plain and virtuous people are likely to triumph morally over the beautiful and worldly ones...²⁵⁶

And as Wilson reworks his syllogism in a series of enthymemes (leaving out one or more of its premises) its consequences become ever more far-reaching and ultimately beyond his control.

Parallel to his upstate aunt’s confirmation of the laziness of her medical school classmate Gertrude Stein, in corroboration of which Wilson invokes *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*—“Stein must have been adept at evading her courses, as she had already been in William James’s”—Ernest Hemingway confirms Wilson’s sense of Stein’s

²⁵⁵ Wilson, *Upstate* 121. Wilson might have also mentioned Isabel Archer of *The Portrait of a Lady*, who spends a considerable part of her childhood in Albany.

²⁵⁶ Wilson, *Patriotic Gore* 742.

“effortless vagueness and interminable repetition” by telling him that she “always made a point of spinning some of this rigmarole every night and thus managed to keep up the illusion that she was producing literature.”²⁵⁷ But Wilson’s syllogism comes back to haunt him following Hemingway’s suicide: “I am told now that his mind had been going and that he had been given shock treatments in Rochester.”²⁵⁸ A few pages later, his (literal) state of mind meets its Jamesian *Doppelgänger*, “vastation”:

I explained that [James Thurber] had found the word in Leon Edel’s biography of Henry James. The elder Henry James had used this word for a kind of blackout that he sometimes had, when his mind had simply gone blank, and he hadn’t even known where he was.²⁵⁹

In other words, Wilson’s misreading of Stein intersects with his identification with Henry James. This misreading of Stein is curious because Wilson’s and Stein’s readings of James strongly coincide in their “geographical” orientation.

Here I have in mind the passage in *The American Scene* referred to earlier in which James recounts a motoring “adventure,” in the company of Edith Wharton and her French poodle, out of the Berkshires of Massachusetts and into the Hudson valley of New York, “of which the motive, whether formulated or not, had doubtless virtually been to feel, with a far stretched arm, for the heart of New York.” James then asks, “Had New York, the miscellaneous monster, a heart at all?”²⁶⁰ To appreciate his hermeneutic answer is to ask a similar question of James himself, and to receive a similarly hermeneutic reply:

²⁵⁷ Wilson, *Upstate* 62-4.

²⁵⁸ Wilson, *Upstate* 217. In terms of the historical record, it was in Rochester, Minnesota that Hemingway was treated for depression—but this distinction is not made in *Upstate*, and it is Wilson’s “state of mind” in which I am interested.

²⁵⁹ Wilson, *Upstate* 222.

²⁶⁰ Henry James, *The American Scene* (New York: Penguin, 1994), 41-2. Compare this to Susan Stringham’s “bold” idea that Burlington, Vermont (across Lake Champlain from New York State) is “the real heart of New England, Boston being ‘too far south’” in James, *Wings* 75.

discovering in the heart of one, that of the other. Though James goes on to say that a final answer eluded them—“perhaps”—the river town of Hudson momentarily completes the hermeneutic circle:

[it] seemed to stretch back, with fumbling friendly hand, to the earliest outlook of my consciousness. Many matters had come and gone, innumerable impressions had supervened; yet here, in the stir of the senses, a whole range of small forgotten things revived, things intensely Hudsonian, more than Hudsonian ... that made one for an hour, as small—carried one up the rest of the river, the river of life indeed, as a thrilled roundabout pilgrim, by primitive steamboat, to a mellow medieval Albany.

But the elusive heart in question, I suggest, was at once more upstate, more medieval, than James let on—in the realm of “New York State Religions”—*and* much closer: the town of Hudson was able to fumble so effectively with James’s earliest consciousness because of what (once)²⁶¹ lay only a few miles down stream—Linwood, the riverside mansion of his uncles and his own childhood, the sense of which may underlie “the most striking signs by which the nearness of the river was first announced”:

three or four fine old homes overlooking the long road, reputedly Dutch manors, seats of patriarchs and patroons, [of] ... a nobler archaic note than even the best of the New England colonial.

²⁶¹ There still exists an iron gate, which possibly dates to a later period, at the entrance to the property which, when closed, brings together two halves of the word “Linwood.”

1. The Feudal Grandeur of Linwood

From Linwood—moreso than the Dutch house of his Albany grandmother, the archetype of Henry James’s feudal grandeur—I shall derive two other structures of importance: 1) George Eastman’s fifty-room mansion (completed in 1905), which stood in a feudal relation to the city of Rochester until his suicide in 1932,²⁶² and 2) the New York Edition.

When James speaks of “J.J. the elder” (1816-56) as the “most loved, most beautiful, most sacrificed of the Albany uncles”²⁶³ he is referring to the time after J.J. had sold Linwood to his brother Augustus (1807-66). This transaction, possibly related to the financial embarrassments and gambling debts which Alfred Habegger suggests lay behind the suicide,²⁶⁴ is recorded in the *Documentary History of Rhinebeck in Dutchess County* of 1881. Its entry is invaluable in confirming James’s personal memories (“Didn’t Linwood bristle with great views and other glories, to say nothing of gardens and graperies and black ponies, to say nothing of gardeners and grooms...”)²⁶⁵ and connecting them to that fading-out of that culture which Wilson identified as unique to upstate New York:

Matthew and Isaac Van Etten were the owners in common of lot number one, in 1790. In this year Isaac sold out his half interest therein to Thomas Tillotson ... [who] at once took possession of the property, and built thereon the present brick mansion [Linwood], which remained his

²⁶² See also, below, the Dansville Sanatorium, the “Castle on the Hill,” where James’s younger brother Robertson stayed for extended periods to treat his alcoholism.

²⁶³ The sentence continues “and J.J. the younger—they were young together, they were luckless together, and the combination was as strange as the disaster was sweeping.” James, *Small Boy* 203.

²⁶⁴ See Alfred Habegger, “New York Monumentalism and Hidden Family Corpses,” in *Henry James’s New York Edition*, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 185-205.

²⁶⁵ James, *Small Boy* 190.

residence until his death, in 1830. ... After the death of his father, the property passed into the possession of John Tillotson, who sold it to Dr. Federal Vanderburgh, together with the land now owned and occupied by Mrs. Dyar, for nineteen thousand dollars. Doctor Vanderburgh retained the lands on the east side of the creek, and built for himself the residence which is now the Dyar mansion, and sold the Tillotson mansion, with the lands on the west side of the creek, to his son-in-law, John B. James. John B. James sold it to his brother Augustus James,²⁶⁶ and the latter in turn sold in to Alfred Wild.²⁶⁷ For beauty of location and scenery it is one of the finest country seats on the banks of the Hudson. With a view to reconstruction and improvements, Mr. Wild had commenced the work of demolition, when his fortune was lost in the enterprise of the Portage Canal ...²⁶⁸

The spirit of J.J. the elder's tenancy at Linwood is captured by his hiring America's greatest architect of the mid-nineteenth century, Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892), to make plans for the renovation of the Colonial mansion in the Greek Revival style, which were then followed by plans for an entirely new Gothic Revival structure, neither of which was ever executed. So far as I know, all that remains of the Linwood with which James was familiar (besides the passages in *A Small Boy and Others*) is a sketch by Davis and his Diary from the same time. From his rounds of visits, consultations, plans, bills, social engagements, and travels a detailed picture emerges not only of the James family (including J. J. the younger!) in its grand decline but of a consummate artist (Davis)

²⁶⁶ This sale occurred after the death of Mary Helen Vanderburgh in 1846, which left what James called the "tragic trio" of John Barber James and his two children, who moved to Albany.

²⁶⁷ Augustus too declared bankruptcy.

²⁶⁸ Edward W Smith, *Documentary History of Rhinebeck in Dutchess County, N.Y.* (Rhinebeck, N.Y. : ACM Kelly, 1974), 41.

engaged in myth-making. Davis's supervision of almost every aspect of the designs of his projects (exterior, gardens, interior, furniture) was, as Amelia Peck observes, the exception to the usual role of an architect in nineteenth-century America, and anticipates James's supervision of the Edition.²⁶⁹ Davis's Diary (see Appendix II) constitutes his field-research of living in great wealth in the Hudson Valley. The comprehensive designs which resulted were novels-to-be-lived-in.

2. Christian Science—New York Religion

According to Alfred Habegger, the James family left New York City for good in 1859 (to settle eventually in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1863) once no big-circulation newspaper would publish the writings of Henry Sr. on his favorite subject, Fourier's vision of the erotic customs of the future:²⁷⁰

Most American Fourierists tried to steer clear of the Frenchman's visionary dream of complete sexual freedom. Not James. He got hold of an uncompromising pamphlet by one of Fourier's disciples and translated it under the title *Love in the Phalanstery*, leaving his own name off the title page.²⁷¹

The son alludes to the father's interest in *The Bostonians* (1886):

²⁶⁹ Amelia Peck, "'Being Sensible of the Value of Professional Services': Alexander Jackson Davis's Designs for the Interiors of Lyndhurst and Grace Hill," in *Alexander Jackson Davis*, ed. Amelia Peck (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 81. Davis's frustrated plans also anticipate the negative reaction of James's parents to his brother Robertson's interest in pursuing architecture as a career; see Jane Maher *Biography of Broken Fortunes*, (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1986), 79-81.

²⁷⁰ Habegger, *Father* 279.

²⁷¹ Habegger, *Father* 5.

Mrs. Tarrant ... incurred the displeasure of her family, who gave her husband to understand that, much as they desired to remove the shackles from the slave, there were kinds of behavior which struck them as too unfettered. These had prevailed, to their thinking, at Cayuga, and they naturally felt it was no use for him to say that his residence there had been (for him—the community still existed) but a momentary episode, inasmuch as there was little more to be urged for the spiritual picnics and vegetarian camp-meetings in which the discountenanced pair now sought consolation.²⁷²

“Cayuga” is an acceptable substitute for Oneida because both are the name of a Finger Lake, of a town on a Lake, and of an indigenous Iroquois Indian tribe. In short, James’s substitution not only implies an understanding of the Oneidan’s “communistic” principles, but is a fairly sophisticated and honest representation of upstate geography and history. Henry Sr.’s reference to the Oneidans as “ultra—that is to say, consistent—Calvinists” evinces the religious aspect of their communalism.²⁷³

The relationship between Mary Baker Eddy and Augusta Stetson, whom Eddy appointed to lead the New York City branch of the Church, reveals Christian Science as similarly typical New York religion. When, in 1884, Stetson first heard Mrs. Eddy speak and experienced a moment of ecstatic release from her problems, she was just starting her career as an elocutionist, like Verena Tarrant.²⁷⁴ Indeed, Stetson and Eddy, and Verena and Olive, are virtual contemporaries. The last meeting between Stetson and Eddy occurred outside Boston on 7 December 1908, before Stetson’s excommunication. The

²⁷² James, *Bostonians*, 65.

²⁷³ Quoted in Habegger, *Father* 284-5.

²⁷⁴ Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (Reading, Mass.: Perseus Books, 1998), 534.

psychological accuracy of Stetson's account of their drive in Eddy's carriage around the Chestnut Hill Reservoir in Brookline, Massachusetts, of Stetson on her knees sobbing in Eddy's study and receiving her blessing,²⁷⁵ is confirmed by James's accounts of the carriage drives of Verena and Olive about New York and up "the fifth Avenue" to Delmonico's, of Verena's Boston confessions of disloyalty, ending in more tears and embraces. In turn, the tears that at the end of the novel we are told Verena is yet destined to shed are fulfilled in Stetson's death in Rochester, in 1928.²⁷⁶

An eyewitness to Stetson's excommunication (and a former Christian Scientist) described Stetson, and her relation to Eddy, as follows:

Malpractice, perverted sex teaching, self-deification, deliberately misleading use of language—she was proved [by the excommunicating body of the Christian Science Church] guilty of them all. And every one of them she derived directly from Mrs. Eddy, parent alike of the tree and the fungus. It might plausibly be said that Mrs. Stetson was condemned for following Mrs. Eddy's teachings, not wisely, but too well.²⁷⁷

The "spiritual core" (or "rotting pulp") to which Stetson remained faithful was the vernacular of New York religion exemplified in the first edition of *Science and Health*

²⁷⁵ Gill 538.

²⁷⁶ According to student quoted in Sarah Gardner Cunningham, "A New Order: Augusta Emma Stetson and the Origins of Christian Science in New York City, 1886-1910," Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1994, 201: "That summer Mrs. Stetson went away for a short vacation. I did not see her again. I have always thought that had she been here in New York, with her students, the result would have been different. I have often seen her so many times brought back from the belief in passing on. She often said, 'Do not let me go.' ... When word came back from Rochester, we, the students who had been very close to her, met together at the Institute, next to Mrs. Stetson's home, and decided that we would watch for three days."

²⁷⁷ This adaptation of Shakespeare in the closing phrase puts Eddy in the odd position of Desdemona and Stetson in the perhaps odder position of Othello. Quoted in Gill 542. The quote continues, "Yet this would hardly be true. The doctrines which Gussie particularly emphasized were the very ones that Mrs. Eddy outgrew ..." But this, to say the least, is debatable.

(1875).

3. The New York Edition

The idea that Eddy “outgrew” certain doctrines needs to be examined more closely for the light it sheds on a similar ideas about James’s regionalism. To justify her actions after her excommunication, Stetson appears to have doctored Eddy’s letters, which she reproduced in facsimile.²⁷⁸ A similar ambiguity applies to Eddy:

As Mrs. Eddy withdrew from church administration and referred her correspondence regarding church matters to her secretaries, her correspondence to Mrs. Stetson became formal and distant. Particularly after the move to Pleasant View, *one cannot assume authorship or the privacy of any of Mrs. Eddy’s letters*. Mrs. Eddy frequently expressed concern that her mental enemies read her mail and spied on her movements. *The historian must also question the involvement of Mrs. Eddy’s household in controlling her access to the outside world* [my emphasis].²⁷⁹

In this light the entire “Bostonization” of Christian Science should be reexamined:

[O]n Friday, July 29, 1910, Mrs. Eddy demanded to go and look at the Extension to the Mother Church, which she had never seen, much less

²⁷⁸ Reported in Cunningham. See Augusta Stetson, *Reminiscences, Sermons and Correspondence Proving Adherence to the Principle of Christian Science as Taught by Mary Baker Eddy* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1913).

²⁷⁹ Cunningham 209.

entered. She drove to her house at 385 Commonwealth Avenue and then on to the Fenway, where she could see the great building from afar. Then, however, according to [her private secretary] Frye's diary, "she had such a sense of exhaustion from the long ride over rough roads that she hardly realized where she was."²⁸⁰

Eddy's vastation following upon her demand, her refusal to enter the Extension (given Sarah Cunningham's warnings about the Eddy household, and in particular Frye's dependence on and control of Eddy), her refusal to let the original Mother Church building be razed, her insistence on having an elocutionist, rather than a Christian Scientist, read her dedicatory Message on the Mother Church Extension (a memory of Stetson, an echo of *The Bostonians*): these are not merely acts of a capricious, stubborn or worn-out old woman but symbolic expressions—i.e., the only means of expression left at her disposal—of disappointment, dismay or determination, of which may be said what James said of his New York Edition: it is "really a monument (like Ozymandias) which has never had the least critical justice done to it."²⁸¹

The act with which Eddy began her career, when she sent a copy of the first edition of her book to the University of Heidelberg, she repeated in symbolic form in her last important act as Pastor Emeritus on 31 March 1910:

Please take immediate steps to have *Science and Health* translated into the German language... This work must be done by a committee of not less than three persons who are thorough English and German scholars, and

²⁸⁰ Gill 547.

²⁸¹ Edel, *Henry James*, 629. This is the reference to Shelley's sonnet, "Ozymandias": "Look on my Works, ye Mighty and despair!"

good Christian Scientists.²⁸²

In light of James's own wariness of the tentacles of Boston and Cambridge, his last dictations are similarly symbolic expressions. His association there was a parental accident. The similar accidents which occurred in Christian Science point to their underlying affinities.

The "Boston" Christian Science Church, as popularly conceived, is not representative of its history. Having fallen on the ice in 1866, and having been abandoned by her adulterous husband, a four-year period of homelessness followed, during which, had the wind blown only a little harder in that direction, Eddy might have followed even more closely in Frederick Douglass's footsteps.²⁸³ Actually, in the person, or death, of Augusta Stetson, she did.

The year in which *The Sense of the Past* "takes place" (1910) also witnessed the deaths of William James in New Hampshire on 26 August and Mary Baker Eddy outside Boston on 3 December. Speculation on the afterlife of these personages coincided on 22 August 1911 in a two-page spread which appeared in the *New York American* beneath the banner headline "Do the Dead Come Back?" and in smaller type:

Recent "Spirit" Messages from Distinguished Men of Science, and the
Belief Among Some Christian Scientists that Mrs. Eddy Will Arise from
the Grave.

One article was "'Spirit' Communications Said to Come from Professor James Himself."

²⁸² Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, German Translation (Boston: Trustees under the Will of Mary Baker Eddy, 1912), ii. This is the only translation expressly authorized by Eddy.

²⁸³ Gill 169-187.

Henry and Mrs. William James are not quoted in the article, although they had waited for some sort of message.²⁸⁴ The article “Why Mrs. Stetson Believes Mrs. Eddy Will Come Back from Tomb” was written by Mrs. Stetson herself. By the time that she wrote of Eddy’s “supreme demonstration” (rising from the grave) she had been excommunicated from the Church for almost two years. Until the Mother Church was shaken by the question of succession she had been the anointed founder of the New York City branch. Who would lead the Church after Mrs. Eddy? Stetson’s excommunication was an attempt to solve this question.

Her excommunication also comes closest to characterizing the question of succession which arose after the death of Henry James in 1916, as expressed in a letter written by Max Beerbohm to a Mrs. Charles Hunter, who had hosted a luncheon to introduce Beerbohm to Mrs. William James, who was seeking an editor for James’s unpublished papers: “I hope Mrs. William James hasn’t got her eye on some earnest and illiterate Christian Scientist.”²⁸⁵ This Christian Scientist who appeared to Beerbohm was no ghost but the *Angelus Novus*, the angel of history.²⁸⁶

Beerbohm’s choice of words is striking and raises a number of questions. What is the significance of the “absurdity” of an editor of James—or merely the person likely to be chosen by Mrs. William James—being earnest, illiterate and a Christian Scientist? How justified is the concern that the editor of James’s unpublished papers, i.e., of the secrets they may contain, might be earnest? And in what sense earnest: as a jealous guardian or a zealous exposé? (As I will discuss in the chapter “Epistemology of the Frontispiece,” *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Wilde’s comedy of double lives—and Wilde

²⁸⁴ Edel, *Henry James* 670.

²⁸⁵ Edel, Introduction xvii. Robert James was a temporary convert; see Maher 187.

²⁸⁶ It contradicts Hannah Arendt’s comment on Benjamin’s “Theses on the Philosophy of History”: “... so the ‘angel of history,’ who looks at nothing but the expanse of ruins of the past, is blown backwards into the future by the storm of progress. That such thinking should ever have bothered with a consistent, dialectically sensible, rationally explainable process seems absurd.” “Introduction” to Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 13.

himself—were a definite presence not only in James’s personal landscape but in the design of the New York Edition.) Could the editor of James’s unpublished papers be illiterate? Literally speaking—no; but Beerbohm’s use of “illiterate” does not seem to indicate a general “inability to read and write” but an ambiguous inability associated with “earnestness.” To all outward appearances Hyacinth Robinson was illiterate (uneducated—and earnest, too) and, I suggest, were it possible, the bookbinding of James’s unpublished papers could have been left in his capable hands. *Should* the editor of James’s unpublished papers be a Christian Scientist? Yes,—if the task entails fulfilling the Edition’s homage to James’s native state, the vernacular of which I, following Stein, identify with Christian Science. That this formula of Beerbohm’s can be used to characterize the artist Joseph Cornell tells us much about the New York Edition.

With its “Mother Church” located in Boston (near Mrs. James in Cambridge), the still new yet mysterious religion, racked by schism, scandal and success, is nonetheless a fitting emblem for Beerbohm’s (and James’s) literary jitters. Mrs. James’s earnest, “orthodox” tastes might well suggest an Inquisitionist *manqué*. An overzealous editor might well rival the illiterate monk to whom, inscribing his hymn upon some Classical text, it would never occur that the palimpsest he thereby created was worth only what he had not fully succeeded in erasing; while an editor of another sort, carried away in the democratic spiritualism of the widow’s philosopher husband, might perpetrate a different crime out of one of Henry’s stories of dead or dying writers. Released from the tentacles of Cambridge and Boston, the earnest and illiterate Christian Scientist reveals a literary executor closer in spirit to James than Beerbohm could imagine.

Returning to Wilson’s syllogism, the New York Edition is thus explicable in terms of what I take to be Wilson’s primary model, Michelet’s *History of the French Revolution*:

I see upon the stage but two grand facts, two principles, two actors and two persons, Christianity and Revolution. ... All monarchies, divine and human, govern for their elect. ... The Revolution is nothing but the tardy reaction of justice against the government of favour and the religion of grace.²⁸⁷

The conclusion of Michelet's syllogism is "The New Religion—General Federation (July 14, 1790)." Wilson's syllogism, as revealed by its conclusion, "Henry James," is a secularization of Michelet's. The feudal grandeur of New York lacks any clear component of the divine, or, rather, its divinity is secularized as "writing and acting," i.e., by the transubstantiation of "writing" into "acting." For Wilson, both "acts" end in vastation.²⁸⁸ For James, however, there is no "artificial" transubstantiation or secularization; there is no "writing" on one hand and "acting" on the other—only a more—or less—engaged "reading." Wilson's evident ambivalence makes it all the more interesting that, given his subject is the Empire State, he does not avail himself of what would seem to have been a more appropriate historiographical model, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. This "oversight," I believe, is psychological.

That New York is known as the Empire State appears to have its roots in an observation of George Washington who on a visit to its still wild upstate regions allowed

²⁸⁷ Jules Michelet, *History of the French Revolution*, trans. Charles Cocks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 18, 27. Michelet's Paulism cannot be underestimated. See his account of the death of Joan of Arc: "All doubt vanished in the flames; this leads us to believe that she had accepted death as the promised *deliverance*, that she no longer understood *salvation* in the Judaic, literal, material sense, as she had done hitherto, that she saw the light at last, and that, as she emerged from the dark shadows, her gifts of illumination and sanctity were fully purified and attained their supreme perfection"; in Jules Michelet, *Joan of Arc*, trans. Albert Guéard (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 121.

²⁸⁸ See the closing sentence of Wilson's 1935 essay "The Old Stone House" in *The Best American Essays of the Century*, ed. Joyce Carol Oates (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 130: "It is this, in the last analysis—there is no doubt about it now!—which has been rankling and causing my gloom: to have left that early world [upstate] behind yet never to have really succeeded in what was till yesterday the new."

that it *might* be the seat of empire.²⁸⁹ That this came to be (and in the process made the fortune of Henry James's paternal grandfather) is due mainly to the Erie Canal, opened in 1825. The absence in Wilson's *Upstate* of any direct mention of the spiritual or cultural legacy of the Erie Canal is either, as suggested above, a (shocking) "oversight" or is itself evidence of a particular upstate "point of view"—one which I believe to be determined by one's proximity to the feudal class: the repressed Erie Canal is a suppressed Revolution. I settle on the latter option because the same "oversight" is found in the work of Henry James. But I go even further and connect this oversight to two not unrelated traditions of secrecy: that illuminated by Schmitt and Strauss, but also, directly, another associated with one of Gibbon's sources—Procopius's *Secret History* (c. 500 C.E.) of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian and his notorious wife Theodora. The *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is a fittingly ambiguous model by which to understand Henry James's upstate consciousness as it speaks to the heart of a "secret history" of the contradictory success and failure of the *Athenian* Empire. To explicate these complicated interactions I return to the myths, Greek and otherwise, of *The Wonder Book*.

II. Edward Gibbon: *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*

Hawthorne did not present a copy of *The Wonder Book* to Herman Melville but to his son Malcolm.²⁹⁰ This sense of parallel lives (Malcolm's and James's) is reinforced by an article of James's written in 1898 which laments, ironically enough considering the connections I shall make between the Edition's frontispieces and upstate New York, the

²⁸⁹ New York Writer's Project, *New York: A Guide to the Empire State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 3.

²⁹⁰ Hershel Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 877.

overabundance of illustrations in literary magazines:

Did the charming *Putnam* of far-away years—the early fifties—already then, guilelessly, lay its slim white neck upon the wood block? Nothing would induce me really to inquire or to spoil a faint memory of very young pleasure in prose that was not *all* prose only when it was not all poetry—the prose, as mild and easy as an Indian summer in the woods, of Herman Melville...²⁹¹

When “The Town-Ho’s Story,” of *Moby Dick* was published separately in October of 1851, it was not in *Putnam’s* but in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* and introduced as an excerpt from “‘The Whale’ ... a new work by Mr. Melville, in the press of Harper and Brothers, and now publishing in London.”²⁹² This chapter contains the only appearance of *Moby Dick* before the very end of the epic. The 54th chapter out of 135 (i.e., close to the center, the heart of the novel), it is an extended meditation on the relations between the Erie Canal, the Empire State, and, as an allegory of the formation of the Free-Soil Party, the “United States.”²⁹³ This disquisition on “Canallers”—“the boatmen belonging to our grand Erie Canal”—its principal comparison between the “Grand Canals” of upstate New York and Venice must have interested Carl Schmitt.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ James, H., “American Letters” in *Literary Criticism* 1: 683.

²⁹² Quoted in Herman Melville, *The Great Short Works of Herman Melville*, ed. Warner Berthoff (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 19. Melville dedicated *Moby Dick* to Hawthorne. After the intervening disastrous reception of *Pierre*, Melville published stories in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, while his first for *Putnam’s* was “Bartleby, the Scrivener,” in 1853.

²⁹³ “The abortive mutiny of ten crewman out of thirty, the early defection of seven [of the mutineers], the ultimate capitulation of the others and the successful commandeering of another ship, follow closely the sequence of historical events from 1844, through the stat-by-state bolts from the [Democratic] Party, to the Utica Convention of 1848 and the formation of the Free-Soil Party at Buffalo. Moreover, the geographical center of the new party was the very canal and lake region from which [the mutineer] and his supporters came.” Alan Heimert quoted in “Commentary,” in Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*, ed. and comm. Harold Beaver (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 811.

²⁹⁴ Melville, “The Town-Ho’s Story,” *Great Short Works of Herman Melville*, ed. Warner Berthoff (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 26.

For three hundred and sixty miles, gentlemen, through the entire breadth of the state of New York; through numerous populous cities and most thriving villages; though long, dismal uninhabited swamps, and affluent, cultivated fields, unrivaled for fertility; by billiard room and bar-room; through the holy-of-holies of great forests; on Roman arches over Indian rivers²⁹⁵; through sun and shade; by happy hearts or broken; through all the wide contrasting scenery of those noble Mohawk counties; and especially, by rows of snow-white chapels, whose spires stand almost like milestones, flows one continual stream of Venetianly corrupt and often lawless life. ... Nor does it at all diminish the curiousness of this matter, that to many thousands of our rural boys and young men born along its line, the probationary life of the Grand Canal furnishes the sole transition between quietly reaping in a Christian corn-field and recklessly ploughing the waters of the most barbaric seas.²⁹⁶

The point that I wish to make is not, in the capstone manner, that James did or did not read “The Town-Ho’s Story” as a child, but that any account of James’s relation to upstate New York, or certainly any apocalyptic account, must address the extraordinary absence in his writings (so far as I know, especially considering that faithfulness to upstate New York evident in *The Bostonians*) of any explicit mention of the Erie Canal.²⁹⁷

The Canal accounted for the James family fortune in two ways: providing transportation

²⁹⁵ This particular feature applied the Canal’s crossing of the Genesee River in Rochester. A Roman decadence is in play: “the Canaller would make a fine dramatic hero, so abundantly and picturesquely wicked is he. Like Mark Anthony, for days and days along the green-turfed, flowery Nile, he indolently floats, openly toying with this red-cheeked Cleopatra.” See Melville, “Town-Ho,” 27.

²⁹⁶ Melville, “Town-Ho” 26-28.

²⁹⁷ On my usage of “capstone” and “apocalyptic” see my discussion in the previous chapter of Richard Landes’s article “On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time: A Historical Method for Reading a Refractory Documentation.”

for the salt mines in Syracuse, and as the occasion for real-estate speculations in Syracuse and Albany. Alfred Habegger, to account for the leading character of *The Ambassadors* (1901) being “too embarrassed to admit the source of his backer’s wealth,” cites James’s continued interest in the Syracuse properties (and an assessment from 1900).²⁹⁸ I suggest the embarrassment is more particularly related to the salt mines, as reflected in a once-popular epithet for the Canal: “the ditch that salt built.” This connection provides us with another emblem of the angel of history via Nathaniel Hawthorne’s literary sketch from 1835, “The Canal Boat”:

Behold us, then, fairly afloat, with three horses harnessed to our vessel,
like the steeds of Neptune to a huge scallop-shell, in mythological pictures.
Bound to a distant port, we had neither chart nor compass, nor cared about
the wind, nor felt the heaving of a billow, nor dreaded shipwreck, however
fierce the tempest, in our adventurous navigation of an interminable mud-
puddle—for a mud-puddle it seemed, and as dark and turbid as if every
kennel in the land paid contribution to it. ... Sometimes we met a black and
rusty-looking vessel, laden with lumber, salt from Syracuse, or Genesee
flour, and shaped at both ends like a square-toed boot; as if it had two
sterns, and were fated always to advance backward.²⁹⁹

The object of that once-popular epithet was current well into James’s lifetime. Though the peak year for toll collection on the Erie Canal was 1862, when it was swollen by Civil

²⁹⁸ Habegger, *Father* 20.

²⁹⁹ Nathaniel Hawthorne, “The Canal Boat,” *Erie Canal Bibliography* 15 July 2005
<<http://www.history.rochester.edu/canal/bib/hawthorne/canalboat.htm>>. This sketch originally appeared in the *New-England Magazine* December (1835): 398-409. Reprinted in “Sketches from Memory” in *Moses from an Old Manse* (1846).

War shipments, its peak year for carrying freight was 1880.³⁰⁰ This date relates most directly to the first of three aspects of the Canal's absence from James's oeuvre—class affiliations similar to Wilson's: the Canal was a reminder of the unheroic foundations which sustained feudal grandeur (as is also reflected in the mock-heroic style of "The Town-Ho's Story"). Second, as directed by Melville the elder, we may look, as I shall in the next chapter, to James's writings on Venice for a return of the repressed Erie Canal. Third, with Melville the younger we may connect the Canal to the "sexual researches of childhood" which psychoanalysis associates with the cloaca.³⁰¹ We are both rescued from, and vindicated in, an apprehension that this theme and the theme of interpretation as such (and James's in particular) are too large to be encompassed by the fact that, excluding James's Venitian writings, this particular institution appears only once, so far as I am aware—in the final paragraph of "In the Cage":

Our lady went into [the fog] also, in the opposed quarter, and presently, after a few sightless turns, came out on the Paddington canal.

Distinguishing vaguely what the low parapet enclosed she stopped close to it and stood a while very intently, but perhaps still sightlessly, looking down on it. A policeman, while she remained, strolled past her; then, going his way a little further and half lost in the atmosphere, paused and watched her. But she was quite unaware—she was full of her thoughts.

They were too numerous to find a place just *here*, but two of the number may at least be mentioned... [my emphasis].³⁰²

³⁰⁰ F. Daniel Larkin, "Erie Canal Freight," *The New York State Archives Erie Canal Time Machine*, 5 Aug. 2005 <<http://www.archives.nysed.gov/projects/eriecanal/ErieEssay/ecf.html>>.

³⁰¹ Freud, *Three Essays* 60-63.

³⁰² Henry James, "In the Cage," in *Eight Tales from the Major Phase*, ed. Morton Zabel (New York: Norton, 1969), 266-265.

“Here” implies not only the last paragraph of the story, but the object of the lady’s contemplation—the canal—and a third object of contemplation, one not stated by the narrator but clearly implied (i.e., mentioned) in the Victorian cliché of the strolling policeman: suicide (by drowning). These *impenetrable* yet *consuming* thoughts—the absorbing “film” of the non/reflecting surface of the canal, and the non/reflection itself—are literally reproduced in Coburn’s “In the Cage” frontispiece, in the blanket of commercial advertisements (the original screen, i.e., rationalization, for the Canal) covering “the Cage’s” exterior. Having established Venice and the Paddington Canal as the opposed terminals of James’s representations of the Erie Canal, I now shall consider how both terminals, and the Canal between them, are related to Gibbon’s secret history of the Athenian Empire.

In a chapter with the heading “Idea of the Roman Jurisprudence” Gibbon writes:

I touch with reluctance, and dispatch with impatience, a more odious vice, of which modesty rejects the name, and nature abominates the idea. The primitive Romans were infected by the example of the Etruscans and Greeks;* in the mad abuse of prosperity and power every pleasure that is innocent was deemed insipid...

*The Persians had been corrupted in the same school ... A curious dissertation might be formed on the introduction of pæderasty after the time of Homer, its progress among the Greeks of Asia and Europe, the vehemence of their passions, and the thin device of virtue and friendship which amused the philosophers of Athens. But, *sclera ostendi oportet dum puniuntur, abscondi flagitia* [*for it is fitting for crimes to be revealed so*

long as they are punished, for shameful acts to be concealed].³⁰³

When Eve Kosovsky Sedgwick accuses Gibbon of “connecting the eclipse of the whole people to the habits of a few” it is evidently this passage she has in mind.³⁰⁴ However, this characterization of Gibbon is either a mistake or a simplification. It is mistaken in so far as in the next paragraph Gibbon discusses the *suppression* of the habit of pederasty following Constantine’s adoption of the laws of Moses.³⁰⁵ It is a simplification in so far as Gibbon also discovers “the thin device of virtue and friendship which amused the philosophers of Athens” in the progress of Christianity:

From the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal interests of the Romans and barbarians were deeply involved in the theological disputes of Ariansim. The historian may therefore be permitted respectfully *to withdraw the veil of the sanctuary*, and to deduce the progress of reason and faith, of error and passion, *from the school of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire*.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditations, or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt, had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the Deity... . His poetical imagination sometimes fixed and animated these metaphysical abstractions: the three archical or

³⁰³ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Oliphant Smeaton, 3 vols. (New York: Modern Library, "n.d."), 2: 723.

³⁰⁴ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 128.

³⁰⁵ This paragraph also lies behind a passage from Shelley’s “A Refutation of Deism”: “The penalties inflicted by that monster, the first Christian emperor, on the pleasures of unlicensed love, are so iniquitously severe that no modern legislator could have affixed them to the most atrocious crimes”; in *Shelley’s Prose*, ed. David Lee Clark (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), 125. A related criticism of Gibbon seems to occur in his “Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love”: “This slight sketch was undertaken to induce the reader to *cast off the cloak* of his self-flattering prejudices and forbid the distinction of manners, which he has endeavored to preserve in the translation of the ensuing piece, to interfere with his delights or his instruction [my emphasis]”; in Shelley, *Shelley’s Prose* 223.

original principles were represented in the Platonic system of three Gods, united with each other by a mysterious and ineffable generation; and the Logos was particularly considered under the more accessible character of the Son of an Eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been *the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the Academy* [my emphasis].³⁰⁶

Two *tempora* comprise Gibbon's "secret" history of the rise and triumph of the Athenian Empire—pederasty and Christianity. An analogous imperial design comprises the New York Edition: its photographic frontispieces and New York religion, i.e., Gibbon's esotericism and Michelet's exotericism. I shall discuss the way these elements are "put together" (as in the Greek word *muthos*) in light of the life and work of the artist Joseph Cornell (1903-72)—an upstate New Yorker, a Christian Scientist and a connoisseur of photography and film.

III. Joseph Cornell: *Custodian (Silent Dedication to MM)*

James's statement on Greek Revival poetics in a letter responding to *L'Italie des Romantiques* (1902), Urbain Mengin's walking-tour of scenes that figured in the lives of Shelley and his circle, is a crucial document of the tensive putting together of Michelet and Gibbon which lies at the heart the New York Edition:³⁰⁷

He [Shelley] is one of the great poets of the world, of the rarest, highest

³⁰⁶ Gibbon 1: 675-6.

³⁰⁷ Edel, *Henry James* 356.

effulgence, the very genius and incarnation of poetry, the poet-type as it were. But you speak only of the detail of his more or less irrelevant itinerary, and put in scarce a word for what he signifies and represents. ... He was one of the strangest of human beings, but he was *la poésie même*, the sense of Italy never melted into *anything* (*étranger*) I think as into his “Lines in the Euganean Hills” and *d'autres encore*. “Come where the vault of blue Italian sky...!” is, for *me*, to *be* there *jusqu'au cou*! And *de même* for Keats, the child of the Gods! Read over again to yourself, but *aloud*, the stanzas of the *Adonais* (or I wish I could read them *to* you!) descriptive of the corner of Rome where both lie buried, and then weep bitter tears of remorse at having sacrificed them to the terrestrial *caquetage* of A. de Musset! Forgive my emphasis.³⁰⁸

This statement reflects the importance James attached to the repeated injunction—“go thou to Rome”—of “Adonais,” Shelley’s elegy on the death of Keats (implying that though Mengin managed to make Shelley’s itinerary appear irrelevant it need not be) and to a passage in his biography *William Wetmore Story and His Friends* (1903).

The passage in the Story biography concerns Walter Savage Landor, the premier classicist among the Romantics. At the age of eighty, having become estranged from his family, he was found wandering the streets of Florence and was taken in by Mrs. Story. James thought it worthwhile to reproduce Mrs. Story’s accounts of Landor’s pronouncements, including the following:

Keats is perhaps the most wonderful poet the world ever saw. There are other greater ones, but none so wonderful—and none more so. They may

³⁰⁸ Quoted in Edel, *Henry James* 356.

talk of Chatterton. Well he was extraordinary; but he was nothing to Keats, for Keats was simply a Greek. Wordsworth said that the Hymn to Pan was “a pretty piece of Paganism”; but if Wordsworth had lived to a hundred, and then had the advantage of a long residence in heaven, he could never have written “Hyperion.”³⁰⁹

For Landor—though in a position, as a classicist, to know better (if he wanted to)—Keats, though he did not know Greek, was a Greek—perhaps, even, *because* he did not know Greek. Shelley, the next-best Romantic classicist, in his Preface to “Adonais,” calls *Hyperion* “second to nothing that was ever produced by a writer of the same years.”³¹⁰ At the same time, with the “tributary” made-up name “Adonais,” he seems to point to a characterization of Keats’s “knowledge” of Greek similar to Landor’s. Adonais may be derived from a combination of the Greek Adonis and the Hebrew Adonai (“lord”) or, as M.T. Wilson points out, “from the formula of lament in Bion’s elegy (as in the line which Shelley translates: ‘The oaks and mountains cry, Ai! Ai! Adonis!’).”³¹¹ However, such derivations tend to explain away the existential (apocalyptic) conditions of neologism, and here I am also thinking, in particular, of another made-up word, “Kodak,” and how *both* neologisms complicate Ira Nadel’s normalizing derivation of James’s frontispieces:

James translated his early and sustained *love* of snapshots into a belief that

³⁰⁹ Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*, 2 vols. (New York: Grove Press, 1957), 2: 22.

³¹⁰ Shelley, “Adonais” in *Shelley’s Poetry and Prose*, eds. Donald Reiman and Sharon Powers (New York: Norton, 1977), 390.

³¹¹ Bion, Greek bucolic poet, flourished about 100 BC. The “Lament for Adonis” refers to the first day of the festival of Adonis, on which the death of the favourite of Aphrodite was lamented. See the editorial note: “In the Greek myth, the beautiful youth Adonis is slain by a boar and mourned by his lover, Venus; from her tears over his bleeding corpse spring out of the ground red windflowers or anemones; he is thought to revive and die annually like a vegetation spirit,” M.T. Wilson, *Representative Poetry Online*, 22 April 2005 <<http://eir.library.utoronto.ca/rpo/display/poem1879.html>>.

photographs would enact a cultural discourse for the reader which would balance, if not enhance, the fictional world they suggest [my emphasis].³¹²

On the contrary (to anticipate the gist of a later chapter) the “cultural discourse” of the frontispieces does not “balance” or “enhance” in the method of Renaissance perspective, for it is chemical or alchemical. As Roland Barthes says,

the noeme “That-has-been” was possible only on the day when ... the discovery that silver halogens were sensitive to light ... made it possible to recover and print directly the luminous rays emitted by a variously lighted object.³¹³

The origin of chemistry, the heart of photography, is alchemy. It is worth noting that Cornell’s knowledge of Henry James may have been limited to the Story biography, excerpts from which he included in a reading list for a seminar he gave at Cooper Union.³¹⁴ Further worth noting is the similarity between the historiographical methods of *William Wetmore Story* and Cornell’s art. James’s biography and Cornell’s art are not driven by narrative but by the accumulation of memorabilia—as I shall discuss in reference to two works of Cornell, the film montage *Rose Hobart* (1936) and his box construction *Custodian (Silent Dedication to MM)* (1963).

As Jodi Hauptman suggests, *Rose Hobart* attempts to revive the sound actress

³¹² Ira Nadel, “Visual Culture: The Photo Frontispieces to the New York Edition,” in Henry James’s New York Edition, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 92.

³¹³ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Noonday, 1981), 80.

³¹⁴ See Dore Ashton, *A Joseph Cornell Album* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), 55. One excerpt contrasts Story’s encounter with a ballerina with James’s own much later memory of her which concludes, “Oh history, oh mystery!” The other concerns Hans Christian Andersen. The reading list also includes excerpts from the *Memoirs* of Hector Berlioz, *The Journal of Eugene Delacroix*, *The Life of Rossini*, the Sermons of John Donne, *Aurelia* by Gerard de Nerval, a poem by Emily Dickinson, *Ann of Oxford Street* by Thomas de Quincey, *Science and Health* by Mary Baker Eddy, *Where is Science Going?* by Max Planck, a sonnet by Stephane Mallarmé.

Rose Hobart as a silent film diva.³¹⁵ But a focus on the screen/retinal image obscures the fundamental achievement of the “film” (at least in its original version) which, following Cornell’s description—“tapestry in action”³¹⁶—is the interweaving of multiple dimensions: the linear unwinding/winding roll of film, the spinning armature of the projector, the stationary and transparent filter, the opaque yet reflective screen, and the spiraling vinyl recording of “Blue Tango.” The intersection of these discrete systems is less the vortex of the screen than a proposition from Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus*:

The gramophone record, the musical thought, the score, the waves of sound, all stand to one another in that pictorial internal relation, which holds between language and the world.³¹⁷

Hauptman also links Rose Hobart to what Cornell noted of his “Untitled (Penny Arcade Portrait of Lauren Bacall)” (1945-46), i.e., that it was to be “like the ‘first ... Edison kinetoscopes.’”³¹⁸ With its loop of film, the kinetoscope presents an image, contained in a box, of Nietzsche’s myth of eternal recurrence.³¹⁹ With *Rose Hobart*, the image is unpacked, unfolded, unwound, turned inside-out, and separated into its Platonic, Aristotelian and Benjaminian forms.³²⁰

³¹⁵ Jodi Hauptman, *Joseph Cornell: Stargazing at the Cinema* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 99.

³¹⁶ Hauptman 87.

³¹⁷ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. C.K. Ogden (New York: Routledge & Keegan Paul Ltd., 1988), 65.

³¹⁸ Hauptman 66.

³¹⁹ On the Nietzschean aspect of the “gramophone record” see the reference to an electric can opener in Bob Dylan, *Chronicles: Volume One* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 263.

³²⁰ See the “Theses on the Philosophy of History” in Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 258: “Historicism contents itself with establishing a causal connection between various moments of history. But no fact that is a cause is for that very reason historical. It became historical posthumously, as it were, through events that may be separated from it by thousands of years. A historian who takes this as his point of departure stops telling the sequence of events like the beads of a rosary. Instead, he grasps the constellation which his own era has formed with a definite earlier one. Thus he establishes a conception of the present as the “time of the now” which is shot through with chips of Messianic time.”

The connection between this aspect of Cornell's work and the vernacular of upstate New York is captured in a recollection by the first film curator of the George Eastman House museum, James Card, of Cornell "discoursing mysteriously on his quest for the 'myth of the kinetoscope.'"³²¹ I shall discuss Cornell's discourse as a function of its two components: 1) the myth of the kinetoscope, and 2) the quest for this myth.

1. The Myth of the Kinetoscope

This myth is not the legend (the *logos* of Aristotle's *Poetics*) which the kinetoscope tells, or which is told about the kinetoscope (as when Hauptman refers to Cornell's "experiences and readings about such marvels").³²² Rather, it is that "putting together of events" which is unique to the kinetoscope, whose vernacular is the kinetoscope, as when Aristotle says: "the first principle of tragedy—the soul, in fact—is the plot [*muthos*]."³²³ Most sensitive assessments of Cornell's religion, and thereby of his art, are oriented toward legend rather than myth.³²⁴ An exception is from an ex-Christian Scientist: "Science is still in there, in his boxes, preserved under their creator's imperfect control, fragile, impermanent, falling to pieces."³²⁵ Here, in a distortion in the other extreme, the critic sees *muthos* to the exclusion of all else.

Born in 1903, Cornell would have had little if any firsthand experiences with the kinetoscope following the proliferation of projected film by 1906. The "kinetoscope"

³²¹ James Card, *Seductive Cinema: the Art of Silent Film* (New York: Knopf, 1994), 271.

³²² Hauptman 62.

³²³ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics*, ed. John Baxter and Patrick Atherton and trans. George Whalley (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 71, 75.

³²⁴ Richard Vine suggests that by "being in love with death" Cornell used eros and death, what Christian Science rendered most taboo, to transcend them. See "Eterniday: Cornell's Christian Science 'Metaphysique'," in *Joseph Cornell: Shadowplay ... Eterniday*, eds. Hartigan, Lynda Roscoe, Walter Hopps, Richard Vine, and Robert Lehrman (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 44.

³²⁵ Fraser 211.

therefore may be said to embody the orientation of *Nyack 1910*, a collage which Dore Ashton describes as commemorating memories “of harmonious play on a sweeping lawn, of picnics, of the cast-iron deer on the lawn in the morning mist.”³²⁶ However, there were no “memories” of Nyack in 1910: it was not until 1911 that the Cornell family purchased “the big house ... up the hill from the Hudson, [with] a tiny balcony outside Joseph’s bedroom [that] afforded a view down the slope of Voorhis Avenue to the bank of the river”³²⁷ (which would have to be sold in 1918, in the reduced circumstances which followed the death of the father, when the family moved to Queens). Thus the collage “commemorates”—by *not* representing—the death of Eddy in that year, i.e., the *unreality* of death.³²⁸

Contrary to a popular conception that it is “easy” to understand Cornell’s “attraction” to Christian Science, my exposition of his homage to Marilyn Monroe as a *tour de force* of Christian Science *muthos* places it in the complex “temporal” orientations of *Nyack 1910* and the kinetoscope.³²⁹ In Jodi Hauptman’s discussion of *Custodian* it is “surely significant” for Cornell

that one of the women who offered some semblance of stability in the actress’s life, Ana Lower, practiced, as the artist himself did, Christian Science. Yet it was not Monroe’s connection to his faith but her utter

³²⁶ See Ashton 92.

³²⁷ Deborah Solomon, *Utopia Parkway, The Life and Work of Joseph Cornell* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 10, 11. Was Cornell’s great-grandfather Commodore William R. Voorhis, who in 1871 persuaded the Erie Railroad to extend its tracks out to Nyack, a relation (son?) of Captain John Vooris (Voorhees, Voris) from earlier in the century, who is counted among a small group that “owned and commanded vessels engaged in river traffic or voyages to Virginia for pine wood and oysters”? See Alice Munro Haagensen, *Palisades and Snedens Landing* (Tarrytown, New York: Pilgrimage Publishing, 1986), 59, 97.

³²⁸ Solomon 26. The collage is a kind of secret writing.

³²⁹ Solomon 45. A similarly facile assertion is that James was “essentially Unitarian” and that “the moral order that he perceived would not seem unfamiliar to a modern Catholic.” See Novick 510. Christian Science has more in common with the “Confraternity of the Fatherless” which Oscar Wilde proposes in *De Profundis* in *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, ed. J.B. Foreman (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 915.

despair and loneliness that struck Cornell, the fact that for so many years, there was no one to lovingly—or even properly—care for her.³³⁰

Again to the contrary: it is precisely the lack of distinction between faith and despair that connects Monroe to Eddy's church; Monroe *is* the church.

Even more than in Eddy's death, the *muthos* of Christian Science is found in the Great Litigation—"the Civil War of the Christian Science Church"³³¹—with which it was preoccupied from 1918 to 1921, but whose seed was planted and nurtured by Eddy herself.³³² In this Litigation, the Trustees of the Publishing Society of the Church, created by Eddy and incorporated into the Manual of the Mother Church, sued another of Eddy's creations, the Board of Directors.

Now, for Christian Scientists, the *Manual*, as the primary governing document of the Church over which Eddy had direct control, has an importance roughly equal to Eddy's "textbook" *Science and Health*. The most controversial features of the *Manual*, according to Carolyn Fraser, are the "estoppel clauses" and the relation between the Mother Church and the branch churches—but these cannot be understood apart from the *Manual*'s "timeless" aspect: "Nearly a hundred years after her death, Eddy still maintains the right to summon any Church member to come to her home and work for her for three years."³³³

In the Great Litigation, the law courts ultimately sided with the Board of Directors, but the basic religious issue remains unresolved:

To this day, the Board of Directors continues to break many of the bylaws

³³⁰ Hauptman 201-2.

³³¹ Fraser 177.

³³² Fraser 177.

³³³ Fraser 173.

of the *Manual* in order to ensure its own existence, and a substantial group of dissident Christian Scientists continues to revile them for it. ... Many Scientists, reading the estoppel clauses, have interpreted them literally and believed that Eddy meant to dissolve the Mother Church organization, *as she had done once before*. ... Eddy, having declared the Manual the work of God, knowingly left the Church on the horns of this dilemma, and no one has ever understood why [my emphasis].³³⁴

That such clauses constitute the *muthos* of the religion is something few have considered. In any event, Cornell was a master of this “dilemma” of temporality at the heart of Christian Science. The heart of Christian Science is not “healing” but time.

Fraser’s critique of Christian Science underestimates time. For her, Christian Science theology, its method of healing, is old-fashioned and, therefore, simply dangerous: “Their solution to the mind-body problem is essentially premodern, and a glimpse into their healing methodology is a glimpse back in time.”³³⁵ But looked at from the perspective of, say, Karl Barth—“The ground of tribulation of the Church is the ground of the hope of the Church”³³⁶—Fraser would do away with the tribulation of the Church, that which makes it like any other, while Cornell was concerned with that “glimpse back in time” (in comparison to eternity, only, hardly, a moment) which is yet unique to Christian Science. Christian Science temporality is the world of “living individualized feelings” discussed by William James in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, compared with which

the world of generalized objects which the intellect contemplates is without solidity or life. As in stereoscopic or kinetoscopic pictures *seen*

³³⁴ Fraser 176.

³³⁵ Fraser 94.

³³⁶ Barth 345.

outside the instrument, the third dimension, the movement, the vital element, are not there [my emphasis].³³⁷

Hauptman ends her discussion of *Custodian* by concluding that “the Custodian” is Cornell himself. But constellations (including the less-well-known Custodian) are, above all, guides to destinations (places) yet Hauptman indicates no destination beyond that of “the other side” (death).³³⁸ But the conditions under which Cornell himself spoke of his quest for the myth of the kinoscope indicate a close relationship between that quest and those conditions—on the basis of which I have yet more to say about the relationship between Cornell’s quest for the myth of the kinoscope and Rochester, New York.

2. The Quest for the Myth of the Kinoscope

A constellation is something potentially seen through a window. A comparison between a photograph of the kitchen windowsill of Cornell’s home³³⁹ and his boxes suggests that for all the allusiveness of his work to other times and locales (often read as evasiveness) Cornell was also quite faithful to his physical surroundings. The wire screen to keep out mosquitos and the tab dangling from the half-drawn blind have their equivalents in *Custodian* (as well as many other boxes): a white-painted wire screen (recalling Dürer’s perspectival window)³⁴⁰ and a gold ring with a dangling chain (the blind that illuminates).

³³⁷ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Mentor, 1958), 414. *The Principles of Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1983) is William James’s *tour de force* elaboration of this idea.

³³⁸ Hauptman 209.

³³⁹ Ashton 42.

³⁴⁰ See See Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1997), 27.

According to Hauptman, Cornell's principal source of biographical information on Monroe was Maurice Zolotow's biography, published in 1960.³⁴¹ This biography mentions that, in honor of the premiere of *How to Marry a Millionaire* in 1953, the upstate town of Monroe, New York changed its name, for a day, to Marilyn Monroe.³⁴² Equally significant are the terms of high praise Zolotow has for *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953): "It will be shown at the Museum of Modern Art auditorium and studied by scholars in the archives of the Eastman Film Library at Rochester."³⁴³

Now, the theme of Zolotow's intelligent biography is its subject's gift for self-protection: "Marilyn Monroe's great achievement has been the making of herself and the imposition of her will and her dream upon a whole world."³⁴⁴ That this is virtually unheard of in biographies written after her death nicely illustrates the difference between what Richard Landes terms apocalyptic and capstone (post-apocalyptic) histories. It is in aid of an apocalyptic reading of history that I shall consider Marilyn's connection to Christian Science more closely:

Monroe has always spoken of Ana Lower with affection. She told me: "She changed my whole life. She was the first person in the world I ever really loved and she loved me." ...

Ana Lower once gave Norma Jean a copy of Mrs. Eddy's *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*. She knew she was going to die soon and on the fly leaf she wrote, "Norma, dear, read this book. I do not leave you much except my love, but not even death can diminish that; nor will death ever take me far away from you."³⁴⁵

³⁴¹ Hauptman 201.

³⁴² Maurice Zolotow, *Marilyn Monroe* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1960), 178.

³⁴³ Zolotow 184.

³⁴⁴ Zolotow 340.

³⁴⁵ Zolotow 24.

Monroe made sure that she would be buried in the same Los Angeles cemetery as Lower. Unfortunately, one is much more likely to encounter Graham McCann's uncharitable view of their relationship: "An influence that surely exacerbated the young Norma Jeane's insecurity was 'aunt' Ana Lower and her constant teaching of Christian Science."³⁴⁶ While all three of Monroe's primary influences (her mother, her mother's friend "Aunt" Grace, and Aunt Grace's real aunt—Aunt Ana) professed some degree of Christian Science belief, only Ana Lower was a "practitioner"—i.e., trained in the spiritual method of treating others, for which, like secular doctors, one receives compensation. Biographers who use this term often fail to understand its significance, so that (as in the above quote from Hauptman) Lower and Cornell are both misleadingly described as having "practiced" Christian Science. The technical/cultural role of the practitioner³⁴⁷ illuminates a major aspect of Monroe's behavior. Her problem with the studio was not money or what approvals she had in her contract: it was whether the studio was treating her with respect.³⁴⁸ Monroe achieved what she did not despite but through her acting coaches (Natasha Lytess, Paula and Lee Strasberg) and psychoanalysts (Marianne Kris and Ralph Greenson).³⁴⁹ What has not been recognized is that these relationships would hardly have assumed the dimensions they did without the template provided by Christian Science, not only through the role of the practitioner, who presumably seeks only to do good, but its evil twin, Malicious Animal Magnetism:

a sociologist referred to it as a "type of institutionalized paranoia," and the

³⁴⁶ Graham McCann, *Marilyn Monroe* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1987), 40.

³⁴⁷ "Practitioners who have demonstrated to the Church's satisfaction (by submitting testimonials) that they are successful in the healing practice are listed in the back of each month's Journal; this constitutes the Church's only form of licensing or certification of practitioners." See Fraser 453.

³⁴⁸ Barbara Leaming, *Marilyn Monroe* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998), 432.

³⁴⁹ In light of this a full scale reevaluation of the coaches and psychoanalysts, whose behavior I too find distasteful, and whose professional standards might be higher than those of Christian Science practitioners, is in order.

externalization of Eddy's "own inner conflicts, elevated ... to cosmic significance."³⁵⁰

In chapter two I suggested that *The Mother of Us All* presents the technological apparatus of fame in the apocalyptic light of Christian Science. So too does *Custodian*, only its vernacular is not linguistic but the kinetoscope.

A letter to the young American sculptor Hendrik Andersen dated 20 March 1900, testifies to James's familiarity with both Kodaks and Rochester—since that is where one mailed one's film to have it developed: "I enclose a poor little kodak-thing of my brother & me. He is thin & changed & I am fat & shaved!"³⁵¹ This "kodak-thing" figures momentarily in Edel's account of the genesis of *The Ambassadors*.³⁵² Despite Edel stress on the mastery of *The Ambassadors*, its heart is a "kodak-thing," a snapshot—reflecting the words of Diane Arbus, "A photograph is a secret of a secret."³⁵³

This secret is embodied in the elaborate passage concerning Maria Gostrey and Lambert Strether, in which Strether—not to say James—goes out of his way to avoid mentioning the "thing" responsible for the Newsome family fortune, manufactured in "Woolet, Massachusetts." This *geographical* ruse confirms that behind the comparison between the "dreadful London theater" and a "small, trivial, rather ridiculous object of the commonest domestic use" lies a Kodak, which first appeared in 1888 (by 1900 a child's version, the Brownie, had been introduced), and thereby Rochester, New York:

³⁵⁰ Fraser 455.

³⁵¹ Henry James, *Dearly Beloved Friends: Henry James's Letters to Younger Men*, ed. Susan Gunter and Steven Jobe (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 33.

³⁵² Edel, *Henry James* 534. On 31 May 1906, James wrote to Andersen, "I look your kodaks (as I suppose them) over again, while I write, and they make me groan, in spirit, that I'm not standing there before the whole company with you—when I think I should find, if you would let me try, so much to say about them!" James *Letters* 4: 406.

³⁵³ Quoted in Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: a Biography* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 527.

“Yes—a workshop; a great production, a great industry. The concern’s a manufacture—and a manufacture that, if it’s only properly looked after, may well be on the way to become a monopoly.”³⁵⁴ It’s a little thing they make—make better, it appears, than other people can, or than other people, at any rate, do. ... I’ll tell you next time.” But when the next time came he only said he’d tell her later on—after they should have left the theatre; for she had immediately reverted to their topic, and even for himself *the picture of the stage was now overlaid with another image*. His postponements, however, made her wonder—wonder if the article referred to were anything bad. ... “You’ll judge when I do tell you”—and he persuaded her to patience. But it may even now frankly be mentioned that he in the sequel never WAS to tell her [my emphasis].³⁵⁵

These conversations are comparable to Roland Barthes’s *Camera Lucida* which, though occasioned by a photograph of Barthes’s mother, leaves the domestication of photography virtually unexplored. Barthes’s inconsolable tone is best understood as deriving from his attempt to construct out of the nothingness of modernity a medieval art of memory. I will postpone a full discussion of this issue until the final chapters; nonetheless it is useful to anticipate them by discussing the two aspects of history in light of two photographic paradoxes which Barthes mentions. In “The Photographic Message” Barthes defines the “analogical perfection” of the photograph as “a message without a code.”³⁵⁶ This leads to what he calls “the photographic paradox”: the

³⁵⁴ The monopolistic aspirations are a key feature of the history of the Eastman Kodak Company. For instance, in 1908 it had an exclusive contract to supply film to the licensed members of the Motion Picture Patents Company, and the Hasselblad camera company began, also in 1908, as the sole Swedish distributor for Eastman.

³⁵⁵ James, *The Ambassadors on The Henry James scholar's Guide to Web Sites* 25 April 2005 <<http://www2.newpaltz.edu/~hathawar/ambassa.html>>.

³⁵⁶ Roland Barthes, “The Photographic Message” in *Image - Music - Text*, ed. & trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 17.

coexistence in one photograph (one frontispiece) of a message *with a code* (“the ‘art’, or the treatment, or the ‘writing’, or the rhetoric, of the photograph”) and of a message *without a code*.³⁵⁷ *Camera Lucida* offers a later version of this paradox that is even closer to the heart of the New York Edition:

A paradox: the same century invented History and Photography. But History is a memory fabricated according to positive formulas, a pure intellectual discourse which abolishes mythic Time; and the Photograph is a certain but fugitive testimony.³⁵⁸

James’s “domesticated” and Barthes’s “fugitive” photographs are complementary aspects of the connections between history and photography.

Stuart Culver has suggested that James’s reference to Shelley’s sonnet “Ozymandias” in characterizing his Edition as “a sort of miniature Ozymandias of Egypt” entails more than what Edel describes as a confession of failure:

To Shelley’s romantic sensibility, the triumph of the artist is all the more complete now that the statue lies in ruins: the sculptor’s ironic rendering of his master has been perfected and not destroyed by the passage of time.³⁵⁹

But it was not the Edition’s artistic or commercial triumph or failure but the loneliness of

³⁵⁷ “This structural paradox coincides with an ethical paradox: when one wants to be ‘neutral’, ‘objective’, one strives to copy reality meticulously, as though the analogical were a factor of resistance against the investment of values (such at least is the definition of aesthetic ‘realism’); how then can the photograph be at once ‘objective’ and ‘invested’, natural and cultural?” Barthes, “Photographic Message” 19-20.

³⁵⁸ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 93.

³⁵⁹ Stuart Culver, “Ozymandias and the Mastery of Ruins: The Design of the New York Edition,” in in Henry James’s New York Edition, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 39.

triumph itself (imperial or artistic) that most affected James: “boundless and bare / The lone and level sands stretch far away.”³⁶⁰ This sense of isolation suggests that James’s invitation to Mengin to join him in that corner of Rome where both Keats and Shelley lie buried is a revision of Gibbon’s history, the final chapter of which begins by linking the themes of friendship and historical meditation:

In the last days of Pope Eugenius the Fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill, reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples, and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation. The place and object gave ample scope for moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed that, in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable.³⁶¹

Four hundred years after learned Poggius ascended the Capitoline hill with a friend, Gibbon did the same, alone, as he records in the final words of his history: “It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life.”³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Shelley, “Ozymandias,” in *Shelley's Poetry and Prose* 103.

³⁶¹ Gibbon 3: 860.

³⁶² Gibbon 3: 880. By contrast, as I will discuss in the last chapter, Michelet *revels* in the historian’s loneliness. See also Richard Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1975), 337: “When Byron and Shelley together walked the terrace of the house where Gibbon had finished his history, Byron was deeply moved, but Shelley, as he wrote in a letter, drew himself back: ‘My companion gathered some acacia leaves to preserve in remembrance of him. I refrained from doing so, fearing to outrage the greater and more sacred name of Rousseau; the contemplation of whose imperishable creations left no vacancy in my heart for mortal things. Gibbon had a cold and unimpassioned spirit.’” This incident at Lausanne, whether or not it is mentioned by Mengin, may be the germ of either legend or truth: it prefigures Oscar Wilde’s belief that the friendship between Byron and Shelley ended when Shelley rejected Byron’s sexual advances. See Richard Ellman, *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 386n.

This connection between history and friendship appears with Cornell as well. For most of his adult life he lived with his mother and invalid brother in a modest house in Queens. His biographer quotes a woman, with whom he is said to have had a furtive affair, as saying “he wanted to be married in order to travel. He had only been to Nyack and that was it.” The biographer corrects this statement: “In truth, he had been as far as Andover, Massachusetts, during his prep-school days, but had never traveled beyond New England.”³⁶³ However, the meaningfulness of “married in order to travel,” “as far as Andover,” and “beyond New England” are called into question in light of Cornell’s visit, also mentioned by this same biographer, to Rochester.

Not only is it farther from New York City than Andover but, according to a personal communication from Mrs. James Card, the wife of the film curator whom Cornell had traveled to see, he seems to have had a traveling companion:

Mr. Cornell & a companion visited our home theater, around 1950. By request Jim showed them a film with Rose Hobart, evidently a silent because they played the Blue Tango all through the film. They only accepted green tea for refreshment.³⁶⁴

James Card’s published account mentions neither Cornell’s companion nor their request to be shown a film starring Rose Hobart; while Cornell’s biographer, on the other hand, mentions neither the companion nor that one of the movies he ran off in the Card’s attic screening room appears to have been his own *Rose Hobart*, as I gather from James Card’s description:

³⁶³ Solomon 355.

³⁶⁴ Personal communication. 23 February 1999.

He brought along with him a film he had stitched together from sundry
 16mm prints: there was the erupting-volcano scene from *The Lost World*
 intercut with various actresses in peculiar predicaments.³⁶⁵

However, I want to claim for Cornell's visit to Rochester—his quest for the myth of the
 kinetoscope, taken as a religious experience—a consistency that does not arise from a
 synoptic comparison of various reports but from an appreciation of the vernacular of
 upstate New York, i.e., a consistency consonant with that which Hans Frei found lacking
 in the 19th century commentators of the synoptic Gospels who “tried to connect the
 death of Jesus with his self-consciousness, making it the fitting outer expression of his
 self-consciousness or character” because “they affirmed the death as a factual historical
 occurrence” (they allowed a heterogeneous element—“Jesus really did die!”—into the
 “meaning complex” or “narrative bond” of Jesus's self-consciousness—a problem
 multiplied by the resurrection).³⁶⁶

The anomalous place in Frei's scheme ascribed to Albert Schweitzer's *The Quest
 of the Historical Jesus* (1906), for implying suicidal tendencies in Jesus, sheds further
 light on Cornell. Schweitzer may be reckless but he is also therefore consistent: suicide
 makes death consistent with self-consciousness. Though Frei states that in Schweitzer's
Quest the life and thought of Jesus “gained no greater historical credibility,” he
 nonetheless recognizes that its dramatic power is “paralleled neither before nor since
 among historical critics.”³⁶⁷ This implies that *The Quest* has an oblique (i.e., dramatic,
 mythic) advantage over a fundamental limitation of hermeneutics identified by Frei:

As soon as one's perspective, i.e., the process of understanding itself,

³⁶⁵ Card 271-2.

³⁶⁶ Frei, *Eclipse* 314.

³⁶⁷ Frei, *Eclipse* 232.

schematically sets the terms on which the text is to be interpreted, the meaning of the text is bound to be similar to the structure of understanding.³⁶⁸

In other words, history-like, i.e., contingent, “meaning complexes” (kinetoscopes, for instance) require a likewise contingent interpretive apparatus such as *Rose Hobart*, Cornell’s visit to Rochester, and *Custodian*—distinguished from Schweitzer’s by the kinetoscope’s humble narratives (a train crossing a bridge, one round of a prize fight, etc.).

3. The Feudal Grandeur of Henry James’s Deathbed Dictations

The adoption of the ancient term “geomancy” by modern geographers to signify the universal belief that where one was born or grew up is “different” from all other places provides additional support for the underlying force of the representations of history in medieval *mappaemundi*. In reference to the great Hereford Cathedral *mappamundi*, Scott Westrem has suggested that its vertical alignment of Paradise, Jerusalem and Rome represents the geographical progression (i.e., from “east”—at the top—to “west”—at the bottom) of true knowledge: the *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* set fourth by Paulus Orosius in his *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* at St. Augustine’s request.³⁶⁹ (The three loci might also be related to Joachimist

³⁶⁸ Frei, *Eclipse* 322.

³⁶⁹ Scott Westrem, *The Hereford Map* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), xxxii. Westrem also discusses a “verbal” analogue to the Hereford Map recently discovered by Patrick Gautier Dalché. It would be interesting to know if and how some such *translatio* is to be detected in it. See also a related discussion of these matters that is as fine as could be without mentioning the art of memory: Evgeny Zaistsev, “The Meaning of Early Medieval Geometry: From Euclid and Surveyors’ Manuals to Christian Philosophy,” *Isis* 90, Sep. (1999): 522-553.

historiography.) Taking the feudal grandeur of the Eastman mansion³⁷⁰ as a *translatio imperii*, whether or not Cornell went inside,³⁷¹ and New York religion as a *translatio studii*, Cornell's quest (either its representation in histories or in his work) is revealed—to return to the terms of Schmitt's *Land and Sea*—as a *mappamundi* of our time and as an appropriate backdrop for a discussion of the heart of the New York Edition.

In an essay “Is There a Life After Death?” (1910) James states: “If one acts from desire quite as one would from belief, it signifies little what name one gives to one's motive.”³⁷² Yet it is the very indistinguishability of desire and belief that prompts me give the name “Christian Science testimonial” (testimonial meetings take place every Wednesday evening and testimonial letters are a staple of Christian Science literature) to James's letter to Hendrik C. Andersen of 20 July 1906: “Your fertility & power seem to me marvelous, & the 2 Kodak-figures of your note to testify to that as wondrously as ever.”³⁷³ Correspondingly, James's deathbed dictations may be read as a *translatio imperii* of considerable grandeur.

On 12 December 1915 James dictated two letters addressed to a “brother and sister.” The first, signed “Napoléone,” instructs them to carry out “precious enclosed transcripts of plans and designs for the decoration of certain apartments of the palaces, here, of the Louvre and the Tuilleries.” The second, signed “Henry James,” is less specific

³⁷⁰ “In 1905, George Eastman, the snapshot tycoon, occupied palatial quarters on East Avenue, the elm-shaded multimillionaire row of Rochester, New York. But his castle like mansion was a forbidding stronghold. Bachelor Eastman lived with his mother. Their home lacked only a moat and portcullis to make it appear that Mrs. Eastman was an ensorcelled queen secluded behind grey walls. Eastman's solution for her rescue from surroundings so gloomy was to build a bright new palace, set far back from the avenue on ten acres of dazzling gardens... In his will, Eastman specified that his home should provide living quarters for the presidents of the University of Rochester until such time as the university might come up with some more useful role for the home. Eastman's suicide (“My work is finished. Why wait?”) occurred in 1932.” See Card 113. Eastman shot himself in his bedroom.

³⁷¹ “Jim started working for Eastman Hs. in 1948 and it opened in 1949, so I'm sure they went through the House, but never heard any comment about it...” Personal communication from Mrs. James Card. 23 February 1999.

³⁷² Henry James, “Is There Life After Death” *In After Days*, ed. W. D. Howells (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1910).

³⁷³ James, *Dearly Beloved* 58.

and refers to his offer of “great opportunities in exchange for the exercise of great zeal.”³⁷⁴

These dictations hold an instructively anomalous place in Jamesian criticism: not listed in the calendar of Henry James’s letters maintained by the University of Nebraska,³⁷⁵ they were included by Edel first as an appendix to his edition of James’s letters and then in his “complete” edition of James’s notebooks. Most significant, despite or because of their anomalousness, is their embodiment of Edel’s influential teleological interpretation of James’s life:

James left his homeland; his real home was the Galerie d’Apollon. By the power of created art, he achieved a victory over the “appalling” of life. On his deathbed, he would, in his final dictation, speak of the Louvre.³⁷⁶

Edel’s different accounts of these dictations, in the notebooks and his biography, offer a stereoscopic, not to say kinetoscopic, perspective on their identity as letters, and more particularly, as “Bellerophonic Letters.”

The above-quoted passage alludes to one of the two sources for the dictations which Edel identifies in his biography: the nightmare, recounted and interpreted in *A Small Boy and Others*, taking place in the Galerie d’Apollon in Paris which James had visited in his childhood, in which he overpowers an “awful agent, creature or presence.”³⁷⁷ The other source, Edel implies elsewhere, is *The Sense of the Past*: “[t]he Master may have been living out that ‘terror of consciousness’ which he had sought to endow his hero in the unfinished novel.”³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ Henry James, “The Deathbed Dictation,” *The Complete Notebooks of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (New York: Oxford UP, 1987), 583, 584.

³⁷⁵ *University of Nebraska Press Online Calendar of Henry James’s Letters and a Biographical Register of Henry James’s Correspondents*. 9 January 2005 <<http://jamescalendar.unl.edu/>>.

³⁷⁶ Edel, *Henry James* 23.

³⁷⁷ James, *A Small Boy* 363-4.

³⁷⁸ Edel, *Henry James* 709.

In his notes for the *Complete Notebooks*, however, while Edel continued to invoke the language of James's dream-interpretation, as the letters are said to represent "[a]n artist's final gropings apparently for a project, dictated at the threshold of the future,"³⁷⁹ the specific link between the dictations and *The Sense of the Past* is dropped. Interpreting James's dream-interpretation, I shall bring it back even more firmly to Edel's earlier supposition of a direct connection between James's "homeland" and *The Sense of the Past*.

For the chronology of the Galerie d'Apollon nightmare itself suggests two sources: Hawthorne's "The Chimæra" and the "epoch-making" appeal ("Come now, my dear; don't make a scene—I insist on your not making a scene!") which James, at Linwood, witnessed his aunt make to his cousin Marie, and whose symbolic richness for himself James makes clear: "exactly of my own age, and named in honour of her having been born in Paris."³⁸⁰

These sources suggest a very different interpretation of *The Sense of the Past* than that offered by T.S. Eliot in the Henry James memorial issue of *The Little Review*:

The fact that the sympathy with Hawthorne is most felt in the last of James's novels, *The Sense of the Past*, makes me more certain of its genuineness... . James, in his astonishing career of self-improvement, touches Hawthorne most evidently at the beginning and end of his course; at the beginning, simply as a young New Englander of letters; at the end, with almost a gesture of approach... . James in *Roderick Hudson* does very little better with Rome than Hawthorne, and as he confesses in the later

³⁷⁹ James, *Complete Notebooks* 581.

³⁸⁰ James, *A Small Boy* 193, 195. During the French Revolution, Marie Antoinette was imprisoned at the Tuileries/Louvre.

preface, rather fails with Northampton.³⁸¹

Eliot's construction of James's "failure" with Northampton, Massachusetts—as that of a New Englander—is a presumably unintentionally ironic reinscription of the composite (i.e., *not genuine*) New York Edition (*Roderick Hudson* is the first volume—its Preface contains James's "confession"; *The Sense of the Past* is last). All that James should be understood to be confessing is a youthful unfamiliarity with western Massachusetts. The "genuineness" of the "sympathy with Hawthorne" of *The Sense of the Past* (especially considered as a part of the Edition) lies not in its similarity to *The House of the Seven Gables* but, rather, in "The Chimæra" of *The Wonder Book* and its references to Melville and the Catskills, which the Edition refashions less in according to Holgrave's designs on the Pyncheons of the *Seven Gables* than in the manner of J.J. the elder's plans and designs for Greek (Gibbon) and Gothic (Michelet) Revivals of Linwood.

James's 1892 memorial tribute on the death of his young literary agent and friend Wolcott Balestier,³⁸² which identifies Rochester as his birthplace,³⁸³ imparts a spiritual geography, a *translatio studii*.³⁸⁴ Accordingly, we ought to suppose that it occurred to James to correct his sister-in-law when she wrote him that his alcoholic brother Robertson had been entrusted to a sanatorium in Dansville "near Buffalo."³⁸⁵ Lying just off a major north-south route, the Jackson Sanatorium was not only geographically but spiritually closer to Rochester—having been designed by a leading Rochester architectural

³⁸¹ Eliot, T.S., "The Hawthorne Aspect," in *The Little Review*, August (1918): 52.

³⁸² Henry James, "Wolcott Balestier," *Cosmopolitan*, April (1892): 44.

³⁸³ "Balestier was the first of several young men who came to figure in Henry James's middle life as beloved acolytes... Only with 1914 did he accept the thought that his young friend, so long dead, was well out of the terrible world into which he himself had survived." See Leon Edel, *Henry James: the Middle Years, 1882-1895* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1962), 48-49.

³⁸⁴ James's uncle and his father each spent a couple of early years in, respectively, Rochester and Canandaigua, during the 1830s, when these places were epicenters of the Second Great Awakening. See Habegger, *Father*, 72, 100-136.

³⁸⁵ Quoted in Maher 185.

firm.³⁸⁶

With the issue of slavery, its feudal and religious associations, these “*translatios*” become intertwined. As with the sister-in-law, the orientation of James’s father, who had “never been able to justify philosophically [the Abolitionist] attitude toward slavery,”³⁸⁷ ought not be assumed for James himself. Though a brother could later describe their “parents” as “devoted” to the abolition of slavery (James’s two younger brothers, including Robertson, were officers in the ultra-Unionist, “all-black,” 54th and 55th regiments, and later undertook integrationist plantations that failed), I suspect that he is referring to the abolitionism of Mrs. James—his mode of expression replicating on a familial scale and dynamic what was practiced by the national press when wives were omitted from contemporary accounts of the “Secret Six” who had previous knowledge of John Brown’s raid.³⁸⁸ The antislavery commitment of the James family is not explained in the emerging consensus of biographers that the mother’s relation to the father was that of the moon to the sun.³⁸⁹ Especially from the children’s point of view (the one I am most interested in), the mother might, on occasion at least, like a photograph, seem to shine with a light of her own, or embody, like the Fountain of Pirene, a fleeting image of glory.

James revisited these connections in his short story of an expatriate’s return, “The Jolly Corner.” Included in volume XVII of the Edition (see below) and invoked by James in his drafts for *The Sense of the Past*, it too concerns a secret, “within the hero’s breast,” whose “most intimate idea” hinges on his “turning tables on a ghost” (as in the Galerie d’Apollon).³⁹⁰ On this story Edmund Wilson comments:

³⁸⁶ See *Preservation League of New York State*, “Seven to Save 2001,” 10 January 2005 <<http://www.preservenys.org/seven2001.htm>>.

³⁸⁷ Quoted in Habegger, *Father* 426.

³⁸⁸ Maria Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), 214. These “Six” (Samuel Gridely and Julia Ward Howe, George Luther and Mary Stearns, Theodore Parker, Franklin Sanborn, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Gerrit Smith) are notable for another reason as well: Smith was a wealthy citizen of upstate New York and an especially close ally of Frederick Douglass.

³⁸⁹ See Habegger, *Father* 494.

³⁹⁰ Henry James, “First Statement for *The Sense of the Past* (November 1914)” in *Complete Notebooks* 505.

I take it that the missing fingers [of the ghost] are supposed to have been lost in the Civil War, and that “commitment,” as we now say, to the war is supposed to have implied commitment to the commercialized society that followed it.³⁹¹

A difficulty with this interpretation, however, is that there appears to be two ghosts—the one of the final confrontation below, and the other of the upper rooms of the house who eludes the hero.

Twice James went to see his brother Wilkie train with Colonel Shaw’s 54th regiment in Readville, outside Boston, as recounted in *Notes of a Son and Brother*.³⁹²

though at the time I don’t remember it as grim, and can only gather that, as the other impression had been of something luminous and beautiful, so this was vaguely sinister and sad—perhaps simply through the fact that, though our sympathies, our own family’s, were, in the current phrase, all enlisted on behalf of the race that had sat in bondage, it was impossible for the mustered presence of more specimens of it, and of stranger, than I had ever seen together, not to make the young men who were about to lead them appear sacrificed to the general tragic need in a degree beyond that of their more orthodox appearances.³⁹³

³⁹¹ Wilson, *Patriotic Gore* 663.

³⁹² In Edel’s edition of James letters, one from Henry to Thomas Sargent Perry announcing his impending stop, on his way from Newport to Cambridge, to see Robby at Readville, dated 6 June 1862, appears to be incorrect. The 44th, Wilkie’s original regiment, was not authorized until 7 August 1862 by Special Order No. 597, and Robertson didn’t join the army until 21 May 1863. See James, *Letters* 1: 42-3. See also Maher 58.

³⁹³ James, *Henry James* 457.

Readville's spiritual proximity to Rochester is comparable to Lynn's and Dansville's.³⁹⁴ A page in the history of the 54th regiment unites the James and Douglass families:

"Adjutant,—Garth W. James ... Lewis H. Douglass, a son of Frederick Douglass, was the original sergeant-major."³⁹⁵ However, it is not only Henry Jr.'s visits to Readville or Henry Sr.'s visits to the Oneidan's "printing and *propagandist*" operation in Brooklyn³⁹⁶ that ought to be classed with the poetry of Douglass's tireless travels:

I did not rely alone upon what I could do by the paper, but would write all day, then take a train to Victor, Farmington, Canandaigua, Geneva, Waterloo, Batavia, or Buffalo, or elsewhere, and speak in the evening, returning home afterwards or early in the morning, to be again at my desk writing or mailing papers.³⁹⁷

These states of exception, to paraphrase Walter Benjamin's paraphrase of Carl Schmitt, are the rule. Nothing conveys this better than the letter written in 1871 by Otilie Assing, a German-Jewish expatriate journalist and translator of Frederick Douglass, to Ludwig Feuerbach, in which Canto V of Dante's *Inferno* (and an apocalyptic event in the history of Rochester) comes to life as she casts herself as Francesca, Douglass as Paolo, and, as in Dante's ambiguous original, the *Essence of Christianity* and Feuerbach as some combination of *Lancelot of the Lake* and Gallehaut (the character who helps bring about the adulterous relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere):

³⁹⁴ For a time Robertson James appears to have been a follower of Christian Science. See Maher 187.

³⁹⁵ Luis F. Emilio, *History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863-1865* (1894; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), 34.

³⁹⁶ Habegger, *Father* 284.

³⁹⁷ Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass in Autobiographies* (New York: Library of America, 1994), 708.

Personal sympathy and concordance in many central issues brought us together; but there was *one* obstacle to a loving and lasting friendship—namely, the personal Christian God ... In the English translation by Mary Anne Evans we read the *Essence of Christianity* together, which I, too, encountered for the first time on that occasion. This book—for me one of the greatest manifestations of the human spirit—resulted in a total reversal of his attitudes.³⁹⁸

In testament to George Eliot's translations is a pair of busts of Feuerbach and David Friedrich Strauss in Douglass's carefully preserved office in his home in Washington D.C. where he moved after his home in Rochester was burnt to the ground in 1872.

It is difficult to measure the changes in the route from downtown Rochester to where Douglass's house once stood—not far from where he is now buried in Mt. Hope Cemetery—from what it was when, in 1856, Assing walked from his Printing office on Buffalo Street (now West Main Street) down St. Paul Road (now Avenue) to his home where she had been told he would be found. Soon she would translate *My Bondage and My Freedom* into German. In 1884, on a bench in Paris's Bois de Boulogne, she swallowed a lethal dose of poison, leaving to Douglass in her will his choice of books from her library and a trust fund which, after his natural life, would pass on to the ASPCA. Is the glass empty or full?

Where Douglass's house was now stands an elementary school, a library, and a plaque which mistakenly, wistfully, locates the house further up the street on a hill left by the receding glaciers of the Ice Age. From there it is a short distance to the cemetery, through Highland Park where one passes a statue of Douglass gazing north from the other side of a steep-descending glade. Nor can one simply retrace Assing's steps: South

³⁹⁸ Quoted in Diedrich 260.

Avenue comes quickly to an abrupt end at an expressway. A vaulted underpass brings one “back” to the original course on the other side.

But once through the cemetery gates, amidst the falling leaves of a rainy autumn morning, having just come from peering down an elevator shaft where once had been Douglass’s printing press, and looking out a window through which he had once looked, over an empty lot of puddles that had once been a turning basin on the Erie Canal and through a gap between some other old dark buildings to the slate-colored river, I remembered how one could love the homely attractions of Rochester. Between the cemetery and the river is the Rush Rhees library, where the previous day I had searched the letters left by the heirs of the spiritualist and abolitionist Amy Post, looking for “objective” confirmation of Assing’s presence in that city and discovered—in what was to be only a trial run, a dress rehearsal of Pendrel’s “method”—a passport, a round-trip ticket.

In late 1859 the Posts received a letter from Douglass who had escaped to England, by way of Assing’s home in Hoboken, in the aftermath of John Brown’s raid. Douglass ends the letter, whose first sheet is missing, “I am under the necessity of making all my correspondents pay double postage for I cannot in the present condition of funds do else.” It is evidently to this letter Post was responding in a letter dated 13 February 1860; yet it is without a postmark, apparently never sent:

I am truly thankful to thee, dear friend for what thee sent on the first sheet of thy letter [i.e., the missing sheet?], But I do not know what to say myself—only, looking on the brighter side to say I am sorry, that we have lost five years of beautiful, joyous, friendship, and my strongest wish is, that thee may return just what thee was when we last parted. ... Dear

Frederick be no more sad about these scenes of the past, so unspeakably painful, we will all resolve to be unspeakably good. ... Frederick, thee never saw my father, I had hoped that thee would but it is too late now. ... [Margaret Fox]³⁹⁹ is not before the spiritualist investigating public right now, though her mediumship is the same, now don't let me feel as if thee is [illegible: "seeking"?] the life of unbelief. ... I have not seen our mutual friend Mrs. Coleman⁴⁰⁰ since about the middle of November, she has been busy, as thee anticipated, but I am sorry to say, not in the Anti Slavery ranks, but under the less desirable auspices of Wendall - Lucy - & Susan [unidentified]. She is alone, at present I believe, but she so seldom writes either to me or her children, that we re left to wonder where she is—I believe she must have arrived in Jersey City the very day I left there, she was there with thy German friend, the last letter from here announced, I was very sorry to miss seeing her, and I thought too of trying to call upon Miss A—but did not feel myself quite well enough acquainted.⁴⁰¹ ... Mary Ann dreamed last night that thee was here in our parlour I have twice dreamed the same.⁴⁰²

Post's reticence towards Assing might be connected to events of 1847 when Douglass broke with the Garrisonian abolitionists of Boston, moved his family from Lynn to Rochester, and began to advocate a more politicized "moral suasion." The Garrisonians spread rumors about the familial jealousy due to their new competitor's close relationship

³⁹⁹ The Fox sisters were the origin of the spiritualist phenomenon known as the "Rochester Rappings" mentioned in chapter two.

⁴⁰⁰ See Diedrich 225, which reproduces a page from the autograph book devoted to the signatures of Douglass and Assing, dated July, 1861, belonging to Lucy Coleman, a Rochester abolitionist, with the comment that Coleman was never mentioned by Assing in her correspondence.

⁴⁰¹ Diedrich states that Assing is not mentioned in any Post letters that have survived. See Diedrich 208.

⁴⁰² Post Family Papers, University of Rochester Library.

with Julia Griffiths, a white abolitionist from England. Arising from the spiritualist circle of the Posts, the authentic spectral grandeur of these visions of Douglass illuminates not only Douglass's friendship with Assing and James's experiences in Readville, but also his friendship with Constance Fenimore Woolson. Upon learning of her suicide, James canceled his plans to attend her funeral in Rome's Protestant Cemetery but ended up making the trip to help dispose of her literary remains and retrieve his letters.⁴⁰³

4. The Secret of a Secret

"A photograph is a secret of a secret": so begins the epilogue of a recent biography of George Eastman, quoting another suicide, photographer Diane Arbus.⁴⁰⁴ In the archives of the International Museum of Photography at the George Eastman House there is an album of photographs with the following inscription:

For remembrance of all our / pleasant pursuit and capture of the / charming
and interesting impressions here / recorded, as well as others not / gathered
in, Henry James to A. L. Coburn. / Lamb House / Dec. 27 1909.

The photographs are the twenty-four frontispieces of the New York Edition (1907-9).

"Others not gathered in"—other impressions, other photographs—so why not also other novels and stories? The New York Edition was far from a "complete" collection of James's work, nor was it assumed to be in Percy Lubbock's laudatory review of the twenty-four volumes: "the long procession of books which began with

⁴⁰³ Edel, *Henry James* 393.

⁴⁰⁴ Brayer 527.

‘Roderick Hudson’ and ends (for the present) with ‘The Golden Bowl.’”⁴⁰⁵ As I’ve mentioned, Lubbock issued after James’s death, in bindings uniform with the Edition, two incomplete novels, *The Sense of the Past* (1917) and *The Ivory Tower* (1917), resulting in what I sometimes refer to—calling attention to the question of their “authority”—as “the composite New York Edition.”⁴⁰⁶ Furthermore, previous to this, in 1913, James had himself contacted Coburn about an additional volume/frontispiece, whose intended contents are unknown, but which, in any event, came to nothing.⁴⁰⁷ Despite these intimations of additional “impressions,” criticism of the Edition takes for granted that the two “final” volumes of the Edition have no or little bearing on *James’s* Edition.⁴⁰⁸ Yet this is to presuppose an interpretation of what is “James’s” before the task of criticism has even begun! But also open to this angle of investigation is volume XVII, the collection of tales whose frontispiece, “The Hall’s of Julia,” was commissioned at the last moment.

In Ira B. Nadel’s chronology of James’s collaboration with Coburn, between James being informed by Scribner’s (on 2 December 1907) that an additional volume was needed to accommodate the tales of the Edition—even though their number had already ruined almost all expectation of profitable publication—and James requesting Scribner’s (on December 14-15, 1908) to have Coburn do a “Julia Bride” frontispiece for the extra volume, there is a disconcerting gap of an entire year.⁴⁰⁹ Nonetheless, this second date is supported by Michael Anesko’s dating of James’s “throwing in the towel” of strict

⁴⁰⁵ Lubbock, Percy, “The New York Edition of the Novels and Tales of Henry James,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 July 1909.

⁴⁰⁶ “Appendix A” in *Henry James’s New York Edition*, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 264-5.

⁴⁰⁷ A New York skyscraper is one suggested subject. See “Appendix C” in *Henry James’s New York Edition*, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 274-7; see also note 417.

⁴⁰⁸ Similar presuppositions underlies the attempts to “correct” the order of chapters in the New York Edition of *The Ambassadors*. See Jerome McGann, “Revision, Rewriting, Rereading; or, ‘An Error [Not] in *The Ambassadors*,” in *Henry James’s New York Edition*, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 109-122.

⁴⁰⁹ “Appendix C,” in McWhirter 276-7.

organizational oversight to 14 December 1908.⁴¹⁰ But despite Anesko's assessment that James's editor at Scribner's "greatly altered the design of its primary architect" (as volume sixteen, "'Tales of the Supernatural,'" became, "with some chronological shuffling and the rather awkward addition of 'Julia Bride,'" volume seventeen), my point is that, whatever the origin of the phrase "Tales of the Supernatural," the "final judgment" on the volume *and the Edition*—i.e., James's choice of this particular frontispiece in light of the "awkward" juxtaposition of the supernatural and "Julia Bride"—is essentially a "tale of New York State."⁴¹¹

Along with James's album of remembrance I also have in mind two others—one being a high school graduation year book. A few of its pages of uninspired or uninspiring mottoes and photographs are redeemed by Eurydice's outrageous and inspired graffiti. One such motto, however, strikes me as less uninspiring than the others because it still evokes—what it was originally meant to (now, I also recognize it as a riposte to Paul's letters)—what Eurydice had taught me:

To live in the world as though it were not the world, to respect the law and yet to stand above it, to have possessions as though "one possessed nothing," to renounce as though it were no renunciation, it is in the power of humor alone to make efficacious.

The other album relates to the auction of the personal property of Marilyn Monroe in 1999. Pictured on page 25 of the catalog are Lots 9 and 9A, each with an estimated price

⁴¹⁰ Michael Anesko, "Ambiguous Allegiances: Conflicts of Culture and Ideology in the Making of the new York Edition," in *Henry James's New York Edition*, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 160-161.

⁴¹¹ See volume XVII, "The Altar of the Dead, The Beast in the Jungle, The Birthplace, and Other Tales." The other tales are "The Private Life," "Owen Wingrave," "The Friends of the Friends," "Sir Edmund Orme," "The Jolly Corner." See Anesko, "*Friction*" 158.

of \$2,000-4,000.⁴¹² They are listed, respectively, as “THE HOLY BIBLE” and “THE UNION PRAYERBOOK FOR JEWISH WORSHIP, PART I.” In contrast, Lot 535 is listed (but not pictured) as “CHRISTIAN SCIENCE” on page 365. It contains

EDDY, Mary Baker. — Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, Boston, 1934. — EDDY, Mary Baker. Poems, including Christ and Christmas. Boston, 1925.

and given a lowest-possible price estimate of \$200-400. This arrangement was prophetic: the winning bid for lot 535 was the lowest of the auction (nevertheless, it was many times the estimate).

Unrecognized or disregarded by the auction house (though it was plain to me when viewed on display), this *Holy Bible* and this *Science and Health* comprised a set issued in uniform bindings by the Christian Science Publishing Society. Was this set given by Ana Lower? An intermediary assured me that, according to its new owner, the *Science and Health* had “nothing of importance” written in it, leaving me with a dilemma that reminds me of Eastman’s lone marble tomb surrounded by his factories. On a tour of his House, I was not surprised to be told, in answer to my question, that in his will Eastman asked to be buried beside his parents in Waterville, New York. Eastman’s invention of the film-roll gave rise to the domestication of the photograph and the moving picture, and thereby gave to the dual aspect of history a new form. In the days before he shot himself he asked his doctor to outline where his heart was.⁴¹³

⁴¹² *The Personal Property of Marilyn Monroe* (New York: Christies, 1999), 25.

⁴¹³ Brayer 517.

Chapter Four: Epistemology of the Frontispiece

I. Dante

“Frontispiece,” meaning the illustration at the beginning of a book, was preceded by uses denoting the facade of a building or the decorated portico above a door or window. Earlier, because *fronte* means face or forehead, and *specere*, “to look,” *frontispicium* meant “looking at the forehead.” This range of iconological meanings of “frontispiece,” if not the word, occurs in Dante’s *Divine Comedy*: the portal to hell is decorated with a famous inscription, and at the start of the *Purgatorio* seven “letter Ps” (for *peccate*/sins) appear on Dante’s forehead which, as he ascends towards Paradise at Beatrice’s intercession, disappear one by one. Since recollection was associated with the “the common or imaging sense” and “the imagination or the power of shaping,” which were thought to be located at the front of the brain (memory at the back), Dante’s “Ps” show that the art of memory (and the forgiveness of sins) was literally the art of recollection.⁴¹⁴

James’s commendation of Coburn’s frontispieces, in his Preface to *The Golden Bowl*, as “always confessing themselves mere optical symbols or echoes, expressions of no particular thing in the text, but only of the type or idea of this or that thing,”⁴¹⁵ connects the Edition’s frontispieces to the art of memory on a level of Platonic *anemnesis*, according to which understanding is a kind of memory of the Ideas. But James’s formulation is not offered as a history of frontispieces, but as an argument against the prevailing “picture-book” approach to publishing. Thus James arrives at his

⁴¹⁴ Cf. the medieval diagram of the human brain in *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, eds. Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 122-123.

⁴¹⁵ Henry James, *The Golden Bowl* (New York: Oxford UP, 1983), xlvii.

theory of *anemnesis* by a genuinely Platonic route of trying to see beyond the Cave. This suggests a connection between the history which James's frontispieces tell and Leo Strauss's distinction between the philosopher and the "most politic" historian: "the historian presents the universals silently."⁴¹⁶ In developing his view, Strauss derives the universal quality of Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War* from its having described "the greatest motion."⁴¹⁷ I shall make an analogous claim for James's frontispieces, that they refer to "the greatest motion" in the realm of frontispieces: the suppression of the book version of Oscar Wilde's *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.* and its aftermath. In this reconstruction of James's ascent from the Cave, the role of Beatrice is played by Margaret Fuller.

II. Ross

In November 1907, Robert Ross hosted a dinner party in honor of the coming of age of Vyvyan Holland, the second son of Oscar Wilde. Also present on this occasion, besides Henry James, were Charles Ricketts and his companion Charles Shannon: the designers of the frontispiece of Oscar Wilde's unexecuted book-version of *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.*⁴¹⁸ The intersection of this party with the Ricketts-Shannon frontispiece for the book-version of *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.* (i.e., to Wilde's trial, and, as I shall term it, his martyrdom) points to the intensification of the "politic" apocalyptic history of the frontispieces of the New York Edition with the frontispiece James commissioned after

⁴¹⁶ Strauss, "On Thucydides' *War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians*," *The City and Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 144. Relevant to the preceding and the next two chapters is that Strauss ascribes this view specifically to Hobbes's view of Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

⁴¹⁷ Strauss, "On Thucydides' War" 140-141.

⁴¹⁸ Other invitees were Reginald Turner, More Adey, and William Richmond. See Vyvyan Holland, *Son of Oscar Wilde* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1954), 167.

this party, “The Halls of Julia,” and its fading with those of unknown origin commissioned for the composite Edition, “On the Cliff Walk, Newport” (for *The Ivory Tower*) and “31 Lowndes Square, Mr. Lowell’s House While Minister to England” (for *The Sense of the Past*).⁴¹⁹

To do justice to Wilde’s frontispiece it is necessary to distinguish between its verbal and artifactual existences, and between the three incarnations relating to this dual existence. The first, entirely verbal, version was published in *Blackwood’s Magazine* in 1889 as “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” What we know as its enlargement—twice the length of the original—must be regarded as incomplete, for Wilde had intended it as a self-standing book whose frontispiece was to be the artifactual Ricketts-Shannon portrait of “Mr. W.H.” (which artifactual portrait may have inspired the enlargement). To distinguish between these versions I shall refer to: 1) the short “Portrait of Mr. W.H.”, 2) the long “Portrait of Mr. W.H.”, and 3) the (intended) book, *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.*

Wilde had commissioned the Ricketts-Shannon portrait in 1889 and pronounced the results “quite wonderful.”⁴²⁰ Ricketts had painted it on a “decaying piece of oak and framed it in a fragment of worm-eaten moulding” which his friend Charles Shannon had pieced together.⁴²¹ In the context of the short “Portrait of Mr. W.H.” Ricketts and Shannon *may* have gone to this trouble in order to “express a particular thing in Wilde’s text,” i.e., a forged portrait (“in Clouet’s style”) of the theorized inspirer and dedicatee of Shakespeare’s Sonnets around whom the story, or epistemological manifesto, revolves—as suggested by a character in the story:

⁴¹⁹ On these volumes the bibliography of Edel and Laurence is confusing. See Leon Edel and Dan H. Laurence, *A Bibliography of Henry James*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). They are not discussed in McWhirter. My information is from the reprint in the main reading room of the New York Public Library, which I’ve not found mentioned in the literature. If not by Coburn, these frontispieces are quite obviously in the Coburn “style.” They should be compared with two volumes published in London by W. Collins Sons, copyright 1917 (with a further note “Glasgow: Printed at the University Press by Robert Maclehose and Co., Ltd.”), with portraits of James for frontispieces: *The Ivory Tower*’s by E. O. Koppe, *The Sense of the Past*’s by A.L. Coburn and “kindly lent by Mr. J.B. Pinker.” See also note 405.

⁴²⁰ Wilde, *Complete Letters* 412.

⁴²¹ Editorial note in Wilde, *Complete Letters* 412.

“What would you say about a young man who had a strange theory about a certain work of art, believed in the theory, and committed a forgery in order to prove it?”⁴²²

However, in the context of the long “Portrait of Mr. W.H.,” and/or the book, *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.* the meaning of the frontispiece changes. Wilde’s formula, now embodied by the Ricketts-Shannon portrait/frontispiece, is no longer necessarily contradicted by James’s formula that a frontispiece should express no particular thing in the text, *but only the type or idea of some thing*, because the thing (whether portrait, forgery, or frontispiece) is idealized by the text (as Portrait, Forgery, or Frontispiece), thus pointing to an unnoticed underlying continuity from Wilde to James.⁴²³

Wilde’s publishers stalled, objecting, presumably—since it is no more “explicit” than the original—to the *historiographical* plausibility of the amassed circumstantial evidence, and both manuscript and the portrait disappeared at the auction of Wilde’s property to pay his legal debts, the manuscript for twenty-five years, the portrait, it appears, forever.⁴²⁴ However, the apocalyptic history of the frontispiece does not end with the disappearance of its original.

In the long version a character finishes his disquisition on neo-Platonism by saying:

there came to Sidney’s house in London, one—some day to be burned at Rome, for the sin of seeing God in all things—Giordano Bruno, just fresh

⁴²² Wilde, “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” 1150.

⁴²³ Cf. Leo Strauss, *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1952).

⁴²⁴ See Horst Schroeder, *Oscar Wilde, The Portrait of Mr. W.H.—Its Composition, Publication and Reception* (Braunschweig: Technische Universität Carolo-Wilhelmina, 1984).

from his triumph before the University of Paris. “A filosofia e necessario amore” were the words ever upon his lips and there was something in his strange ardent personality that made men feel that he had discovered the new secret of life.⁴²⁵

In her book on Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), Frances Yates returns to the question which has perplexed all who have pondered it: how or why did he return to Venice, to Italy, “apparently oblivious of its danger?”⁴²⁶ The same questions attend Wilde’s *remaining* in England after his failed libel suit against Marquess of Queensberry. (Wilde’s having failed to convict the Marquess for libeling him for the crime of sodomy implied that the accusation was true: for this Wilde was tried by the state.) If Yates finds no satisfactory reason for Bruno’s return, the reason for Wilde’s remaining, I suggest, is Bruno himself—his example of martyrdom, reflected in the original epistemology of the frontispiece and, in the long version, by the narrator after he learns another character has passed off his death as a suicide:

Martyrdom was to me merely a tragic form of scepticism, an attempt to realize by fire what one had failed to do by faith. No man dies for what he knows to be true. Men die for what they want to be true, for what some terror in their hearts tells them is not true.⁴²⁷

Yet it was two versions of truth, moral and legal, which came into conflict with when “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” was discussed in Wilde’s trial for gross indecency:

⁴²⁵ Wilde, “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” 1176

⁴²⁶ Yates, *Giordano Bruno* 338.

⁴²⁷ Wilde, “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” 1201. Cf. Friedrich Nietzsche’s discussion of Bruno (and Spinoza): “The philosopher’s martyrdom, his ‘sacrifice for truth,’ forces into the light whatever was lurking in him of the propagandist and the actor...” in *Beyond Good and Evil* 26.

[CROSS-EXAMNER]: I believe you have written an article to show that

Shakespeare's sonnets were suggestive of unnatural vice.

WILDE: On the contrary I have written an article to show they are not. I

objected to such a perversion being put upon Shakespeare.⁴²⁸

In devising his martyrology, Wilde, who was not a Bruno scholar, relied on the writings of J. A. Symonds and Walter Pater.⁴²⁹ Together, these three staged a queer revival of Bruno studies.

III. Symonds

In an early draft of *The Catholic Reaction* (1886), volume six of his *Renaissance in Italy*—whose published version Wilde had reviewed and pronounced “one of the most interesting chapters of the book”⁴³⁰—J.A. Symonds ascribed to Bruno many superlative achievements including that he

anticipated Hegel's interpretation of the Fall & Hegel's fundamental

position that contraries are true together, Galileo's theory of gravitation,

the Darwinian hypothesis of evolution, the physical doctrine of

⁴²⁸ Ellman 449.

⁴²⁹ In thinking about martyrdom, I have found helpful Daniel Boyarin's identification of four essential characteristics: 1) a ritualized and performative speech act associated with a statement of pure essence; 2) the death of the martyr conceived as the fulfilling of a religious mandate per se, and not just the manifestation of a preference “for violent death” over “compliance with a decree”; 3) powerful erotic elements, including visionary experience having to do with sex and gender systems; 4) martyrdom does not occur in “what happened” but *in the stories told about what happened*. See Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God* (Stanford, CA: Stanford, 1999), 95-6.

⁴³⁰ Horst Schroeder, *Annotations to Oscar Wilde, The Portrait of Mr W.H.* (Braunschweig, Germany: Technische Universität Braunschweig, 1986), 26-27.

conservation of force, the modern conception of evil as a relative condition of imperfect development, and the comparative study of religions [etc.]...⁴³¹

Thus the reference to the truth of evolutionary science in Symonds's *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, one of his two privately-printed "Problem" essays on homosexuality (the other being *A Problem in Greek Ethics*), may be taken as an indirect allusion to Bruno.⁴³² Symonds offered a no less exalted estimation of Bruno in a letter to his editor Horatio Brown:

he is the only great Italian of the sixteenth century, and perhaps the greatest mind in Europe—I am really afraid to say what I am inclined to think—well, I will out with it, the greatest pure intelligence since Aristotle.⁴³³

(Symonds goes on to note that he does not see his way to expounding this opinion: a difficulty which I have also experienced.) Thus while neither does *A Problem in Greek Ethics* name Bruno, he may be understood as the standard by which it sets out to correct claims of English superiority, as when Symonds characterized the essay as

an elaborate study of pederastia among the Greeks ... I believe I am the only Englishman who has attempted the task, so cynically & prudishly

⁴³¹ Peter Remnant, "Symonds on Bruno—An Early Draft," *Renaissance News* 16.3 (1963): 202.

⁴³² Rictor Norton (compiler), "A Problem in Modern Ethics," *The John Addington Symonds Pages*, 24 November 2000 <<http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/modern.htm>>.

⁴³³ Remnant 201.

held out as a bait to scholars by Gibbon.⁴³⁴

In this same letter, Symonds called his correspondent's attention to a Viennese study of a nude young man, of "considerable beauty of line & attitude," which he had slipped between the pages of the accompanying Greek essay (one of only ten privately printed copies—another he mentions as having been given to Benjamin Jowett). Confirming that this was the context in which Symonds could express himself with least circumspection is the mention of Bruno tucked away in an Appendix to Symonds's *Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*:

[T]hese nude ephebi are ... Michelangelo's canon of perfection in human form. Inspired by the erotic "mania" of the *Phaedrus*, they breathe what Bruno called "heroic fury," the intense and rapturous enthusiasm for what is purely beautiful in form.⁴³⁵

Symonds came by his acute sensitivity to permissible expression firsthand. He reports Benjamin Jowett's saying to him, during their collaboration on a translation of Plato's *Symposium*,

"I am always surprised to hear you say what you have said before to me about the influence of Plato on persons who have tendencies towards such feelings. I do not understand how *what is in the main a figure of speech*

⁴³⁴ See John Younger, "Ten Unpublished Letters by John Addington Symonds at Duke University," *Victorian Newsletter*, Spring (1999): 1-10. That the correspondent, Edmund Gosse—whom Symonds thanks for a photo of the bodybuilder Eugene Sandow—somehow never fully grasped what Symonds meant by "cynically & prudishly" is suggested by his bonfire of Symonds's papers many years later at the British Museum.

⁴³⁵ John Addington Symonds, "Appendix IX. Replies to Criticism. On the Frescoes of the Sistine and their Meaning," in *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 2: 412.

should have so great a power over them.”

Symonds observes sarcastically: “fancy a Greek Professor calling Greek Love ‘a figure of speech’”!⁴³⁶

Nevertheless, Symonds used figures of speech when he wrote his last letter to his wife, in April 1893: “I have written things you could not like to read, but which I have always felt justified and useful for society.” Symonds had left his Diaries as a frank demystification of homosexuality which he wanted published after his death. As Rictor Norton notes, his wife withheld her consent and omitted the sentence just quoted when she published it in her preface to the expurgated reworking of the Diaries undertaken by Horatio Brown and Edmund Gosse.

IV. Pater

Wilde found his Italian quotation of Bruno in Walter Pater’s 1889 article “Giordano Bruno,” which was intended as a chapter in *Gaston de la Tour*, a *Bildungsroman* left unfinished at his death:

To unite oneself to the infinite by breadth and lucidity of intellect, to enter, by that admirable faculty, into eternal life—this was the true vocation of the spouse, of the rightly amorous soul—“a filosofia e necessario amore.”⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ Younger 4.

⁴³⁷ Schroeder, *Annotations* 27.

Pater seems to have had a conflict with Benjamin Jowett similar to Symonds's. Jowett (so Edmund Gosse told A. C. Benson) had "intervened" between Pater and his student, William Hardinge.⁴³⁸ Ten years before Gosse's gossiping with Benson, he wrote an obituary of Pater in which he speaks of

a complete estrangement of sympathy between Jowett and Pater. But it is pleasant to record that, in the last years of each, it was removed, and that Jowett was among those who congratulated Pater most cordially on his Plato and Platonism.⁴³⁹

Is this claim of an estrangement too but a figure of speech? After the appearance of Gosse's obituary, James responded:

... faint, pale, embarrassed, exquisite Pater! He reminds me, in the disturbed midnight of our actual literature, of one of those lucent matchboxes which you place, on going to bed, near the candle, to show you, in the darkness, where you can strike a light: he shines in the uneasy gloom—vaguely, and has a phosphorescence, not a flame.⁴⁴⁰

As will become evident later in this chapter, James's twist on Pater's famous injunction "to burn always with this hard, gemlike flame," which Gosse had dutifully quoted, may be applied with even greater justice to Gosse himself.

⁴³⁸ Discussed in William Shuter, "The 'Outing' of Walter Pater," *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 48.4 (1994): 482.

⁴³⁹ Gosse, "Walter Pater," in *Critical Kit-Kats* 249.

⁴⁴⁰ James, *Letters* 3: 492.

V. Wilde

If we may gauge the spirit of Ross's party by the presence of Reginald Turner, whom Oscar Wilde had characterized, in a letter to Turner himself, as "the Boy-Snatcher of Clements Inn,"⁴⁴¹ than we may also gauge its spirit by the absence of Edmund Gosse on the basis of another letter from Wilde, to Ross, of April 1900, concerning a Roman youth with whom Ross had an affair and in which Gosse figures as the first victim of an extended sexual joke:

Omero has never received your letter. I need not say I have not given him your address—at least not your real one: he now believes that your real name is Edmondo Gosse, and that your address is the Savile. I also added that some of your more intimate friends prefer to write you as ... Reginaldo Turner ... but that I, from old associations, prefer to address you as ... Sir Wemyss Reid⁴⁴² ... So I fancy there will be many interesting letters arriving in London.⁴⁴³

That James *was* present at Ross's party would have caused Wilde some surprise, judging from another letter of his to Ross, whom he thanks for a copy of "The Turn of the Screw":

I think it is a most wonderful, lurid, poisonous little tale, like an Elizabethan tragedy. I am greatly impressed by it. James is developing, but

⁴⁴¹ This is Wilde's characterization in *Complete Letters* 878.

⁴⁴² Thomas Wemyss Reid hired Wilde to be editor of *The Lady's World* and was knighted in 1894.

⁴⁴³ Wilde, *Complete Letters* 1182.

he will never arrive at passion, I fear.⁴⁴⁴

VI. James & Gosse

James's attitude toward the Bruno revival is both less and more than the sum of his attitudes toward its major participants. Pater, as demonstrated in the letter to Gosse, offered little temptation. His attitudes towards Wilde and Symonds, however, are harder to gauge and compare. I suspect that this is because, from James's point of view, they were so similar, as is evident from their being frequently mentioned together. James's refusal to write a review essay of the "biography" of Symonds indicates he was aware of the Diary and the difficulties it presents:

There were in him—things I utterly don't understand; and a need of taking the public into his intimissima confidence which seems to me to have been almost insane.⁴⁴⁵

Indeed, few people at the time would have claimed to "understand" Symonds's sexuality. James demonstrated his consistency on this point in a letter written to Howard Sturgis on 20 February 1912:

Yes, I have heard ... that dear Arthur [Benson] is lecturing on Symonds "with the disagreeable side left out!" But it supremely characterizes Symonds that that was just the side that he found most supremely

⁴⁴⁴ Wilde, *Complete Letters* 1118.

⁴⁴⁵ Quoted in Kaplan 403-404.

agreeable—and that to ignore it is therefore to offer to our yearning curiosity a Symonds exactly *uncharacterized*.⁴⁴⁶

That James knew well of what he wrote is shown in a letter dated 7 January, 1893, to Gosse, who had loaned him one or both of the Problem essays:

It was very kind of you yesterday, to supply—or rather remedy—the injury of fate by bringing me those marvelous outpourings. ...

J.A.S. is truly, I gather, a candid and consistent creature, & the exhibition is infinitely remarkable. It's, on the whole, I think, a queer place to plant the standard of duty, but he does it with extraordinary gallantry. If he has, or gathers, a band of the emulous, we may look for some capital sport. But I don't wonder that some of his friends and relations are haunted with a vague malaise. I think one ought to wish him more *humour*—it is really *the* saving salt. But the great reformers never have it—& he is the Gladstone of the affair. That perhaps is a reason the more for convoying him back to you one of these next days. I will drop in with him and defy the *consigne*. ... Yours, & if I may safely say so! ever...⁴⁴⁷

The closest James comes in this letter to stating explicitly the subject of the *Essays* is his half-serious concern about his overly effusive sign-off, which may also explain his planned defiance of a dangerously inquisitive *consigne*.

A related letter to Gosse from almost a year later (27 December 1894) contains James's response to the biography:

⁴⁴⁶ James, *Letters* 3: 397.

⁴⁴⁷ James, *Selected Letters* 91.

I have been reading with the liveliest—an almost painful—interest the 2 volumes on the extraordinary Symonds. They give me an extraordinary impression of his “gifts”—yet I don’t know what keeps them from being tragic.⁴⁴⁸

His “I don’t know what,” which implies the opposite, could refer to the invisible editorial hand of Gosse. In another letter to Gosse four months later, 8 April 1895, in the midst of Wilde’s trial, James’s instincts for self-protection led him to “disguise” an afterthought, written on the outside of the envelope, in French: “Quel Dommage—mais quel Bonheur—que J.A.S. ne soit plus de ce monde!”⁴⁴⁹ This letter was soon followed by another stating that Symonds’s outpourings were “strictly congruous” with James’s modesty:

Thanks—of a troubled kind, for your defense of my modesty in the *Realm*. The article is brilliantly clever—but I have almost the same anguish (that is, my modesty has,) when defended as when violated. You have, however, doubtless done it great good, which I hereby formally recognize. These are days in which one’s modesty is, in every direction, much exposed, & one should be thankful for every veil that one can hastily snatch up or that a friendly hand precipitately [sic] muffles one withal. It is strictly congruous with these remarks that I should mention that there go to you tomorrow a.m. in 2 registered envelopes, at 1 Whitehall, the fond outpourings of poor J.A.S... .

⁴⁴⁸ James, *Selected Letters* 123.

⁴⁴⁹ James, *Selected Letters* 126.

Did you see in last evening's 1/2 d. papers that the wretched O.W. seems to have a gleam of light before him (if it really counts for that!) in the fearful exposure of his (of the prosecution's) little beasts of witnesses.⁴⁵⁰

The article in *The Realm* to which James refers seems to be Gosse's "Our Next Visitor" which announces the impending visit to England of the French writer Alphonse Daudet, and its being arranged by James "who, poor gentleman, has never been suspected of any love for this sort of responsible notoriety."⁴⁵¹

If James left no explicit statement on the Bruno revival, we can nonetheless assert a development from his simplistic assertion of 1867 that "...this is no longer the age in which Galileo was imprisoned, or Bruno was burned ... indeed as a generation we are nothing if not philosophical."⁴⁵² After Wilde's trials and death, James took a "philosophical" approach to Shakespeare's Sonnets in an introduction to *The Tempest*:

[For some] the only facts we are urgently concerned with are the facts of the Poet, which are abundantly constituted by the Plays and the Sonnets. ... This view is admirable if you can get your mind to consent to it. It must ignore any impulse, in presence of Play or Sonnet (whatever vague stir behind either may momentarily act as provocation) to try to lunge at the figured arras.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰ James, *Selected Letters* 127.

⁴⁵¹ Gosse "our Next Visitor." Note Gosse's misrepresentation of James's regionalism: "We expect to hear the author of 'The American' has hastily quitted our shores for a month's visit to Boston." Edel claim that *The Realm* article is in Gosse's *French Profiles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914) is incorrect.

⁴⁵² From the *North American Review*. April 1867. See James, *Literary Criticism* 1: 15.

⁴⁵³ James, "Introduction to *The Tempest*," in *Literary Criticism* 1: 1220.

In fact, it is with this indirect lunge (indirect because the author is not in view) that James stakes his hopes:

we shall never touch the Man directly in the Artist. We stake our hopes thus on indirectness, which may contain possibilities; we take that very truth for our counsel of despair, try to look at it as helpful for the Criticism of the future.⁴⁵⁴

It is well known that James's story "The Author of 'Beltraffio'" (1884) arose out of gossip from Edmund Gosse about Symonds's relations with his wife.⁴⁵⁵ In this respect, "The Real Right Thing" (1899) is a virtual sequel to the earlier story as it chronicles the dealings between Gosse (Withermore) and the widow of Symonds (Doyne):

Doyne's relation with his wife had been, to Withermore's knowledge, a very special chapter—which would present itself, by the way, as a delicate one for the biographer; but a sense of what she had lost, and even of what she had lacked, had betrayed itself, on the poor woman's part, from the first days of her bereavement, sufficiently to prepare an observer at all initiated for some attitude of reparation, some espousal even exaggerated of the interests of a distinguished name.⁴⁵⁶

Withermore, whose name suggests an endless decrease of both vitality (wither) and

⁴⁵⁴ Compare this to two statements in the long version, which James probably had not read: that it is the discovery of Willie Hughes's *profession* not his *identity* which is termed "a revolution in criticism," and "Shakespeare's heart is still to us a 'closet never pierc'd with crystal eyes,' as he calls it in one of the sonnets. We shall never know the true secret of the passion of his life." Oscar Wilde, "The Portrait of Mr. W.H.," 1163, 1199.

⁴⁵⁵ Edel, *Henry James* 313.

⁴⁵⁶ Henry James, "The Real Right Thing," *The Complete Tales of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel, vol. 10 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964), 471.

purpose (whither), comes to sense the spirit of the dead author guiding him through this “delicate” chapter:

When once this fancy had begun to hang about him he welcomed it, persuaded it, encouraged it, quite cherished it, looking forward all day to to feeling it renew itself in the evening, and waiting for the evening *very much as one of a pair of lovers might wait for the hour of their appointment* [my emphasis].⁴⁵⁷

But in the end Withermore feels abandoned by this presence, which prompts a new interpretation of it; as he explains to the widow: Doyne actually wishes to be let alone.⁴⁵⁸ Mrs. Doyne, who had earlier claimed to want to do “the real right thing,”⁴⁵⁹ appears to have been similarly convinced:

He was to infer later on from the extraordinary way she closed her eyes and, as if to steady herself, held them tight and long, in silence, that beside the unutterable vision of Ashton Doyne’s wife his own might rank as an escape.⁴⁶⁰

Regarding this ghost story, to do “the real right thing” is, according to Edel, to leave dead writers alone, to read them only in their works.⁴⁶¹ The ambiguous and double-edged phrase is the self-serving widow’s, however, not James’s. The story’s ambiguity lies in whether

⁴⁵⁷ James, “The Real Right Thing” 477.

⁴⁵⁸ James, “The Real Right Thing” 484.

⁴⁵⁹ James, “The Real Right Thing” 482.

⁴⁶⁰ James, “The Real Right Thing” 486.

⁴⁶¹ Edel, Leon, “Introduction,” in *Henry James Letters*, vol. 1, ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1974), xxiv.

“the real right thing” was ever apprehended by either biographer or widow; it is not a defense of an editorial policy but a description of a loveless triangle. It is a “realistic” ghost story inspired by, if anything, Symonds’s *Nachlass* and Gosse’s predicament.⁴⁶²

A related example of a difference between James and Gosse on the subject of biography is James’s reaction to Gosse’s tribute to Wolcott Balestier:

I confess there are three passages in the sketch that I am sorry that you left just so—the one about his personal appearance, the one about his “secretiveness” (particularly), which I think, under the circumstances, ungracious—and the enumeration of his early books—though, as to this last point, you may reply that it would have been unfair to be silent. But to the young, early dead, the baffled, the defeated, I don’t think we can be tender enough.⁴⁶³

James also objected to Gosse’s referring to James’s having undertaken “the task of biography” to excuse his own skipping over of Balestier’s early life. What James’s had in fact prepared was “a mere ‘impression.’” In a letter James wrote to Gosse in 1901, the Grand Canal of upstate New York (James’s relationship with Balestier), met, for once, the Grand Canal of Venice, to which Gosse was embarking for the first time:

Go to see the Tintoretto Crucifixion at San Cossiano—or never more be officer of mine. And, apropos of masterpieces, read a thing called Venice in

⁴⁶² This is argued in Hugh Stevens, “The Resistance to Query: John Addington Symonds and ‘The Real Right Thing,’” *The Henry James Review* 20:3 (1999): 173-188.

⁴⁶³ James, *Selected Letters* 86. The “secret passage” to which James refers is as follows: “He had cultivated such a perfect gift for being all things to all men, discretion and tact were so requisite in his calling, that he fell, and that increasingly, into the error of excessive reticence. This mysterious secrecy, which grew on him toward the last, his profound caution and subtlety, would doubtless have become modified.” See Edmund Gosse, “Wolcott Balestier,” *The Century* 43.6 (April 1892): 925.

a thing called *Portraits of Places* by a thing called H.J., if you can get the book: I'm not sure if it's in Tauschnitz, but Mrs. Curtis may have the same. [Horatio] Brown certainly won't, though J.A.S., in the only communication I ever got from him, told me he thought it the best image of V[enice] he had ever seen made. This is the 1st time in my life, I believe, by the way, I ever indulged in any such—in any—fatuous reference to a fruit of my pen. So there may be something in it.⁴⁶⁴

The Venice which Symonds and James know (and know *best*) is not the one known by Brown (who had even written a book on the city, and the “biography” of Symonds). This implicit criticism of Brown is best accounted for as an effort to redeem Gosse from Brown's influence. James's success or failure in this may be judged in light of two facts: 1) Robert Ross's party is not mentioned in James's surviving letters to Gosse; and, 2) James's agent J.B. Pinker once tried to find out from him whom he wanted as his literary executor “but ... all he knew was that he did not want Gosse.”⁴⁶⁵

Rictor Norton's suggestion that it was not Horatio Brown but Edmund Gosse who was most responsible to bowdlerizing and emasculating Symonds's *Diary* makes sense; it also makes sense that something of this was known to James. It was to Gosse that Brown eventually bequeathed the memoirs and papers when he died in 1926. Gosse and the librarian of the London Library made a bonfire in the garden and burned everything except the memoirs, which were deposited in the London Library with injunctions that they were not to be made available or published for fifty years.⁴⁶⁶ A granddaughter of Symonds later described her own encounter with Gosse:

⁴⁶⁴ James, *Selected Letters* 187.

⁴⁶⁵ Edel, Introduction xvi-xvii.

⁴⁶⁶ Rictor Norton. “The Life of John Addington Symonds,” *The Life and Writings of John Addington Symonds*, 6 Nov. 1999 <<http://www.infont.demon.co.uk/symonds.jtm>>.

[Gosse] said he knew how glad I should be to hear what he had done to preserve the good name of my grandfather. ... It was not safe to let myself speak as I thought of these two old men destroying, one could only guess, all the case histories and basic studies of sexual inversion that JAS is known to have made, together no doubt with other letters and papers that would have thrown much light on JAS's work and friendships. Gosse's smug gloating delight as he told me, the sense that he had enjoyed to the full the honour fate had given him, was nauseating.⁴⁶⁷

This history makes almost laughable Edel's assertion that Gosse "was dedicated as few men of his time to the 'literary history' that begins from the moment a stylist's pen touches paper."⁴⁶⁸ In the end, Mrs. James named Gosse as Percy Lubbock's advisor. Lubbock's main qualification for being James's literary executor was his laudatory review of the twenty-four volumes of the Edition, in which the frontispieces are not mentioned.⁴⁶⁹ The irrelevancy of the frontispieces is a tacit implication of Lubbock's editorializing. At best, they embody the "uniform design" of the Edition which he exploits to both authenticate and smooth over its enlargement. They signify both a de facto incompleteness and its amenability towards alteration—"completion"—through the (incomplete!) texts of *The Ivory Tower* and *The Sense of the Past*. The radical

⁴⁶⁷ Janet Vaughan quoted in Ann Thwaite, *Edmund Gosse: a Literary Landscape*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1984), 540.

⁴⁶⁸ Edel, Introduction xvi-xvii.

⁴⁶⁹ See Lubbock.

(apocalyptic) aspects of the Edition and its texts were thus buried for a generation.⁴⁷⁰

VII. The Bruno Revival & the Rosicrucian Enlightenment

I have gone to these lengths to establish the social context of the Bruno revival in England in the last two decades of the nineteenth century because of its unrecognized historiographical and epistemological connections to what has since become known or derided as the “Rosicrucian Enlightenment.” In the short “Portrait” the narrator asserts that Willie Hughes

was one of those English actors who in 1611, the year of Shakespeare’s retirement from the stage, went across the sea to Germany. ... Indeed, there was something particularly fitting in the idea that the boy-actor, whose beauty had been so vital an element in the realism and romance of Shakespeare’s art, had been the first to have brought to Germany the seed of the new culture, and was in his way the precursor of the *Aufklärung*.⁴⁷¹

In James’s Preface to *The Tempest* he ventures an opinion on the play’s role in the wedding of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I, which is richly suggestive of the bolder scenarios ventured earlier by Oscar Wilde and later by

⁴⁷⁰ This and the previous two chapters should be read in light of a passage on Symonds from Rictor Norton’s “The Life of John Addington Symonds”: “He recognized ‘the aura’ in the poetry of his friend Edmund Gosse, and was both heartened and saddened when Gosse sent him a poem on ‘The Taming of Chimaera’ (this was also Symonds’s code word for homosexual passion) which provided the secret key which was suppressed from Gosse’s published poems ... : “I feel very bitter about this. *Quoque tandem Domine?* [How long, O Lord?] How long are souls to groan beneath the altar, & poets to eviscerate their offspring, for the sake of what? ... [Letter to Edmund Gosse, 25 March 1890].”

⁴⁷¹ Wilde, “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” 1192.

Frances Yates⁴⁷²:

The Tempest speaks to us, somehow, convincingly, as a piece de circonstance, and the suggestion that it was addressed, in its brevity, its rich simplicity, and its free elegance, to court-production, and above all to providing, with a string of other dramas, for the “intellectual” splendour of a wedding-feast, is, when once entertained not easily dislodged.⁴⁷³

According to Yates the brief reign of Frederick and Elizabeth in Heidelberg was a “Hermetic golden age,”⁴⁷⁴ and a key ingredient was Giordano Bruno:

[Bruno] had intended to found a new sect under the name of philosophy... [and] ... that the sect was called the “Giordanisti”⁴⁷⁵ and appealed particularly to the Lutherans in Germany.

It has occurred to me to wonder whether these rumored “Giordanisti” could have any connection with the unsolved mystery of the origin of the Rosicrucians who are first heard of in Germany in the early seventeenth century in Lutheran circles.⁴⁷⁶

The Tempest thus becomes a key document in this development:

presenting a philosophy which ... reflects a movement, or a phase, which

⁴⁷² Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1972), 3.

⁴⁷³ This essay should be compared to the story “The Birthplace” and James’s invocation of Shakespeare’s curse in a letter to his nephew. James, “Introduction to *The Tempest*” 1206.

⁴⁷⁴ Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* xi-xv.

⁴⁷⁵ Scott Westrem has observed to me that the members of the sect may have been *Giordanisti*, but the cult itself can’t have had this name.

⁴⁷⁶ Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964), 312-13.

can now be more or less identified among the currents of European intellectual and religious history. It is the Rosicrucian movement, which was to be given open expression in the manifestoes published in Germany in 1614 and 1615.⁴⁷⁷

Thus the recent discovery of a note informing the Earl of Essex (whose use of Shakespeare's company to act *Richard II* on the eve of his public protest in 1600 is well known) of Bruno's death, has been hailed as adding

a new conviction to that wavering and inconstant but nevertheless brilliant tradition of Bruno-Shakespeare studies which, originating in the late nineteenth century in Germany [and England!], was carried on by, among others, Frances Yates in sometimes debatable but always stimulating terms.⁴⁷⁸

At the same time, our understanding of the brief context in which Bruno and Rosicrucianism flourished has benefited by a shift in scholarly focus from natural magic to the inspired textual criticism of the biblical history (not that these categories are always distinct: well into the 17th century, the Resurrection continued to bear a "Hermetic Seal").⁴⁷⁹ According to this view, Hermes Trismegistus (the supposed ancient author of the the *Asclepius* and *Corpus Hermeticum*) is

⁴⁷⁷ Frances Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 97.

⁴⁷⁸ Hilary Gatti, "The State of Giordano Bruno Studies at the End of the Four-Hundreth Centenary of the Philosopher's Death," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001): 259-60.

⁴⁷⁹ See the funeral sermon of Bishop Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) cited in *Oxford English Dictionary*; see also the researches of Isaac Newton and Richard Boyle.

the Egyptian ancestor of Plato; the theologian of Mosaic times; the prophet of divine power, wisdom, and will; the Sienese mercury who foresaw the coming of the Word as God's Son.⁴⁸⁰

It is arguable that a Rosicrucian Enlightenment along these textual-critical lines would be of more importance than the one of natural science. According to this view, the period of reform lasted until at least 1629, when the Strasbourg theologian Johan Conrad Dannhauer coined the word "hermeneutica" and a year later proposed, in a work whose Latin title has been translated as *The Idea of the Good Interpreter*, a "hermeneutica universalis."⁴⁸¹ The contrary view is epitomized by the Englishman Isaac Casaubon who, in 1614, identified the Hermetic writings as not the work of an ancient Egyptian priest, but written in post-Christian times.⁴⁸² Thus we find being set long ago the terms of the current views on the Rosicrucian Enlightenment (if Brian Vickers is an acceptable Casaubon⁴⁸³ and Donald Dickson, in the following passage, an acceptable Dannhauer—see my qualification below):

All that can be known of the Rosicrucian "movement" is really the history of the publication of its manifestoes, so that whenever possible I shall keep to the firm ground of ... "the history of the literary work's

⁴⁸⁰ Brian Copenhaver, "Hermes Theologus: The Sienese Mercury and Ficino's Hermetic Demons," in *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation*, eds. J. O'Malley, T. Izbicki and G. Christianson (New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), 182.

⁴⁸¹ *Idea boni Interpretis et malitiosi Calumniatoris*; the full Latin title is much longer. See Jean Grondin, *Introduction to Philosophical Hermeneutics*, tr. Joel Weinsheimer (New Haven: Yale, 1994), 49-50.

⁴⁸² Yates, *Giordano Bruno* 170.

⁴⁸³ "Yates's rewriting of Renaissance history is an edifice built not on rock nor on sand but on air... if the findings and methodology of [*The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*] came to be accepted or used as models for imitation the results could be disastrous." Brian Vickers, "Frances Yates and the Writing of History," *Journal of Modern History* 51, June (1979): 316.

textualizations and the history of its reception.”⁴⁸⁴

Furthermore, Symonds, Pater and Wilde may be considered forerunners of Dickson, while Friedrich Nietzsche, in his ridicule of the alliance between modern theology and history from early in his career, represents Vickers:

No one should presume that it is based on new, powerful, constructive instincts; in order for this to be the case, we would have to accept the so-called Protestant Union as the womb of a new religion.⁴⁸⁵

Walter Benjamin cites Nietzsche’s *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music* in his account of *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* which links the dissolution of the *Trauerspiel* into opera (Wagnerian or otherwise) to a mysterious formal shift from myth to history. Laboring under the weight of a tradition which sees little behind or beyond the Protestant Union and the Thirty Years War⁴⁸⁶ it is unfortunate but understandable that Benjamin feels obliged to “forgo” the complex “synthesis of the antitheses deliberately opened up by the baroque” and “the full justification of the antitheses” for which he yearns—which he nonetheless suggests would be found in “the musical philosophy of the

⁴⁸⁴ Donald R. Dickson, “Johann Valentin Andreae’s Utopian Brotherhoods,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 49 (1996): 763. Dickson, while endorsing Vickers, seems unaware that his account of Johann Valentin Andreae’s sustained involvement in the Rosicrucian writings confirms the outline, if not the detail, of Yates’s original sketch. To the extent that the Rosicrucian Enlightenment, the Platonic Academy of Florence (James Hankins, “The Myth of the Platonic Academy of Florence,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991): 429-75) and the Christian Gospels are woven into our history, their textuality can not be held against them.

⁴⁸⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche, “The Utility and Liability of History,” in *Unfashionable Observations*, tr. Richard T. Gray (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 1995), 132.

⁴⁸⁶ “In older works the Thirty Years War ... appears to bear responsibility for all the lapses for which this form has been criticized.” Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (New York: Verso, 1998), 53.

romantic writers” and “a fundamental discussion of language, music, and script.”⁴⁸⁷ In my last chapters, on the origins of music notation, I shall attempt to contribute to Benjamin’s foregone discussion while remaining open to the Rosicrucian-hermeneutic disruptions of the circular reasoning of “a literary work’s textualizations,” such as Wilde’s portrait/frontispiece.

The philological problem which Benjamin faced is today found in the relation between queer theory and “sexuality.” In the edition of *Clavis Universalis* dedicated to Frances Yates, Paolo Rossi criticizes Michel Foucault’s claims about the “mysterious and fascinating symmetries and correspondences between early modern theories of natural history and language,” by arguing that they are in fact unmysterious manifestations in 18th century zoology of “method” as a kind of artificial memory and the related, more ancient idea of “a total correspondence between the terms of the encyclopedia and the reality of things.”⁴⁸⁸ If the *original* “mystery” of symmetries and correspondences is false, a similar judgment must apply (or the mystery must be proven anew) to its reappearance as the basis for Foucault’s history of sexuality in “two distinct nineteenth century orders of knowledge, a biology of reproduction and a medicine of sex.”⁴⁸⁹ The “secret history” of the Rosicrucian Enlightenment was not only *my way* out of these “stressed epistemologies”⁴⁹⁰ but, in its earliest phases, was also Symonds’s, Pater’s, Wilde’s, and James’s, who sensed its potential for disrupting the power of “figures of speech.” It is in this context that it makes most sense to say of Bruno that he

appears to have emerged not as a philosopher of the Renaissance but as *the*

⁴⁸⁷ Benjamin, *German Tragic Drama* 213. This points to an underlying, complementary commonality between Yates and Benjamin which George Steiner has recognized in a different context: Benjamin’s “genuine intellectual, psychological,” if not actual, home was the Warburg Institute, with which Yates would become affiliated. See Introduction to Benjamin, *German Tragic Drama*, 19.

⁴⁸⁸ Rossi xxv.

⁴⁸⁹ Foucault 54-55.

⁴⁹⁰ Sedgwick, “Shame” 236.

philosopher of the Renaissance, and perhaps even more... as the philosopher who leads into the early modern world.⁴⁹¹

VIII. Fuller

Reading James's biography of William Wetmore Story, I was struck by his note on the ghost of Margaret Fuller as manifested in the Story memorabilia: "none looks out at us more directly and wistfully."⁴⁹² There seemed to me to be an autobiographical intensity in this vision of vision—a self-recognition which I thought somehow connected to James's learning as a boy, while in the presence of his father and Washington Irving, of Fuller's shipwreck off Fire Island (it appears she did not wish to return to Boston) with her son, husband, and the manuscript of her eyewitness *History of the Italian Revolution*.⁴⁹³ This eventually led me to the *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, in which I came across Fuller's mysterious derivation of the name of the hero of the Rosicrucian manifestoes:

If Christian Rosencrantz is not a made name, the genius of the age
interfered in the baptismal rite, as in the cases of the archangels of art,
Michael and Raphael, and in giving the name of Emanuel to the Captain of
the New Jerusalem. *Sub rosa crux*, I think, is the true derivation, and not
the chemical one, generation, corruption, & etc.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹¹ Gatti 261.

⁴⁹² James, *William Wetmore* 98-9.

⁴⁹³ James, *A Small Boy* 65-66.

⁴⁹⁴ Margaret Fuller et al., *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, ed. by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Horace Greeley, et al. vol. 1 (Boston: Phillips, Samson, 1852), 220. Cf. Fuller's derivation with G.W.F. Hegel's in the Preface to his *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, ed. Allen Wood, trans. H.B. Nisbet (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 22: "To recognize reason as the rose in the cross of the present and thereby to delight in the present..."

The compilers of the *Memoirs* offer no explanation for this passage—which is how I left the matter until I came across the more recent statement of a scholar that Christian Rosencreutz is “still living in our day, still awaiting poetic realization.”⁴⁹⁵

In the short “Portrait of Mr. W.H.” Erskine disappears into Germany in a quest for proof of his theory but returns, presumably, empty-handed, hence his forged suicide to inspire a similar quest in the story’s narrator: the long “Portrait of Mr. W.H.” and its frontispiece are Wilde’s “poetical realization” of Erskine’s theory, i.e., fulfillments of the original quest. I attempted the “poetic realization” of a theory no less fantastic than Erskine’s—Raph Pendrel’s—by reading that copy of *Science and Health* inscribed in a librarian’s hand, “Einziges Exemplar der 1. Ausgabe in Europa. Geschenck der Verf[asserin] an die Universität Heidelberg”: *Only example of the first edition in Europe. A gift of the authoress to the University of Heidelberg.*

Sub rosa comes from the Latin, literally “under the rose,” the sense of which derives from a story in which Cupid gives Harpocrates, the god of silence, a rose to bribe him not to betray the confidence of Venus. It may be that the Rosicrucian Enlightenment is no more “real” than “The Portrait of Mr. W.H.” but neither is it any less real. Bruno’s “General Account of Bonding” suggests a more constructive basis for their comparison: “Regarding beauty, notice how monkeys and horses please each other; indeed, not even Venus pleases some types of humans and heroes.”⁴⁹⁶ It can thus come about that one may feel closest to the heart of New York State in the shadow of the ruins of the castle of the Palatinate overlooking the Neckar River.

⁴⁹⁵ Harold Jantz, “German Renaissance Literature,” *Modern Language Notes* 81.4 (1966): 436.

⁴⁹⁶ Giordano Bruno, “A General Account of Bonding,” in *Cause, Principle and Unity*, ed. & trans. Richard Blackwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1998), 148.

Chapter Five: Out of the Spirit of Music Notation

I. From Kant to Nietzsche

As a young man, James had used the word “philosophical” to describe the restraint his society showed (in contrast to its earlier treatment of Galileo and Bruno) to those whose ideas might be considered heretical. When he himself came to have a philosophical attitude, towards Shakespeare and Wilde, it was with this difference: his philosophical attitude set him apart from society. In this later context James’s philosophy seems to accord with Leo Strauss’s dictum: “Philosophy is political philosophy because political philosophy is required for protecting the inner sanctum of philosophy.”⁴⁹⁷

Taking Strauss in conjunction with that formula which I derived from Edmund Wilson, “the philosophy of the New York Edition” is the political philosophy enacted between Gibbon’s secret “political” history of Athenian hegemony and its Micheletist exoteric “philosophical” counterpart. This counterpart cannot be associated with the *philosophes* lauded in the *History of the French Revolution*—because the *philosophes* were, at least in Michelet’s reckoning,⁴⁹⁸ too revolutionary, i.e., too *political*. To maintain the necessary difference between political philosophy and philosophy Michelet had to venture abroad:

In a remote region of the northern seas, there then existed an

extraordinary, powerful creature, a man, or rather a system ... —a rock

⁴⁹⁷ Strauss, “The Problem of Socrates” in *The Rebirth of Classical Political Rationalism*, ed. Thomas Pangle (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1989), 133.

⁴⁹⁸ Michelet does not discuss Rousseau’s Orphic frontispiece.

formed by adamant in the granite of the Baltic; on which every religion, every system of philosophy had struck and been shipwrecked. ... His name was Emmanuel Kant; but he called himself Critic. For sixty years, this perfectly abstract being, devoid of all human connection, had gone out at precisely the same hour. ... [T]he inhabitants of Koenigsberg [Kaliningrad] (who considered this as an omen of the most extraordinary events) saw this planet swerve and depart from his long habitual course... They followed him and saw him hastening towards the west, to the road by which they expected the courier from France!

O humanity! ... To behold Kant moved and anxious, going forth on the road, like a woman, to inquire the news...⁴⁹⁹

To speak in the same way of “the philosophy of Henry James,” I suggest that the Micheletist counterpart to James’s friendship with Paul Joukowsky (the Russian emigré whom he met in Paris)—i.e., the philosopher who is, in a sense, so to speak, Kant’s double—is Friedrich Nietzsche, for in terms not altogether different from Kant’s witnessing a distant Revolution, Nietzsche was a distant witness of Joukowsky’s friendship with James. In this chapter I shall argue 1) that Nietzsche’s critique of Richard Wagner points towards a “secret writing” of James and Joukowsky’s friendship in terms of that conceptualization of place associated with the art of memory in general and music notation in particular, and 2) that the capital of the philosophies of Henry James and the New York Edition is *almost* anti-Straussian—i.e., neither Athens nor Jerusalem—but Rochester, New York—where the anarchist Emma Goldman (1869-1940) spent the last years of her adolescence and her first years in America.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹ Michelet, *French Revolution* 455.

⁵⁰⁰ Koenigsberg/Kaliningrad was also the home of Goldman between the ages of six and thirteen, before she moved with her family to St. Petersburg.

II. James and Joukowski

If Nietzsche did not know Joukowski personally, which is unlikely, as I shall discuss below, he certainly knew as well as anyone Joukowski's idol, Richard Wagner (for whom Joukowski designed stage sets for *Parsifal*). It was in Sorrento, Italy, where the Wagners were staying at the Villa d'Angri, that Nietzsche, traveling with his then new friend Paul Rée, last saw Wagner in 1876.⁵⁰¹ For similar reasons, it was near Sorrento that James last saw Joukowski, in the spring of 1880. Two letters to Thomas Perry in 1908 reflect James's attempt to determine Joukowski's fate thirty years later. In the postscript to a letter written in May, he seeks to take advantage of Perry's impending trip to Russia:

There is one thing you perhaps can do for me: i.e., ascertain at Petersburg whether an old & very amiable Russian friend of mine, an artist, & at one time a very intime court personage (friend of the late Emperor & the present Dowager Empress) by name Paul Joukowski, be alive or dead ? ?
 ? ? ? It isn't that I really know who you could ask—but the right person would know!⁵⁰²

The second letter, written in December, brings the matter to a close:

⁵⁰¹ What passed between Nietzsche and Wagner during their "last walk" together in Sorrento (2 November 1876) is a matter of speculation, but Rée's Jewishness was a concern to the Wagners. See Joachim Kohler, *Nietzsche & Wagner: A Lesson in Subjugation*, trans. Ronald Taylor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 127. On the unscholarly excesses of this book (also evident in *Zarathustra's Secret*) see Roger Hollinrake's reviews in *Music & Letters* 80 (1999): 641-644, and *Wagner* 20 (1999): 102-4.

⁵⁰² Virginia Harlow, *Thomas Sergeant Perry: A Biography* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950), 326.

I thank you kindly for your vain inquiry—of all the echoes of all the steppes—for Paul Joukowsky. I am in communication with him now—he is living at Weimar—& not in Russia at all—where he can no longer stand the climate.⁵⁰³

James's revived interest in Joukowsky so late in the day is comparable to the interest in Joukowsky of James's biographers, who are, if anything, even more focused on the earlier relation. Leon Edel, for instance, has concluded, from James's letters written during the time of his Italian rendezvous with Joukowsky, "HJ seems to have been greatly shocked to find his old Parisian friend in a veritable nest of homosexuals." Sheldon Novick, however, takes issue with this vocabulary and conclusion:

Taking "aesthetics" as code for "homosexuals," a term and concept that did not exist in 1880, this is partly correct; but of course HJ was neither shocked nor surprised.⁵⁰⁴

Despite Novick's avowed "openness" about James's sexuality, his final assessment of James's situation is itself coded:

The new musical drama that was being invented at the Villa d'Angri, *the new art of pure action, the unmediated expression of the strong forces, would remain a closed book* to [James] for many years [my emphasis].⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ Harlow 327.

⁵⁰⁴ Novick 516.

⁵⁰⁵ Novick 411.

Now, this comes as a distinct anticlimax since Novick has already identified Joukowsky as the yearned-for object of the following confidence related by Edmund Gosse, which has James

standing on the pavement of a city, in the dusk, and ... gazing upwards across the misty street, waiting, watching for the lighting of a lamp in a window on the third story. And the lamp blazed out, and through bursting tears he strained to see what was behind it, the unapproachable face. And for hours he stood there, wet with rain, brushed by the phantom hurrying figures of the scene, and never from behind the lamp was for one moment visible the face.⁵⁰⁶

Novick finesses his identification with a disclaimer: “One could not be sure that this was a rainy evening in Paris, although it sounded like one, in the fall of 1876.”⁵⁰⁷ In other words, there is no direct evidence connecting this story with Joukowsky. Novick notes that Gosse is “not an entirely reliable source,” but neither, as is evident, is Novick.⁵⁰⁸ Indeed, there is no aspect of Jamesian criticism that has not been affected by this difficulty of ascertaining his relation to Joukowsky.

Novick presents James’s and Joukowsky’s relationship as an equation, a code, consisting of two mirroring formulae: 1) *‘aesthetics’ as code for ‘homosexuals,’ a term and concept that did not exist in 1880* and 2) *the new art of pure action, the unmediated expression of the strong forces, would remain a closed book*. I shall take Novick’s code at face value, only I shall treat it as neither aesthetic nor sexual but as relating, in essence, to a phenomenology of music notation encompassing a range of meanings from “pure” music

⁵⁰⁶ Novick 347.

⁵⁰⁷ Novick 347.

⁵⁰⁸ Novick 506.

to musical drama. In this attempt at code-cracking we can (carefully) use a Nietzschean vocabulary because he was of that circle.

Cosima Wagner's diaries indicate that Joukowski had spent the summer of 1876 at Bayreuth in considerable familiarity with the Wagner household.⁵⁰⁹ This was also the time of the first festival, which marked the beginning of the end of Nietzsche's enthrallment with Wagner. By 1882, during the summer of the second Bayreuth festival, the air which Joukowski and Nietzsche breathed in common had become stifling. While Nietzsche struggled through his tumultuous relationships with Paul Rée and Lou Salomé—involving utopian communities and marriage proposals—Joukowski figured in at least one of a series of “nasty altercations”⁵¹⁰ between Salomé and Nietzsche's jealous sister Elizabeth.⁵¹¹ Less than friendly interactions between Nietzsche and the Wagners, including attempts to assassinate Nietzsche's character, parallel these developments. For example, to a doctor whom Nietzsche had consulted Wagner wrote:

I have been thinking for some time, in connection with N.'s malady, ... of similar cases I have observed among talented young intellectuals. ... I watched these young men go to rack and ruin, and realized only too painfully that such symptoms were the result of masturbation.⁵¹²

A few more exchanges were still in order, such as Nietzsche's dedication to Voltaire of the first edition of *Human, All Too Human* (1878), which is now widely understood as a slap at Wagner.⁵¹³ In return, Wagner sent him the score of *Parsifal* and, according to Joachim

⁵⁰⁹ Novick 504.

⁵¹⁰ Rudiger Safranski, *Nietzsche: A Philosophical Biography*, trans. Shelley Frisch (New York: Norton, 2002), 253.

⁵¹¹ Joachim Kohler, *Zarathustra's Secret*, trans. Ronald Taylor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 201.

⁵¹² Quoted in Kohler, *Nietzsche & Wagner* 146-147.

⁵¹³ Richard Schacht, “Introduction” in Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge, Eng: Cambridge University Press, 1996), xiv-xv.

Kohler, a bust of Voltaire (anonymously) with a card reading “L’ame de Voltaire fait ses compliments a Frederic Nietzsche.”

Two months after Wagner’s death Nietzsche claimed the composer had accused him of pederasty.⁵¹⁴ A reviewer makes the astute comment that, unless further correspondence has been destroyed, Nietzsche must be relating verbal exchanges, thus firmly placing Nietzsche’s sexuality in a social-linguistic setting with whose culmination we are familiar:⁵¹⁵

The idea of a sexually deviant—or “gay”—Nietzsche has a certain topicality in view of the routine appropriation—or misappropriation—of his name by contemporary “queer” studies in America.⁵¹⁶

An example of what this reviewer is referring to is Eve Kosovsky Sedgwick’s assertion, in her discussion of Nietzsche’s “last several texts,” that he “never posits same-sex desire or sexuality as one subject.”⁵¹⁷ However, Nietzsche’s reticence is quite understandable in light not only of Wagner’s harassment, but of his own extremely forthright positings in “earlier” texts such as the aphorism “*A masculine culture*” in *Human, All Too Human*:

Greek culture of the classical era is a masculine culture... —The erotic relationships of the men with the youths was, to a degree we can no longer comprehend, the sole and necessary presupposition of all male education (somewhat in the way in which with us all higher education was for a long

⁵¹⁴ “... [Wagner] is full of evil thoughts. What do you say of a man who has written letters, even to my doctors, to express his conviction that the change in the direction of my thoughts is the consequence of unnatural proclivities—specifically pederasty?” Quoted by Joachim Kohler in *Nietzsche & Wagner* 143.

⁵¹⁵ Roger Hollinrake, review of *Nietzsche & Wagner: A Lesson in Subjugation* in *Wagner* 20 (1999): 102-3.

⁵¹⁶ Hollinrake, rev. in *Wagner*.

⁵¹⁷ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 134.

time introduced to women only through love-affairs and marriage)...⁵¹⁸

Nietzsche returned to this theme in *Daybreak*:

Different perspectives of feeling.—What does our chatter about the Greeks amount to! What do we understand of their art, the soul of which is—passion for naked male beauty! It was only from that viewpoint that they were sensible of female beauty. Thus their perspective on female beauty was quite different from ours.⁵¹⁹

In seeking “a philosophy of music notation” of James, Joukowski and Nietzsche, I am guided—by the fact that Nietzsche was, if not a profound “composer,” an expert improviser at the piano, while Wagner was an expert composer, but not much of a pianist⁵²⁰—into conducting the following thought experiment: what becomes of the distinction between the musicality of Nietzsche and Wagner if a recording had been made of Nietzsche’s “improvisations” or, what amounts to the same thing, a transcription had been made by some sort of “typewriter”? My working hypothesis is that Nietzsche, and everyone else, underestimated this difference in Nietzsche’s criticism of Wagner (in Nietzsche’s “criticism” period). Devoting his books to a critique of Socrates, he could write the birth of tragedy out of the spirit of music notation in blood only.

These “transcriptions,” taken as historical documents, reflect the terms of Nietzsche’s “On the Utility and Liability of History for Life” (1874) and James’s “Florentine Notes” (1874). Nietzsche divides the world into the historical and the

⁵¹⁸ Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human* 121.

⁵¹⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Daybreak*, eds. Maudemarie Clark and Brian Leiter and trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 104. What “ours” is comes under attack in the next aphorism.

⁵²⁰ Kohler, *Nietzsche & Wagner* 56-57.

ahistorical: “*the ahistorical and the historical are equally necessary for the health of an individual, a people, and a culture* [original emphasis].”⁵²¹ His improvisations were necessarily some such combination. Nietzsche further divides history into three types: the monumental, the antiquarian and the critical.⁵²² The hypothetical Nietzschean transcriptions correspond most to the “local” historicity of the antiquarian:

Small, limited, decaying, antiquated things obtain their own dignity and sanctity when the preserving and venerating soul of the antiquarian human being takes up residence in them and makes a comfortable nest.⁵²³

In turn, Nietzsche’s antiquarian corresponds quite closely with what is in fact, in the “Florentine Notes,” the direct literal predecessor of Ralph Pendrel’s essay:

In places that have been lived in so long and so much and in such a fine old way, as my friend said—that is under social conditions so multifold and to a comparatively starved and democratic sense so curious—the past seems to have left a sensible deposit, an aroma, an atmosphere. This ghostly presence tells you no secrets, but it prompts you to try and guess a few. What has been done and said here through so many years, what has been ventured or suffered, what has been dreamed or despaired of? Guess the riddle if you can, or if you think it worth your ingenuity.⁵²⁴

This correspondence between Nietzsche and James is virtually played out in John Butt’s

⁵²¹ Nietzsche, “Utility and Liability of History” 90.

⁵²² Nietzsche, “Utility and Liability of History” 96.

⁵²³ Nietzsche, “Utility and Liability of History” 103.

⁵²⁴ Henry James, “Italian Hours,” in *Collected Travel Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1993), 559.

recent discussion of Historically Informed Performance:

[t]he attitude and dilemmas of ... the “inspired” or “mystical antiquarian” are excellently captured in Henry James’s posthumous and unfinished novel, *The Sense of the Past*.⁵²⁵

If the phenomenology of Nietzsche’s transcriptions, their Platonic capture of his improvisations,⁵²⁶ were likened to the work of Glenn Gould once he had given up live performance (i.e., [re]turned to a new form of notation to eliminate the “errors” that otherwise accrue) Butt would still find them unsatisfactory because his fundamental orientation is towards (live) “performance”:

[o]nly in this age ... has it been possible for performance to reduplicate notation and vice versa; only in this period has exact compliance with notation been widely seen as a virtue, since it is the first time that such a notion has become truly verifiable.⁵²⁷

According to this passage, sound recording is essentially a method of verifying performance with respect to notation. However, Gould’s recordings, Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus* (see discussions on page 121 and 214) and, above all, “folk music,” suggest a more dynamic relation between recording and to notation. That a folk tradition, which is by definition “unwritten” (esoteric), can be genuinely passed on via sound recordings has

⁵²⁵ John Butt, *Playing With History* (New York: Cambridge, 2002), 139.

⁵²⁶ “Platonic” in two ways: 1) “ideal” and 2) in reference to the discussion of the invention of writing in the *Phaedrus*. See below.

⁵²⁷ Butt 122. Butt is interested in the “contradiction” that to be concerned with history is to be modern. I will challenge the modernity embodied by this contradiction in the next chapter by subscribing to, and extending, Strauss’s distinction between facts and values.

profound implications.⁵²⁸ Butt, taking for granted the unitary medieval character of notation, pictures Pendrel's dilemma in terms of the competing phenomenologies of "reduplication" and "verification." It is something like this attitude which Nietzsche objects to in his criticism of Wagner's assumption that "something else is a hundred times more important than music, namely drama."⁵²⁹ A related comment from Nietzsche on *Parsifal* illuminates the real "dilemma" of *The Sense of the Past* and the silence practiced by James when, quoting Dante's *Inferno*, he counseled himself on his friendship with the stage-painter of *Parsifal*, "Non ragionam di lui—ma guarda e passa"—"Let us not speak of him—but look, and pass on"⁵³⁰.

In the art of seduction, *Parsifal* will always retain its rank—as *the stroke of genius* in seduction.—I admire this work; I wish I had written it myself; failing that, *I understand it*.⁵³¹

From a perspective analogous to the *longue durée* of the French *Annales* school of historians, I re-state Pendrel's dilemma—as music notation.

James's critics don't deny his musicality so much as ignore it; yet James came to picture to himself the author of *The Tempest* (and the Sonnets) as

a divine musician who, alone in his room, preludes or improvises at the close of day. He sits at the harpsichord, by the open window, in the summer dusk; his hands wander over the keys.⁵³²

⁵²⁸ An excellent document for future inquiry into this question is Bob Dylan's *Chronicles: Volume One*.

⁵²⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, "Notebook 16 [39], spring—summer 1888," in *Writings from the Late Notebooks*, ed. R. Bittner, trans. Kate Sturge (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 275.

⁵³⁰ James, *Complete Notebooks* 216. Dante's Vergil is referring to those who lived "without infamy and without praise": "The heavens drive them out ... and deep Hell does not receive them." See Dante 1: 27.

⁵³¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Case of Wagner," in *The Birth of Tragedy and The Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Vintage, 1967), 184.

⁵³² James, "Introduction to *The Tempest*" 1216.

In other words, James's and Nietzsche's discussions of music and opera are more than provide occasions for rhetorical strategies. An example from Nietzsche would be the following passage from the Preface to the 1886 edition of *The Birth of Tragedy out of Spirit of Music*—quoted by Sedgwick to illustrate a similarity between Nietzsche and Wilde—to which I have restored and italicized some omitted text⁵³³:

What found expression here was anyway—this was admitted with as much curiosity as antipathy—a strange voice, the disciple of a still “unknown God,” *one who concealed himself for the time being under the scholar's hood, under the gravity and dialectical ill humor of the German, even under the bad manners of the Wagnerian.* Here was a spirit with strange, still nameless needs, *a memory bursting with questions, experiences, concealed things after which the name Dionysus was added as one more question mark.*⁵³⁴

Eve Kosovsky Sedgwick, focused on how Nietzsche's terms “flamboyantly condense the open secret with the empty one,”⁵³⁵ misses his key allusion with the phrase “unknown God” (echoed or parodied in his later reference to Dionysus) to Acts 17:22-23:

Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him I declare

⁵³³ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 167.

⁵³⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* 19-20.

⁵³⁵ Sedgwick, *Epistemology* 168.

unto you.

This phrase also had a particular importance for James as well, for in 1883 he alluded to it in his favorable review of Renan's *Reminiscences* in which the author

delivers himself of those truths which he has arrived at through the fineness of his perception and the purity of his taste with a candid confidence, an absence of personal precautions, which leave the image as perfect and as naked as an old Greek statue.⁵³⁶

Here, James is echoing Renan's account of Paul's mission to Athens:

Ah! beautiful and chaste images, true gods and true goddesses, tremble!—here is one who will raise the hammer against you. The fatal word has been pronounced,—ye are idols. The error of this ugly little Jew will prove your death-warrant.⁵³⁷

Renan's (and James's and Nietzsche's) confrontation bears comparison with another, from the Apocrypha⁵³⁸ (1 Maccabees 1:13-14):

⁵³⁶ James, H., "Review of *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*. Par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut," in *Literary Criticism* 2: 634.

⁵³⁷ Ernest Renan, *Saint Paul*, trans. Ingersoll Lockwood (New York: G.W. Carleton, 1869), 76.

⁵³⁸ "In the 1820s, at a time when Protestant ideology seemed threatened by Catholic emancipation in what became known as 'the Apocrypha affair,' the British and Foreign Bible Society came under pressure to drop the Apocrypha, and the printing and distribution of Bibles without it became a common practice. The inclusion of the Apocrypha in this edition of the Authorized Version represents fidelity to the original 1611 edition." See Robert Carrol and Stephen Prickett, "Notes", in *The Bible: Authorized King James Version* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 386. As far as I am able to determine, the "King James Version" of Christian Science reflects "the Apocrypha affair" by not including the Apocrypha. Its status for Christian Science is an interesting theological question.

Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them license to do after the ordinances of the heathen;

Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen.

The *specific* dynamic of this conflict is less that questioning by the Church Father Tertullian of *any* connection between Athens and Jerusalem—between the Academy and the Church, between heretics and Christians, i.e., between “philosophy” and “theology”—than the conflict between the “idolatrous,” nude, male, bodily activities of the gymnasia (such as the Academy and the Lyceum) and the corresponding activities of the Temple, between a *nomos* of human (i.e., anarchism *par excellence*) and a *nomos* of divine origin. It is this conflict, I suggest, that led Strauss to introduce his statement on the connection between philosophy and political philosophy (quoted at the outset of this chapter) as follows:

It is a great honor, and at the same time a challenge to accept a task of particular difficulty, to be asked to speak about political philosophy in Jerusalem. In this city, and in this land, the theme of political philosophy—“the city of righteousness, the faithful city”—has been taken more seriously than anywhere else on earth.⁵³⁹

To situate the dynamics of this confrontation in terms of music notation it is first necessary to explore it in greater detail.

⁵³⁹ Leo Strauss, *What is Political Philosophy? And Other Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 9.

III. Goldman and Wittgenstein

At first glance, that commonality between James and Nietzsche that pertains to, because it is expressible in terms of, music notation is almost impossible to discern in Leo Strauss's "Note on the Plan of Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil*":

Beyond Good and Evil always seemed to me to be the most beautiful of Nietzsche's books. This impression could be thought to be contradicted by his judgment, for he was inclined to believe that his *Zarathustra* is the most profound book that exists in German as well as the most perfect in regard to language. But "most beautiful" is not the same as "most profound" and even as "most perfect in regard to language." To illustrate this partly by an example which is not too far-fetched, there seems to be general agreement to the effect that Plato's *Republic*, his *Phaedrus* and his *Banquet* [i.e., *Symposium*] are his most beautiful writings. Yet Plato makes no distinction among his writings in regard to profundity or beauty or perfection in regard to language; he is not concerned with Plato—with his "ipsissimosity"—and hence with Plato's writings, but points away from himself whereas Nietzsche points most emphatically to himself, to "Mr. Nietzsche." Now Nietzsche "personally" preferred, not *Beyond Good and Evil* but his own *Dawn of Morning* and his *Gay Science* to all his other books precisely because these two books are his "most personal" books. ... As the very term "personal," ultimately derivative from the Greek word

for “face,” indicates, being “personal” has nothing to do with being “profound” or with being “perfect in regard to language.”⁵⁴⁰

One might add—one seems *intended* to add—neither does being “personal” have anything necessarily to do with beauty: thus the “ipsissimosity” (Nietzsche’s neologism) with which the paragraph began (Strauss’s personal appreciation of beauty) ends by raising the question (indirectly, esoterically) of Strauss’s “personal” beauty. This inference amounts to a philosophical statement: just as Strauss has argued that a concern with establishing Socrates’s musicality (i.e., eroticism, beauty) is behind the writings of Xenophon and Plato, the writings of Strauss’s students, Allan Bloom and Thomas Pangle, are concerned with establishing the beauty, the erotic and musical qualities, of Strauss.

In approaching Bloom’s discussion of music in *The Closing of the American Mind*, it is useful to consider further, as Strauss clearly intended for someone to do, the birth in *Beyond Good and Evil* of the word “ipsissimosity.” It occurs in a section titled “We Scholars,” in a critique of “objective man”:

If someone expects love or hatred of him (and I mean love and hatred as God, woman and animal understand them), he will do what he can and give what he can. But no one should be surprised if this is not much, if it is just here that he turns out to be false, brittle, dubious, and rotten.⁵⁴¹

I submit that the list “God, woman and animal” is primarily neither hierarchical nor inclusive but meant to call attention to the “dubious” nature of hierarchies and inclucivities *as interpretations of “love”*—especially in connection with Nietzsche’s

⁵⁴⁰ Leo Strauss, “Note on the Plan of Nietzsche’s *Beyond Good and Evil*,” *Interpretation* 3.2,3 (1973): 97.

⁵⁴¹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good And Evil* 98.

inclusion of “hatred” which, as *the* mark of the very “objectivity” he is criticizing (i.e., the unwillingness to love), calls attention to the absence of “men” from the list.⁵⁴² As has been noted by others, this “esoteric” mode of argumentation and subject matter is also found in *The Closing of the American Mind*: “Bloom’s Straussian book may be intended to mean both more and less than its pages suggest at first.”⁵⁴³ This is evident in the following ipsissimostical passage:

Throughout this book I have referred to Plato’s *Republic*, which is for me the book on education, because it really explains to me what I experience as a man and a teacher, and I have almost always used it to point out what we should not hope for, as a teaching of moderation and resignation.⁵⁴⁴

In Straussian terms this statement may be regarded as prompting in the reader two (unwritten, i.e., esoteric) questions: 1) what, then, since this may be the exception to “almost always,” is the *Republic* here being used to point out as what we *should* hope for, and 2) what (since the *Republic* is the book on education) is the subject of this other book?

One possible answer (the answer?) to both questions is suggested by Bloom’s memorial essay on Strauss:

⁵⁴² The first sentence of the preceding aphorism suggests that “love” is not the mark of objectivity: “Compared to a genius, that is to say, to a being who either *begets* or *gives birth* (both words taken in their widest sense), a scholar or average man of learning is always something of an old maid—for like her he has no familiarity with the two most highly valued functions of humankind.” Nietzsche, *Beyond Good And Evil* 96. Of course “taken in their widest sense” suggests a position midway between begetting and giving birth.

⁵⁴³ John K. Roth, “On Philosophy and History: ‘The Truth—the Good, the Bad and the Ugly,’” in *Beyond Cheering and Bashing: New Perspectives on The Closing of the American Mind*, ed. William K. Buckley and James Seaton (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1992), 25. In his “Straussian book” Bloom mentions Strauss once: “As Leo Strauss puts it, the moderns ‘built on low but solid ground.’” (A quote on Hobbes from Strauss, *Natural Right* 247.) See Bloom, *The Closing* 167.

⁵⁴⁴ Bloom, *The Closing* 381.

Finally, his last book, written in his seventies, was his first book on Plato, an interpretation of Plato's last book, the *Laws*, the dialogue which Avicenna said was the standard book on prophecy and which Strauss said was the book on the philosopher in the real city, implying that the two are really one.⁵⁴⁵

Bloom's use of the word "implying" (i.e., "meaning") is typically Straussian; so too is his emphasis on the correspondences between "first" and "last"—as epitomized by the conclusion to the Preface of the book in question:

The *Laws* opens with the word "god"; there is no other Platonic dialogue that opens in this manner. The *Laws* is Plato's most pious work, there is one Platonic dialogue whose last word is "god": the *Apology of Socrates*. In the *Apology of Socrates* Socrates defends himself against the charge of impiety, of not believing in the gods whom the city believes. In the *Laws* the Athenian stranger devises a law against impiety which would have been more favorable to Socrates than the corresponding Athenian law.⁵⁴⁶

It should not come as too much of a surprise to discover that another student of Strauss (and Bloom), Thomas Pangle, has made a translation of the *Laws*. It is dedicated "To Allan Bloom."⁵⁴⁷ In the Preface to his translation, Pangle addresses, in a Straussian manner, the differences between its commentary and the book by Strauss on which it is modeled:

⁵⁴⁵ Bloom, "Leo Strauss" 250. Note the riddle-like quality of this sentence.

⁵⁴⁶ Leo Strauss, *The Argument and the Action of Plato's Laws* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975), 2.

⁵⁴⁷ See Plato, *The Laws of Plato*, trans. and commentary Thomas L. Pangle (New York: Basic Books, 1980).

I must leave it to others to judge the extent to which the differences between my commentary and Strauss's are due to divergences in understanding as opposed to divergences in purpose—for I, of course, have intended to address a less rare or restricted audience, and as a result have provided a much more expansive commentary.⁵⁴⁸

And yet a comparison of the two works reveals at least one point (and for this reader the only discernible point of “divergence”)—pederastic and, more generally, homosexual relations—in which Pangle's commentary is not “more expansive” but far less, which raises the following question: does this signify a divergence in “understanding,” or in “purpose”; does this signify Pangle's more restricted audience on this particular point only, or a misunderstanding? I believe it to be a misunderstanding.

Before discussing Strauss's writings in greater detail, I would like to point out an interesting feature not about Strauss, but about his acolytes and adversaries. Nicholas Xenos, one of the latter, states:

Strauss himself adopted a system of using a great many interrelated footnotes and references and of quoting people whose position he would not overtly take while pointing to the fact that that was his position by other clues in the text, among other techniques. It is almost impossible to avoid the term Talmudic to describe the way in which he read and later wrote books.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ Pangle, “Introduction” to Plato, *The Laws of Plato*, xiv.

⁵⁴⁹ Nicholas Xenos, “Leo Strauss and the Rhetoric of the War on Terror,” *Logos* 3.2 (2004), 25 April 2005 <http://www.logosjournal.com/issue_3.2/xenos.htm>.

In fact, in Strauss's last book, and the other late work on which I draw extensively ("Note on the Plan of Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil*") there are no footnotes. Bloom divides Strauss's career into three phases: the first focuses on individual writers such as Spinoza, Maimonides and Hobbes; the second on more synthetic approaches such as *Natural Right and History*; the third on individual, ancient works. Xenos is confusing what Bloom calls the "second phase" with the "third phase"—of which he is evidently unaware, but which Bloom characterizes as follows: "Although their contents are extremely difficult for us to grasp, they are amazingly simple in form and expression."⁵⁵⁰ As I will be quoting extensively from the book on the *Laws*, I will leave the reader to judge its difficulty, though I suspect the reader will not find it, in the way that Pangle evidently does, "almost impenetrable until one has gained an intimate and long-mediated familiarity with the *Laws*."⁵⁵¹

In Book One of the *Laws*, the three characters discuss courage and moderation, the two virtues which, to quote Strauss, "come first in the order not of rank but of coming into being," and the institutions with which they are most associated, common meals and gymnasia:

Yet these institutions, the Athenian objects, and especially the gymnasia seem to have corrupted what is according to nature regarding the aphrodisiac pleasures of all animals; for the pleasure deriving from the intercourse of males and females, which serves procreation, seems to be in accordance with nature, whereas homosexual acts are against nature. These practices can be traced to the Dorian cities. The Cretans went so far as to invent the myth of Zeus' homosexual relations with Ganymede in order to

⁵⁵⁰ Bloom, "Leo Strauss," 248.

⁵⁵¹ Pangle, "Introduction" xiii.

give their practice the highest possible sanction. (What they say about the divine origin of their code has no greater credibility than that myth, since it too has no other foundation than that they assert it.)⁵⁵²

The corresponding section in Pangle's commentary states:

The Athenian seems sure that Zeus would not violate the natural law, and therefore that the famous myth about Ganymede is a Cretan lie. He provokes one to wonder, did the Cretans invent any other lies about Zeus?⁵⁵³

Only in Strauss's book does one gather that this subject is revisited in Book Eight at much greater length—in a discussion of the three kinds of pederasty based on 1) friendship, 2) desire, and 3) friendship and desire—about which Strauss observes: “It goes without saying that the dissimilarity of mature men and youths is essential to all three kinds”; a crucial observation that explicitly conjoins Plato's mode of expression, “without saying,” with its subject matter, “the dissimilarity of mature men and youths essential to all three kinds.”

This leads to that devising of a law against “impiety” more favorable to Socrates to which Strauss calls attention in his Preface:

The Athenian raises the question whether they should forbid all three kinds of pederasty or whether they should plainly wish to permit in the city only the first kind and, if possible, forbid the two others. (The

⁵⁵² Strauss, *The Argument and the Action* 12.

⁵⁵³ Pangle, “Commentary” to Plato, *The Laws of Plato*, 394.

prohibition against the first kind of pederasty deserves at least a passing mention, since that kind is identical with that “corruption of the young” of which a friend and teacher of the author of the *Laws* was accused and for which he was condemned).⁵⁵⁴

The Athenian then proposes, in analogy to the law against incest, a law against the second and third kinds of pederasty, to which an objection is raised—and characterized by Strauss as follows:

Despite all this, a passionate young man, full of much semen—almost an Aristophanean figure—will vociferously protest against the proposed law as enacting senseless and impossible rules.⁵⁵⁵

In response, the Athenian proposes a “second-best law”—familiar in our day as “don’t ask, don’t tell”—which involves a complication, an omission, to which Strauss calls attention:

The strict prohibition against the two lower kinds of pederasty [types two and three] did not form part of the second-best law, “the second law,” the central formulation of the Athenian’s proposal. ... Megillos agrees; Kleinias understandably postpones his decision. The Athenian had left it open from the beginning whether the subject of pederasty, i.e., of its apparently unnatural character, is to be considered in jest or in earnest.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ Strauss, *The Argument and the Action* 119-20.

⁵⁵⁵ Strauss, *The Argument and the Action* 121.

⁵⁵⁶ Strauss, *The Argument and the Action* 122-123.

For the sake of clarification, I would further point out that Kleinias “postpones” his decision to the end, i.e., indefinitely.

In contrast to Strauss, Pangle devotes to this subject two euphemistic passages; one in a section titled, as if after Gibbon, “Crime and Philosophy”:

Our initial and massive impression is that with Book Eight the conversation begins a definite descent. ... The transition is effected by a discussion of how to prevent sexual promiscuity. In this context it appears that the Athenian feels a renewed need to have a recourse to a version of traditional, tragic piety, with its belief in divine sanctions for morality.⁵⁵⁷

The other passage occurs a page earlier:

After the best young men have completed their higher studies they become eligible, at the age of twenty-five, for the “secret service”—which might conceivably be a haven for philosophy, though hardly a cozy one. It is more likely that the Athenian hopes some of these young men will mull over his lengthy appeal to them concerning hunting. ... Hunting includes a “hunting of human beings which is worth reflection.” A great deal of this hunting of humans occurs through friendship, some of which is praiseworthy. This praiseworthy hunting of humans through friendship is not the same as the hunting which is “best for everyone,” which cultivates manliness and which the law calls “sacred.”⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁷ Pangle, “Commentary” 496.

⁵⁵⁸ Pangle, “Commentary” 494-5.

Taking Pangle at his word, I question his divergences from Strauss and the terms by which he invites its being questioned—“divergences in understanding” as opposed to “divergences in purpose”—for it seems to me that Pangle has misunderstood Strauss’s purpose. How certain is it that Strauss intended to address a “rare or restricted audience”?⁵⁵⁹

My answer is: Strauss may be imagined to have indicated a rare and restricted audience only with respect to the passages on homosexual relations which I have just discussed. However, what argues even more against this imagined audience is precisely that it requires a restriction, an esotericism, *beyond* Plato’s. Pangle’s “understanding” of Strauss’s audience is an interpretation, indeed, a misinterpretation, in response to which I offer a sociological reconstruction of Strauss’s audience—rather informally and yet less informally than Pangle—relating to two lectures he gave at the Hillel House of the University of Chicago.

In 1962, a youthful member of the audience of Strauss’s lecture “Why We Remain Jews” commented: “Your anecdotes are out of date, so to speak; ... the Christian Science story has no compelling meaning to people of our generation.”⁵⁶⁰ This objection nonetheless suggests that once there *was* a generation for whom Strauss’s story about the questionable success of “Jews in Los Angeles who tried to solve the ‘discrimination problem’ by becoming Christian Scientists”⁵⁶¹ did have compelling meaning. His audience did not need to go to Los Angeles to find it.

Paul Franklin, in his discussion of the antisemitic and homophobic tensions suffusing “the crime”—and trial—“of the century,” mentions that Jacob Franks, the father of the murder victim (fourteen year-old Bobby Franks), a Jewish convert to

⁵⁵⁹ Pangle, “Introduction” xiv.

⁵⁶⁰ Strauss, “Why We Remain Jews,” in *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 343.

⁵⁶¹ Strauss, “Why We Remain Jews” 315.

Christian Science, buried his son according to his adopted religion.⁵⁶² But this cannot be: Christian Science prescribes no form for burial (or marriage). I point out this discrepancy not to undermine Franklin's general argument but to alert us significances and realities, that remain hidden, i.e., to the intensely "local" quality of a situation which I first learned about through the my parents' friendship (from being neighbors in Chicago's South Shore) with someone who shared the last name of one of the families connected with the crime (and who later, independently—so far as I can tell—also converted from Judaism to Christian Science). They went so far as to "conclude" that her father must have been a cousin of one of those involved but, while remaining close until she died, never asked her because of the taboo. Yet one consequence from this was that I was much better informed about the case than my fellow students, and we can assume that the "group memory" was far stronger in 1952 (at which time Allan Bloom, had he been in the audience, would have been twenty-two) when Strauss lectured on "Progress or Return?":

If one heard certain people speak, one would believe that the Greek philosophers did nothing but preach pederasty whereas Moses did nothing but curb pederasty. These people must have limited themselves to a most perfunctory reading of a part of Plato's *Banquet* or of the beginning of the *Charmides*; they cannot have read the only work in which Plato set forth specific prescriptions for human society, namely, Plato's *Laws*; and what Plato's *Laws* say about this subject agrees fully with what Moses says.⁵⁶³

The context for understanding the meaning for Bloom of Strauss's late article on

Nietzsche is the summation of Clarence Darrow (who also lived in Hyde Park) on behalf

⁵⁶² Franklin.

⁵⁶³ Strauss, "Progress or Return?" in *Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity*, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 105.

of Leopold and Loeb on 22 August 1924:

“Your Honor, I have read almost everything that Nietzsche ever wrote. He was a man of a wonderful intellect; the most original philosopher of the last century. Nietzsche believed that some time the superman would be born, that evolution was working toward the superman. He wrote one book, *Beyond Good and Evil*, which was a criticism of all moral codes as the world understands them; a treatise holding that the intelligent man is beyond good and evil, that the laws for good and the laws for evil do not apply to those who approach the superman. He wrote on the will to power. Nathan Leopold is not the only boy who has read Nietzsche. He may be the only one who was influenced in the way that he was influenced.”⁵⁶⁴

That the audience for Strauss’s late book on Plato’s *Laws* is, in contrast, an unlimited one is most evident in its characterization of the “passionate young man, full of much semen” as an “Aristophanean figure.” This allusion recalls one of Strauss’s lectures on the problem of Socrates:

The audience to which Aristophanes appeals or which he conjured is the best democracy as Aristotle described it: the democracy whose backbone is the rural population.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁴ Quoted in Douglas Linder, “Closing Argument. The State of Illinois v. Nathan Leopold & Richard Loeb. Delivered by Clarence Darrow Chicago, Illinois, August 22, 1924,” *Leopold and Loeb Trial Home Page*, 15 August 2005 <<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/leoploeb/darrowclosing.html>>.

⁵⁶⁵ Strauss, “The Problem of Socrates” 107.

If one wishes to press the point that a “conjured” audience by definition does not exist, it could be further pointed out that it is perhaps easier to conjure an unlimited audience than a limited one. Now, pursuing this figure further one may ask, which “Aristophanean figure” or figures are we to consider? There are several to choose from. One mentioned by Strauss can be eliminated because he is no longer young:

We record here the fact that the hero of the *Birds*, who succeeds in dethroning the gods and in becoming the ruler of the universe through the birds, is the pederast Peisthetaerus.⁵⁶⁶

It might be argued that Aristophanes himself is the most Aristophanean figure:

Those present human beings who stem from an original male are male homosexuals; they are the best among the boys and youths because they are the most manly; they are born to be true statesmen. This is the story to which the Platonic Aristophanes [in the *Symposium*] appends an explanation of perfect propriety. But taken by itself the myth teaches that by virtue of eros men, and especially the best part of the male sex, will approach a condition in which they become a serious danger to the gods.⁵⁶⁷

But the Aristophanean figure that most closely resembles Strauss’s “young man” is horse-obsessed Pheidippides of the *Clouds*, whose father enlists Socrates to teach his son Unjust and Just Argument—mainly the former, so that he might succeed in court.

In comparison to his comment, twenty years later, on the young man of the *Laws*,

⁵⁶⁶ Strauss, “The Problem of Socrates” 117.

⁵⁶⁷ Strauss, “The Problem of Socrates” 117.

an analysis of the speeches of the personifications of Unjust and Just Argument which Strauss gave before an audience of college students in the 1950s, as with the Hillel House lectures, is decidedly euphemistic. Strauss limits his discussion to Unjust Argument: “It encourages people to make use of nature, that is to say, to regard nothing as base, for one cannot help being defeated by eros and by women.”⁵⁶⁸ It is surely no accident that it is the ekphrastic speech of Just Argument that, mimicking any number of Greek vase paintings or, for that matter, Platonic dialogues set on the fringes of the Academy, gives the clearer presentation of what is at issue:

and you’ll run races with a nice straightforward boy
 your own age, and smell of honeysuckle and be
 gloriously free,
 with the pale catkins of the poplars gently falling by
 and you celebrating the joy
 of the spring that overwhelms ...
 and the maples murmuring to the elms.

[He breaks into song and dance.]

If you do this, let me tell you
 (And never let it slip your mind)
 You’ll always win
 A glistening chest and glowing skin,
 Broad shoulders, a small tongue,

⁵⁶⁸ Strauss, “The Problem of Socrates” 122.

A mighty bottom and a tiny prong.⁵⁶⁹

The comment on this passage by Aristophanes's translator unintentionally elucidates the restrictions pertaining to Strauss's consciousness of his audience:

It's always been a mystery to me why Greek statuary of the male form seems to favor a penis disproportionately small to a hulking torso. Was this a convention or the reality?⁵⁷⁰

This completely misses Aristophanes' point that Just Argument is as conventional as Unjust Argument—which is what makes esoteric writing a necessity.⁵⁷¹

Though Bloom cited "Athenian and Spartan legislators" when he argued that a legislator can consistently forbid homosexual relations and condemn the attractions connected with them ... but he cannot do the same for heterosexual relations,⁵⁷²

it is more likely that an even higher authority was the Athenian Stranger of the *Laws*.⁵⁷³

But the subject of that work—the law—and the simplistic equation (as noted above by

⁵⁶⁹ Aristophanes, *Clouds*, in *The Complete Plays*, trans. Paul Roche (New York: New American Library, 2005), 178.

⁵⁷⁰ Aristophanes 178.

⁵⁷¹ Note how in *Socrates and Aristophanes*, another "late" work, Strauss's use of the term "gay" in describing the life of an aristocratic Athenian youth coincides with its "modern" meaning: "Pheidippides can not have been repelled by the Unjust Speech's praise of the gay life, but he must have been repelled by his assertion that the gay life is incompatible with those healthy outdoor looks the lack of which was Pheidippides' major objection to the Socratics." See Leo Strauss, *Socrates and Aristophanes* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1966), 33-4.

⁵⁷² Bloom, "Aristophanes and Socrates: a Response to Hall," in *Giants and Dwarves* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 171.

⁵⁷³ Of course, Bloom may actually be referring to the two characters in the dialogue who assent to the Athenian Stranger's proposals: the Stranger himself and Megillos, a Spartan.

Strauss) between pederasty and homosexuality intervenes between a simplistic extrapolation from Strauss's to Bloom's exposition of that work. For this reason it is enlightening to consider, in addition to specific happenings in Hyde Park during the 1920s, the contrast between the work of Emma Goldman in Rochester and Paris during the 1890s and Strauss's "Note on the Plan of Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil*":

Nietzsche directs his criticism especially against the anarchists who oppose every subjection to arbitrary laws: everything of value, every freedom arises from a compulsion of long duration that was exerted by arbitrary, unreasonable laws... Nietzsche speaks of nature only in quotation marks except in one case, in the final mention of nature; nature, and not only nature as the anarchists understand it, has become a problem for Nietzsche and yet he cannot do without nature.⁵⁷⁴

Here I point out that 1) whatever Nietzsche's problem with nature it cannot be elucidated with reference to genetics; and 2) Nietzsche's directing his criticism against anarchism may be taken as a signal that it is precisely this audience whom he wishes most to influence, or who has the most to learn (i.e., gain) from his criticism, i.e., who constitutes his best audience; and 3) that the anarchist Goldman may be considered the best part of this "best" audience—as she put it:

Nietzsche was not a social theorist but a poet, a rebel and innovator. His aristocracy was neither of birth nor of purse; it was of the spirit. In that respect Nietzsche was an anarchist, and all true anarchists are aristocrats.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁴ Strauss, "Note on the Plan" 105.

⁵⁷⁵ Goldman 1: 194.

If Strauss is speaking against anarchism, so is Goldman—against a certain kind of anarchism that had no place for Nietzsche. The difference between Goldman’s view of Nietzsche and Strauss’s is not obvious; it lies, rather, in Strauss’s theme of a complete break between contemplation and action. Bloom elucidated this break by associating contemplation with the intellection of esoteric writing and reading: “Real radicalism is never the result of passionate commitment, but of quiet and serious reflection.”⁵⁷⁶ We find this tension in Strauss’s attitude towards Nietzsche and Heidegger. When he asserts that Nietzsche, unlike Heidegger, “would not have sided with Hitler” he is describing an action. Yet it is a kind of “contemplation” that he is describing when he then says:

Yet there is an undeniable kinship between Nietzsche’s thought and fascism. If one rejects, as passionately as Nietzsche did, conservative constitutional monarchy, as well as democracy, with a view to a new aristocracy, the passion of the denials will be much more effective than the necessarily more subtle intimations of the character of the new nobility.⁵⁷⁷

According to Bloom, these “intimations” were far too subtle for America:

[Nietzsche’s] conversion to the Left was easily accepted here as genuine, because Americans cannot believe that any really intelligent and good person does not at bottom share the Will Rogers *Weltanschauung*.⁵⁷⁸

Be this as it may, Goldman’s “aristocratic” Nietzsche cannot be written off so easily,

⁵⁷⁶ Bloom, “Leo Strauss” in *Giants and Dwarves* 244.

⁵⁷⁷ Strauss, “An Introduction” 31.

⁵⁷⁸ Bloom, *The Closing* 225.

especially when it takes such subtle forms:

I explained to Helena my mission in Rochester. She stared at me open-mouthed. How could I undertake such a thing, face an audience? I had been away only six months; what could I have learned in such a brief time? Where did I get the courage? And in Rochester, of all cities!⁵⁷⁹

Here Goldman refers to the reversals attending the fact that, as a precocious anarchist-lecturer, she would be returning to her family's adopted city, and the scene of her life as a factory worker (and wife), which she had recently fled at the age of nineteen. To me, this qualifies as a "necessarily more subtle intimation of the character of the new nobility" that suggests a final contrast to Strauss's article on *Beyond Good and Evil*:

One could find that Nietzsche stresses in his chapter on peoples and fatherlands more the defects of contemporary Germany than her virtues: it is not so difficult to free one's heart from a victorious fatherland as from a beaten one... The target of his critique here is not German philosophy but German music, i.e., Richard Wagner...

Nietzsche thus prepares the last chapter which he entitled "Was ist vornehm?" "Vornehm" differs from "noble" because it is inseparable from extraction, origin, birth...⁵⁸⁰

I wish to complicate Strauss's list of "inseparables" by a consideration of "place" and the

⁵⁷⁹ Goldman 1: 50.

⁵⁸⁰ Strauss, "Note on the Plan" 113. See also, Strauss, "An Introduction" 41: "Nietzsche's philosopher of the future is an heir of the Bible. He is an heir to that deepening of the soul which has been effected by the Biblical belief in a God that is holy. The philosopher of the future, as distinct from the classical philosopher, will be concerned with the holy."

anarchic ambiguity and freedom which it rightfully contains. This sole mention by Leo Strauss of Richard Wagner—of an actual musician, for that matter—in all that I have read by or about him—is esoteric; it is, *literally*, Strauss at his most musical and demands comparison, or contrast, to Bloom’s account of his teacher’s predecessors: “Only in those great critics of Enlightenment and rationalism, Rousseau and Nietzsche, does music return, and they were the most musical of philosophers.”⁵⁸¹ Though “Vornehm”—because it is inseparable from extraction, origin, and birth—may differ from “noble,” it is life—native, voluntary, or forced—in these United States that attests to the fact that extraction, origin, and birth are only too separable. But it is with music I am most concerned, because it is by music notation that we are best equipped to confront that distinction between contemplation and action (which we first glimpsed in the distinction between improvisation and composition) which attends Strauss’s portrait of Heidegger’s philosophy:

Our primary understanding of the world is not an understanding of things as objects but what the Greeks indicated by *pragmata*... . [T]he inner time belonging to pure consciousness cannot be understood if one abstracts from the fact that this time is necessarily finite, and even constituted by man’s *mortality*.⁵⁸²

I shall argue that if it is the *pragmata* of temporality that are fundamental to our primary understanding of the world, our best tools for understanding them are not furnished by Heidegger’s sense of mortality but Wittgenstein’s discussions of diagrams as they relate to the *pragmata* of music notation.

⁵⁸¹ Bloom, *The Closing* 73.

⁵⁸² Strauss, “An Introduction” 29.

In the next chapter I will discuss the historical connections between current developments in multi-modal logic and Dorit Tanay's discussions of fourteenth-century music theory and concurrent new approaches in mathematics. Here I touch on related phenomenological connections between music notation, Joachim's *Liber Figurarum* and a "historical presentiment" of Wittgenstein's:

I was walking about in Cambridge and passed a book shop, and in the window were portraits of Russell, Freud and Einstein. A little further on, in a music shop, I saw portraits of Beethoven, Schubert and Chopin. Comparing these portraits I felt intensely the terrible degeneration that had come over the human spirit in the course of only a hundred years.⁵⁸³

Important here is not the direct comparison between "Beethoven, etc." and "Russell, etc." but the problematizing of the historical time lines memorized in school, which Wittgenstein also undertook in terms of mathematics:

it is very useful to imagine the diagonal procedure for the production of a real number as having been well-known before the invention of set theory, and familiar even to school-children, as indeed might very well have been the case. For this changes the aspect of Cantor's discovery.⁵⁸⁴ The discovery might very well have consisted merely in the interpretation of this long familiar elementary calculation.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸³ Quoted in Ray Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 299.

⁵⁸⁴ Georg Cantor (1845-1918) used the diagonal of a numerical table to show that the uncountably infinite set of real numbers (the continuum) is "larger" than the countably infinite set of integers. See Eric W. Weisstein, "Cantor Diagonal Method," *MathWorld—A Wolfram Web Resource*, 27 July 2005 <<http://mathworld.wolfram.com/CantorDiagonalMethod.html>>.

⁵⁸⁵ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics*, eds. G.H. von Wright, R. Rhees, G.E.M. Anscombe and trans. G.E.M. Anscombe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1983), 131.

S. G. Shanker has argued, with far more mathematical clarity and understanding than I am capable of, that a similar “elementary interpretation” guides Wittgenstein’s attitude towards Kurt Gödel and his famous theorem.⁵⁸⁶ Indeed, it is this connection that is most suggestive of the importance of the relation between Wittgenstein’s problematizing of historical time lines and Joachim of Fiore’s historiographical figures: not only does it underscore the superficiality of using his ambivalent feelings about his Jewish heritage to question his philosophy (an article on Wittgenstein’s “antisemitism” points out that though Gödel was not Jewish he was “generally believed to be”)⁵⁸⁷ but it suggests (as I can do no more than indicate) a real approach to the epistemological and scientific challenge raised in the first chapter by the specter of neo-Lamrackism—the application to evolution (i.e., history) of concepts showing the limitations of our capacity to understand reality, such as Gödel’s theorem of incompleteness.⁵⁸⁸

If one wanted to make Wittgenstein’s animus against set theory appear even more like antisemitism one could easily do so by calling attention to Cantor’s choice of the term *aleph*—the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet—to refer to the mysterious number which is the sum of positive integers, the ultimate number that is always being approached. However, I would counter that Wittgenstein’s encounter with “aleph” (the term is listed in the index to the *Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics*) is Wittgenstein at his *most Jewish*⁵⁸⁹ and points to deep connections between Cantor’s “paradise” and

Joachim’s tree “which has life from its top and is always in fruit and never sheds its

⁵⁸⁶ S. G. Shanker, “Wittgenstein’s Remarks on the Significance of Gödel’s Theorem,” in *Gödel’s Theorem in Focus*, ed. S.G. Shanker (London: Routledge, 1990), 155-256.

⁵⁸⁷ Harry Redner, “Philosophers and Antisemitism,” *Modern Judaism* 22.2 (2002): 134-5: “(As late as 1968, Russell, who knew him personally in Princeton, considered him a Jew: ‘I used to go to Einstein’s house once a week to discuss with him and Gödel and Pauli . . . all three of them were Jews.’” Wittgenstein was particularly incensed by Gödel’s famous proof of the incompleteness of mathematics. Thus [!], the course of Wittgenstein’s mathematical philosophy was crossed by Jewish mathematicians.”

⁵⁸⁸ Staune, 1. See also note 594.

⁵⁸⁹ Had the title not originated with Wittgenstein’s translator, the palm would go the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, after Spinoza’s *Tractatus Theologicus-Politicus*.

leaves” (as discussed in chapter two).⁵⁹⁰

The question of historiography, i.e., timelines, is connected to a proposition from the *Tractatus*: “The general form of propositions is: This is how things are.” On this proposition Wittgenstein later commented, “A *picture* held us captive. And we could not get outside it, for it lay in our language and language seemed to repeat it to us inexorably.”⁵⁹¹ Perhaps the most captivating picture of the *Tractatus* is proposition 4.014, to which I have referred in chapter three:

The gramophone record, the musical thought, the score, the waves of sound, all stand to one another in that pictorial internal relation, which holds between language and the world.

To all of them the logical structure is common.

(Like the two youths, their two horses and their lilies in the story.

They are all in a certain sense one.)⁵⁹²

A correlative to this proposition is also found in *Philosophical Investigations*, in its analysis of the analysis of time in Augustine’s *Confessions*:

Something that we know when no one asks us, but no longer know when we are supposed to give an account of it, is something we need to *remind* ourselves of. ... (These are, of course, not *philosophical* statements about

⁵⁹⁰ See the quotation of Wittgenstein in Redner 128: “[The mathematician] Hilbert states, ‘no one is going to turn us out of the paradise which Cantor created.’ I would say, ‘I wouldn’t dream of trying to drive any one out of this paradise.’ I would try to do something different, I would try to show that it is not a paradise—so that you’ll leave of your own accord. I would say, ‘You’re welcome to this: just look about you.’”

⁵⁹¹ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G.E. M. Anscombe (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989), 48.

⁵⁹² Wittgenstein, *Tractatus* 65.

time, the past, the present and the future.)⁵⁹³

However, Augustine's statements addressed to God about time are most unphilosophical if we discount their musical character.⁵⁹⁴ Augustine was able to do this because he knew of no distinctly musical notation. For him, historical (including musical) time was equal to verbal time, and vice versa:

What is true of the whole psalm is also true of all its parts and of each syllable. It is true of any longer action in which I may be engaged and of which the recitation of the psalm may only be a small part, it is true of a man's whole life, of which all his actions are parts. It is true of the whole history of mankind, of which each man's life is a part.⁵⁹⁵

Music notation can be understood as an Augustinian gratification of the eye: "This futile curiosity masquerades under the name of science and learning."⁵⁹⁶ In contrast to which is the connection between the development of musical notation associated with Guido of Arezzo and Joachim's figures of history.

Now, when Wittgenstein confesses "a picture held us captive and we could not get outside it" he is placing his earlier self in the category of those who gratify the eye. The earlier vision of the *Tractatus* was paradoxically a vision of sound, a paradox embodied in the youths with their lilies, taken from a tale of the brothers Grimm: they are chaste and married. (I am not surprised that the writings of Paul were a favorite of

⁵⁹³ Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* 42-43.

⁵⁹⁴ "Your knowledge is far more wonderful, far more mysterious than this. It is not like the knowledge of a man who sings words well known to him or listens to another singing a familiar psalm. While he does this, his feelings vary and his senses are divided, because he is partly anticipating words still to come and partly remembering words already sung." Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin (New York: Penguin, 1961), 279-80.

⁵⁹⁵ Augustine, 278

⁵⁹⁶ Augustine, 241.

Augustine.⁵⁹⁷) It is from this tradition that Wittgenstein's early emblem seems to derive.

What we see in the later Wittgenstein is not the destruction of "the picture"—i.e., iconoclasm—but its *working-through*, which can be related directly to music notation and Joachim's historiography. The opposition to Augustine—of Joachim's figuralness and philosophy of history (it is not clear where one begins or the other ends)—is not a simple reversal (for instance) of Paul's (or Augustine's) opposition of the letter and the spirit. A recent acknowledgment of the real correspondence between the "nature" of representation and the picture theory of language in the *Tractatus* points to the fundamental connection between Wittgenstein's discussions of diagrams and Joachim's resistance to Augustinian contradiction and tautology:

Neither contradictions nor tautologies are part of the world. How can we draw a picture, or take a picture, of the contradiction that "it is raining and it is not raining"? How about the picture of the disjunctive information "it is either raining or not raining"?⁵⁹⁸

But contradiction and tautology can be described over time by motion (i.e., clocks, music, etc.) and in the relation (rather than simple opposition) between contemplation and action, as reflected in the later work of the *Philosophical Investigations*:

We use a machine, or the drawing of a machine, to symbolize a particular action of the machine ... the movement of the machine-as-symbol is predetermined in a different sense from that in which the movement of any

⁵⁹⁷ Augustine, 155. Joachim interprets Paul very differently.

⁵⁹⁸ Perhaps here one might begin the extrapolation to the "nature" of evolution. Consider how these pictures would "look" if instead of the weather their subject was time, music or sexuality. See Sun-Joo Shin and Oliver Lemon, "Diagrams," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 29 April 2005 <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/diagrams/>>.

given actual machine is predetermined.⁵⁹⁹

A similar discussion appears in the *Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics*, when Wittgenstein presents the diagram of a “mechanism” with the following comment:

The proposition corresponds e.g. to a picture of the mechanism with the paths of the points A and B drawn in. Thus it is in a certain respect a picture of that movement. It holds fast what the proof shews me.
Or—what it persuades me of.⁶⁰⁰

Taken as a revised blueprint of the *Tractatus* proposition 4.014, the “music” (the movement) is held all the more fast in the notation. Even without considering, as I shall momentarily, the connections between such diagrammatic representation and the virtual and space-less places of systems theory and design, it is thus possible to characterize Wittgenstein’s philosophy of history as the idea that “Beethoven, Schubert and Chopin” is a better form of historical notation than “Russell, Freud and Einstein.”

Nonetheless, it is in connection to systems theory that Wittgenstein helps us most directly to reinterpret the facts which Bloom associates with Heidegger’s technological “night of the world”.⁶⁰¹

the enthusiasm for Wagner was limited to a small class, could be indulged only rarely and only in a few places, and had to wait on the composer’s slow output. The music of the new votaries, on the other hand, knows neither class nor nation ... there are the Walkmans so that no place—not

⁵⁹⁹ Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* 78.

⁶⁰⁰ Wittgenstein, *Remarks* 434.

⁶⁰¹ See also chapters two and six.

public transportation, not the library—prevents students from communing with the Muse, even while studying.⁶⁰²

It is no exaggeration, I now find, to say that this opera seeks to justify Wittgenstein's philosophy of history by making explicit and answering the challenge latent in Bloom's image—of a “library-music”—of a reconception of that inner sanctum—according to Goldman's aristocratic defense of Oscar Wilde:

I was ... sick with regret for having given up the rare opportunity of meeting Oscar Wilde. ... During our walk in the Luxembourg [Garden] I told the doctor of the indignation I had felt at the conviction of Oscar Wilde. I had pleaded his case against the miserable hypocrites who had sent him to his doom. “You!” the doctor exclaimed in astonishment, “why, you must have been a mere youngster then. How did you dare come out in public for Oscar Wilde in puritan America?” “Nonsense!” I replied; “no daring is required to protest against a great injustice.”⁶⁰³

In this operatic reconception, two complimentary models—each suggestive of a genuinely anarchic freedom—are, on one hand, the “placeful” discussions and navigations *without physical space* of the cybersphere, and on the other, the all-pervasive “virtual acoustic space” of media spaces which

fills the physical space in a way which an image cannot. There are two aspects to this. First, audio reaches out to encompass the participants; not

⁶⁰² Bloom, *The Closing* 68.

⁶⁰³ Goldman 1: 269.

just those connected, but those around and passing through. ... Second, the audio space is truly shared: we speak and hear in the same audio space. ...

The space which the audio channel creates is one which we share.⁶⁰⁴

Also related to the rethinking of the relation between contemplation and action is the “tension between connectedness and distinction” from which the sense of place is said to derive:

Connectedness is the degree to which a place fits with its surroundings, maintaining a pattern in the surrounding environment (such as color, material or form)—or responding to those patterns, even if it does not maintain the patterns explicitly. It is when these relationships are broken down that we say that something is “out of place”. ... But to be a place is also to be distinct from its context. How is it possible for a place to be both “part of” and “apart from” its context? The tension is addressed by defining *distinctiveness* of a place in terms of the surrounding context—and vice versa.⁶⁰⁵

Now, these particular discussions of place which I quote were conducted entirely separate from any inkling of the concept of place in the art of memory. The superimposition of the two is the task of the next and final chapter, as a prelude to which is the next and final section of this chapter, which attempts a superimposition of the philosophy of the New York Edition and the philosophy of Henry James.

⁶⁰⁴ Harrison and Dourish.

⁶⁰⁵ Harrison and Dourish.

IV. "A Round of Visits"

On 2 February 1910, Henry James made a note of the income he received from "A Round of Visits," his last completed story.⁶⁰⁶ Only a week earlier, around 22 January 1910, James had "collapsed":

[whether] a psychological condition or "case of 'nerves,'" the digestive crisis was linked to James's practice of controlling his eating. For the history of James's Fletcherizing [the thorough, if not excessive, chewing of food, named after its discoverer and champion] not only points to a problem inherent in the enthusiasm with which he embraced the chewing fad in the first place; it also indicates that an increasingly problematic reliance on Fletcherizing was set in motion between 1908 and 1910 by James's need to manage his painful feelings of failure and loss.⁶⁰⁷

Thus Carol Holly connects the "failure" of the Edition to the *other* half of the "painful, fussy, immensely productive focus on the sensation, actions, paralysis, accumulations, probings, and expulsions of his own lower digestive tract" which Eve Kosovsky Sedgwick claims as the site of James's strongest writing.⁶⁰⁸ Rather than offer a "unified theory" accounting for these two phenomena, I will suggest an altogether different "organization" through a comparison of "A Round of Visits" to Weininger's *Sex and Character*.

In 1913, James recalled reading *Sex and Character* "three or four" years earlier and

⁶⁰⁶ James, *Complete Notebooks* 602.

⁶⁰⁷ Carol Holly, "The Emotional Aftermath of the New York Edition," in Henry James's New York Edition, ed. David McWhirter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 168.

⁶⁰⁸ Sedgwick, "Shame" 224.

thinking the author's "blowing his brains out" in keeping with what he had written (and what James had read). In early 1910—i.e., three years before—James wrote "A Round of Visits," in which a character actually does blow out his brains. Newton Winch, the suicide, is not the main character. That would be Mark Monteith; through whom we "literally" hear Winch's death-shot.

Monteith has been swindled and betrayed by another, Phil Bloodgood. To assess this loss and, "above all," this pain, he has returned from London to New York City. In the round of visits named by the title, Winch comes last. The earlier visitants, all women, are more or less self-absorbed and oblivious to Monteith's predicament. Even the most sympathetic of them, the one who directs him to Winch,

expressed herself in hotel terms exclusively, the names of those establishments playing through her speech as the leit-motif might have recurrently flashed and romped through a piece of profane modern music.⁶⁰⁹

Thus does "A Round of Visits" identify itself as a piece of profane modern music: when Winch (this woman's brother-in-law) says to Monteith, "I beg of you in God's name to talk to me—to talk to me," we are told:

It had the *ring of pure alarm and anguish*, but was by this turn at last more human than the *dazzling glitter of intelligence* to which the poor man had up to now been treating him [my emphasis].

⁶⁰⁹ Henry James, "A Round of Visits," *The Ladder: A Henry James Website*, ed. Adrian Dover, 12 July 2004 <<http://www.henryjames.org.uk/round/RVtext.htm>>.

This dazzling ring is jarringly at odds with Shakespeare's preludes or improvisations. Winch's intelligence appears to concern the relationship between Monteith and Bloodgood; yet when Monteith says that he would "go like a shot" to be with the man who cheated him, Winch asks him to explain why:

"Well," Mark kept on, "to try and make out with him how, after such things—!" But he stopped; he couldn't name them.

It was as if his companion knew. "Such things as you've done for him, of course—such services as you've rendered him."

"Ah, from far back. If I could tell you," our friend vainly wailed—"if I could tell you!"

Newton Winch patted his shoulder. "Tell me—tell me!"

"The sort of relation, I mean; ever so many things of a kind—!"

Winch's "dazzling glitter of intelligence" and his sister-in-law's talk of hotels have a common element, the *leit-motif*, the compositional technique pioneered by Wagner.

Monteith's phrase "like a shot" is also such a motif. It echoes in the "infallible crack of a discharged pistol" that Winch places to his temple. It even echoes "beyond" the story through Monteith's prediction of his going like a shot to be with Bloodgood: "its probably what—when we've turned round—I shall do." But the motif is then transferred to Winch: Monteith discovers that Winch's "dazzling glitter" has been simulated to distract him from realizing that his unexpected visit has interrupted a suicide in progress. Upon realizing this Monteith takes no overt action. Their conversation returns to the subject of Monteith's "going" to Bloodgood, with Winch admitting to him, "You needn't take that trouble. You see I'm such another," and Monteith responding, "Such another as

Phil—?”

At this point “A Round of Visits” reveals itself as a midrash of Galatians 1:6-7:

I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another Gospel: Which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and pervert the gospel of Christ.

Before this “anotherness” can be resolved, the police arrive to arrest Winch—because he is another (swindler), “like” Bloodgood, and has been caught—but not before he is able, in the general distraction, to shoot himself in the head.

As I discussed in the second chapter, Alfred Habegger has connected this story with the suicide of James’s uncle.⁶¹⁰ An even stronger connection, as I also then suggested, can be made with the suicide of the uncle’s musical son (James’s older cousin) Johnny. Also mentioned by Habegger in this connection is “The Jolly Corner” of 1906. This story too involves a return from London to New York City—to rebuild a Manhattan house for rental purposes, as Edel says, “even as the enterprising side of himself was about to remodel his writings in the New York Edition”⁶¹¹—and even as he was living off rental income from Syracuse. In the fourth chapter, I showed that the remodeling of houses was in fact a James family tradition exemplified by J.J. the elder.

As profoundly as “The Jolly Corner” is *of* the Edition (Vol. XVII), “A Round of Visits” is not even Apocryphal⁶¹² but *un*-Edition. The hero of “The Jolly Corner,” had he stayed in New York, would have made millions—but Monteith, without growing old, has actually lost them. The two *tempora* of the composite Edition reveal the profane nature of “A Round of Visits”—for even if James had lost his millions to Joukowsky—or

⁶¹⁰ See also Habegger, “New York” 185-205.

⁶¹¹ Edel, *Henry James* 622.

⁶¹² As *The Bostonians* is. See also note 538.

another like him, and even if Monteith brings with his return the James family curse—suicide⁶¹³—Weininger did not shoot himself in the head, but the heart, and I am glad that in this James was mistaken.

⁶¹³ The police officer asks him, “Don’t you think, sir, you might have prevented it?” to which Monteith responds, “I really think I must practically have caused it.”

Chapter Six: “An Essay in Aid of the Reading of History”

I. The Political-philosophical Frontispiece

Leo Strauss appears not to have been aware of a connection between the distinction between facts and values, political philosophy and the art of memory. Three years before his death, on the occasion of a new impression of *Natural Right and History*, Strauss affirmed that his understanding of “natural right and history” had been

confirmed by the study of Vico’s *La scienza nuova seconda* [1744] which is devoted to a reconsideration of natural right and which is not properly approached and understood by those who take “the historical consciousness” for granted.⁶¹⁴

But since, as Strauss is aware, he has not written anything on Vico, he can only refer his readers to works written on Hobbes and Locke after the appearance of *Natural Right and History*. This is unfortunate because it means that this chapter, which considers, among other things, the relation between the art of memory, esoteric writing and natural right, must start from the very beginning.

That had he written on Vico, Strauss would have engaged the subject or practice of esoteric writing is clear enough from his preface: “those who take ‘the historical consciousness’ for granted” are those who simply have not read between the lines of Vico’s argument. That, less probably, Strauss might have referred to the art of memory is suggested by the first section or chapter of the *New Science*, “Idea of the Work:

⁶¹⁴ Strauss, *Natural Right* vii.

Explanation of the Frontispiece which Introduces the Work.” Indeed, Vico’s chapter epitomizes the connection between the mnemonic art and the frontispiece as a symbolic form:

Just as Cebes the Theban once made a *Tablet* of things moral, so I present here a *Tableau of civil institutions*. Before reading my work, you may use this tableau to form an idea of my New Science. And after reading it, you will find that this tableau aids your imagination in retaining my work in your memory.⁶¹⁵

Anthony Grafton has referred to this “allegorical title-page” and Vico’s “pullulating erudition” (exemplified in his thirty-page explanation of the frontispiece!) as proof that the *New Science* was “out of scale, out of date and doomed to be thoroughly out of mind.”⁶¹⁶ While it is not incorrect to call the frontispiece “allegorical,” its allegorical impulse must be understood as secondary to, as a tool of, the art of memory. Then we have only to look forward in time to the frontispieces of Rousseau’s *Emile*, and backward to that of Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, to recognize that Vico’s timeliness is a bit more complex. In fact, I suggest that Strauss’s assertion that the *New Science* is “a reconsideration of natural right ... not properly approached and understood by those who take ‘the historical consciousness’ for granted” is largely correct—only more correct than he knew.

My meaning with this last phrase depends on keeping track of Strauss’s arguments concerning, on one hand, esoteric writing, and on the other, “natural right” and “the historical consciousness.” It should now be evident that to understand Vico, Hobbes and Rousseau is to be aware of the relation between the art of memory and

⁶¹⁵ Giambattista Vico, *New Science*, trans. David Marsh (New York: Penguin, 2001), 1.

⁶¹⁶ Anthony Grafton, ‘Introduction’ to Giambattista Vico, *New Science*, xii.

historical consciousness. To this understanding and awareness this chapter attempts an exploratory contribution.

In the first chapter I called attention to the frontispiece of book IV of *Emile*, the explanation for it offered by Rousseau, “The illustration which belongs to the fourth book and is at the beginning of the third volume represents Orpheus teaching men the worship of the gods,” and its connection to the section “Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar,” on which Bloom has commented: “The theological-political situation was such that [Rousseau] ... could [not] say directly all he thought on the question.” Building on the further observation then made that Bloom’s comment echoes the “teachings” of Strauss’s Preface to the English translation of his book of Spinoza, Bloom should also be heard to echo the following passage from *Natural Right and History* (and, by implication, Strauss’s *Persecution and the Art of Writing*):

The classical notion of the legislator is irreconcilable with Rousseau’s notion of freedom ... Rousseau, therefore, had to find a substitute for the action of the legislator. According to his final suggestion, the function originally entrusted to the legislator must be discharged by a civil religion described from somewhat different points of view in the *Social Contract*, on the one hand, and the *Emile*, on the other. ... *We need not go into the question of whether Rousseau himself fully subscribed to the religion which he presented in the profession of faith of the Savoyard vicar, a question that cannot be answered by reference to what he said when he was persecuted on account of that profession.* What is decisive is the fact that, according to his explicit views about the relation of knowledge, faith, and the people, the people cannot have more than opinion regarding the truth of this or

any other religion [my emphasis].⁶¹⁷

If, however, Bloom's verbal comment on the Savoyard Vicar is a simple echo of Strauss, his visual reproduction of Rousseau's frontispieces goes "beyond" his teacher and beyond the effort, discussed in chapter five, to make Strauss's teachings more musical—for though Strauss's *Natural Right and History* discusses both Rousseau and Hobbes in relation to (among other themes) persecution, it never refers to its subjects's remarkable frontispieces. The ambiguity of this "beyond" is that, knowingly or not, it brings Bloom in line with the reproduction and discussion of Hobbes's frontispiece in Strauss's teacher Carl Schmitt's *The Leviathan in the State Theory of Hobbes*.

We have already seen how Strauss applies the theme of persecution to Rousseau; he refers to the persecution of Hobbes as follows:

I cannot prove that Hobbes was an atheist, even according to his own view of atheism... Many present-day scholars who write on subjects of this kind do not seem to have a sufficient notion of the degree of circumspection or of accommodation to the accepted views that was required, in former ages, of "deviationists" who desired to survive or to die in peace.⁶¹⁸

If Strauss nowhere directly addresses Hobbes's frontispiece (the more one thinks of it the curiouser this absence becomes), he interprets the faint traces and odd reflections of it and the art of memory which gleam in his writings more shadowy regions as the decisive flaws in modern natural right:

⁶¹⁷ Strauss, *Natural Right* 288-9.

⁶¹⁸ Strauss, *Natural Right* 199n.

Knowledge based on the natural working of the human mind is necessarily exposed to doubt... Premodern nominalism had faith in the natural working of the human mind. It showed this faith especially by teaching that *natura occulte operatur in universalibus*, or that the “anticipations” by virtue of which we take our bearings in ordinary life and in science are products of nature. For Hobbes, the natural origin of the universals of the anticipations was a compelling reason for abandoning them in favor of artificial “intellectual tools.” There is no natural harmony between the human mind and the universe.⁶¹⁹

“Premodern nominalism” is in fact analogous to the “mysterious and fascinating symmetries and correspondences between early modern theories of natural history and language” which, as discussed in chapter four, preyed on Michel Foucault. And as Paolo Rossi responded to Foucault, we can respond with regard to Strauss: the “anticipations” were in fact unmysterious manifestations of “method” as a kind of artificial memory and the related, more ancient, idea of a total correspondence between the terms of the encyclopedia and the reality of things.⁶²⁰ That Hobbes believed in some sort of correspondence is shown, if nowhere else, by the frontispiece itself.

“Artificial memory,” was not at all “unnatural memory,” but memory composed (perfected) *according to nature*, which implies that artificial memory is a—and for Hobbes, in its relation to the speech whose first author was God—perhaps the vestige of

⁶¹⁹ Strauss, *Natural Right* 174-5.

⁶²⁰ Rossi xxv.

“classic” natural right.⁶²¹ Certainly, it was the model for the artificiality or “fiction” of Hobbes’s political philosophy. Of this Strauss was unaware:

There is this difference between natural law in the ordinary sense and natural public law, the natural public law and its subject matter (the commonwealth) are based on a fundamental fiction, on the fiction that the will of the sovereign is the will of all and of each or that the sovereign represents all and each.⁶²²

Noel Malcolm has discussed the significance of the *original* design for the frontispiece to *Leviathan* in the manuscript presented by Hobbes to Charles II, in which “the body of the colossus consists not of small full-length figures seen from behind, but of much larger faces or heads, all of them facing outwards, towards the viewer.”⁶²³ The origin of this design lay in “an elaborate optical device which had been invented in the late 1620s and had become a fashionable scientific-aesthetic toy by the 1640s.”⁶²⁴ About this important discovery of this proto-kinetoscope,⁶²⁵ I make two points. First, Malcolm makes no serious attempt to explain why the change occurred beyond that it was “a matter of aesthetic common sense.”⁶²⁶ Second, Malcolm never connects the frontispiece, either as a bibliographical form or as Hobbes’s appropriation of this form, to the art of memory, though he assembles more than the necessary facts to make this connection, as in a

⁶²¹ Compare this with Strauss’s assertion “the originators of modern thought still agreed with the classics in so far as they conceived of philosophy or science as the perfection of man’s natural understanding of the natural world. They differed from the classics in so far as they opposed the new philosophy or science ... to the perverted understanding of the world had by classical and medieval philosophy.” Strauss, *Natural Right* 78.

⁶²² Strauss, *Natural Right* 190n.

⁶²³ Noel Malcolm, “The Title Page of *Leviathan*, Seen in a Curious Perspective,” in *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 200.

⁶²⁴ Malcolm, “Title Page of *Leviathan*” 201.

⁶²⁵ This crucial connection was pointed out by Wayne Koestenbaum.

⁶²⁶ Malcolm, “Title Page of *Leviathan*,” 201.

quotation from an optical treatise by Hobbes.⁶²⁷

Strauss, in a fashion similar to Malcolm, unaided by a theory of the art of memory, struggles with this set of phenomena by discussing Hobbes's attempt to reconcile mechanistic and teleological views of the universe:

He was forced to wonder whether the universe did not leave room for an artificial island, for an island to be created by science.

The solution was suggested by [geometry]. ... Generally stated, we have absolutely certain or scientific knowledge only of those subjects of which we are the causes, or whose construction is in our own power or depends on our arbitrary will.⁶²⁸

Ultimately, I wish transpose the decisive shift in modern natural right which corresponds to Strauss's account of Hobbes's "solution" to the earlier shift from musical notation to visual perspective; for now, I wish to discuss, again, the "traces and reflections" of the mnemonic foundation of the earlier shift in the attempts to characterize Hobbes's "modern natural right" (Strauss) and "theoretical necessity" (Malcolm). According to Malcolm:

What Hobbes is trying to do with the figure in the title page is to perform an impossible task: to show simultaneously, in the same picture, both the

⁶²⁷ "I say y^e Reason why those figures generally haue an apparence [different] from their figures made in y^e playne of perspective is this. That when we haue in memory y^e Originalls w^{ch} they are made to represent, y^e plaine it self is not (to speake propoerly) seene, butt y^e Originall remembered, and y^e memory therof mayntained by the proportions of y^e line drawne... . So that when wee behold a perspectiue and acknowledge nott anything it represents butt it Selfe, then is y^e fancie of y^e beholder, vision, namely y^e vision of y^e plaine, Butt when wee conceyve by it a Gallery, Landskip or other thing represented by it, then is y^e fancy of the beholder to bee called memorie, though that memorie bee raised and confirmed by the lines drawne on y^e plaine." Quoted in Malcolm, "Title Page of *Leviathan*" 226.

⁶²⁸ Strauss, *Natural Right* 172-3.

painting and the master-image that arises out of it. This task, a physical impossibility in the case of the original optical device, is for Hobbes a theoretical necessity. Understanding why this is so important for Hobbes involves looking at his theory of “representation” in the most general [and profound] sense—a theory that extends to the science of perspective and the art of metaphor as well as the science and practice of politics.⁶²⁹

This to say, without saying, two things: 1) that Hobbes’s theory of representation in its most general sense depends on, if it is not the same thing as, the art of memory; and 2) from a technological perspective, Hobbes’s optics verges on the “virtual place” of current systems theory and design.

Malcolm’s resorting to perspective and metaphors of power in lieu of, or rather, without the aid of, the art of memory is *directly* comparable to Strauss’s even more exalted language with respect to Hobbes’s concern with “power”:

“Physical” power as distinguished from the purposes for which it is used is morally neutral and therefore more amenable to mathematical strictness that is its use: power can be measured. This explains why Nietzsche, who went much beyond Hobbes and declared the will to power to be the essence of reality, conceived of power in terms of “quanta of power.”⁶³⁰

To derive an art of memory from these analyses is almost to squeeze water from a stone. I believe, however, that Malcolm, knowingly or not, points to crucial issues that must be addressed for any comprehensive epistemology of the frontispiece.

⁶²⁹ Malcolm, “Title Page of *Leviathan*” 225-6.

⁶³⁰ Strauss, *Natural Right* 194-5.

He states that Hobbes wished to show “simultaneously, in the same picture, both the painting *and* the master-image that arises out of it”: this is both a “physical impossibility” and a “theoretical necessity.” A full discussion of Hobbes’s “theoretical necessity” must necessarily take into account the art of memory. This I must leave for others, as I am primarily interested in how a consideration of the art accounts for the weaknesses and strengths of the understanding of Hobbes particular to Strauss (and ultimately to Bloom). But as for Hobbes’s “physical impossibility,” I am struck by the fact that Malcolm overlooks the question of the representation of the optical device itself: logically—literally—speaking, it is the physical absence (for the viewer) of the peculiar optical device that constitutes the “physical impossibility” of the simultaneous representation of the painting and the master-image. (Hobbes’s need to re-present this device is less pressing than ours because he possesses the framework of the art of memory, of which the device is but a symbol.) This question is perhaps made clearer in comparison with James’s photographic frontispieces. There, following Roland Barthes, the “analogical perfection” of the photograph itself represents, as a “message without a code,” the (visually *and* physically absent) optical device, the camera: a degree of representational perfection that could imply (as I believe it does) a correspondingly perfected political philosophy. In terms of the dual aspect of history discussed in chapter three, if it is not clear that the photograph is any more or less “perfect” than the moving picture, still, the representational difficulties of a frontispiece corresponding to the specific perfection of the moving image may yet prove to have political-philosophical significance, and also point to the value of representing “movement” in any form, i.e., sound, as in the present opera.⁶³¹

⁶³¹ The starting point for this perfected political philosophy that I have in mind is Emma Goldman’s elegy on Leo Czolgosz, the assassin of President McKinley: “the boy who had read queer books, had dreamed queer dreams, had committed a queer act, and had even been queer in the face of death. People out of the ordinary, those of vision, have ever been considered queer; yet they have often been the sanest in a crazy world.” See Goldman 1: 355.

The deepest connection between the representation of power in the *Leviathan* frontispiece and Bloom's reproduction of the frontispiece in *Emile* concerns the "ipsissimosity" to which Strauss calls attention in his "Note on the Plan of Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil*."⁶³² "*Ipsissima verba*" means "the very words, or language"; but in this passage Strauss is stretching to include some aspect of authorship, specifically Nietzsche's; and as I also suggested, this points beyond language and beyond Nietzsche's language, to the person, the personal, and the personality—of Strauss. In contrast to the degree that the sovereign pictured in the frontispiece to *Leviathan* is a likeness of—"speaks for"—Hobbes, Strauss's ambiguity about the relation between the Savoyard Vicar and Rousseau leaves even more ambiguous the relations pertaining to the Orphic frontispiece, including whether, or to what degree, Rousseau's Orpheus is a likeness of either Strauss's or Bloom's "musicology."

I suggest that a difficulty of these questions involves less the connections between words and things—including authors—than that connection, in the art of memory, between words and time, i.e., whether memory is of the past, the present or, as with prudence, the future. It is on this temporal level that I shall discuss how these various frontispieces relate to Strauss's setting-forth of the (dis)connection between "natural right" and "history" (between natural right and those who take "the historical consciousness" for granted):

The conscious constructs [of Hobbes's "methodical" materialism] have indeed been replaced by the unplanned workings of "History." But "History" limits our vision in exactly the same way in which the conscious constructs limited the vision of Hobbes: "History," too, fulfills the function of enhancing the status of man and of his "world" by making him

⁶³² See my quotation of this passage in the previous chapter. Strauss, "Note on the Plan" 97.

oblivious of the whole or of eternity.⁶³³

What Strauss calls Hobbes's conscious constructs and "methodical" materialism I call his art of memory. My term even makes more intelligible Strauss's account of its transformation by Rousseau into history, in which Strauss stresses the connection between "the existence, as well as the content, of natural right" and "the sanctions for natural right" in terms of two meanings of the state of nature: "the state of nature as man's original condition (and hence as a fact of the past) and the state of nature as a legal status of man as man (and hence as an abstraction or a supposition)."⁶³⁴ (This entire problem of natural right thus parallels that of the historical Jesus discussed in chapter three.) A properly philosophic history must deal with "the state of nature as man's original condition (and hence as a fact of the past)" without cutting itself off from eternity. This may be achieved by incorporating an art of memory into philosophic history. A basis for this incorporation is, I suggest, the, for Strauss, untranslatable ambiguity of the *polis*: "that complete association which corresponds to the natural range of man's power of knowing and of loving" which "no modern thinker has understood better than Rousseau."⁶³⁵ Unacceptable to Strauss is the translation of ancient Greek *polis* as "city-state" because the "state" is precisely that aspect of modernity which he is most concerned with exposing as an invention of Hobbes, Machiavelli, Spinoza et al. However, if a parallel may be drawn between Strauss's definition of *polis* and the "total correspondence between the terms of the encyclopedia and the reality of things" than we can begin to understand the New York Edition, in its ambiguous relation to its *polis*—for the "modern" city *needs* a "state"—as a philosophic history comparable to Thucydides's

The Peloponnesian War:

⁶³³ Strauss, *Natural Right* 175-6.

⁶³⁴ Strauss, *Natural Right* 275.

⁶³⁵ Strauss, *Natural Right* 254n.

The spirit of daring innovation, that *mania* which transcends the limits of moderation, comes into its own, or is legitimate, or is in accordance with nature, only in the work of Thucydides—not in Periclean Athens as such. Not Periclean Athens, but the understanding that is possible on the basis of Periclean Athens, is the peak. Thucydides redeems Periclean Athens. And only by redeeming it does he preserve it.⁶³⁶

Like Bloom's *Emile*, the present opera is a point on a continuum. In one direction lies *The Portrait of Mr. W.H.*, an explanation of a frontispiece of the past; in the other lies *The Sense of the Past*, an explanation of a frontispiece of the future, which must nonetheless be in some sense uniform with those of the New York Edition. Barthes, who like Strauss labored with no real understanding of the art of memory,⁶³⁷ almost stumbled upon this future frontispiece, and this is further proof that an awareness of the art of memory is not ultimately what veils the connection between History and Photography (between the Edition's texts and frontispieces); rather, as I shall argue in the concluding part of this chapter, veiling the connection is a failure to meet the challenge of what Strauss calls the distinction between facts and values.

Lifting this veil enables a deeper appreciation of Edmund Wilson's wonder concerning Vico's relation to Michelet:

How was it then that the *Scienza Nuova* could come to a man of 1820 as

⁶³⁶ Strauss, "Thucydides: The Meaning of Political History" 89.

⁶³⁷ Thus in "The Old Rhetoric: an aide-mémoire" Barthes is able to say of *Actio* and *Memoria*: "since these two last operations are absent from the work (as opposed to *oratio*), and since, even among the Ancients, they have given rise to no classification (but only brief commentaries), we shall eliminate them here from the rhetorical machine"; in *The Semiotic Challenge*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 51.

an intoxicating revelation? Because Vico, by force of an imaginative genius of remarkable power and scope had enabled him to grasp fully for the first time the organic character of human society.⁶³⁸

What had previously been “artificial,” i.e., human society, is now, after Vico, “organic,” “natural.”

Wilson, as one who understands the “nature” of human society to be its naturalness, is one of those who, in Strauss’s words, “takes the historical consciousness for granted.” Consequently, Wilson does not properly approach or understand Vico’s reconsideration of natural right. But in regard to what Wilson describes as that “force of an imaginative genius of remarkable power and scope” which “for the first time” had enabled a grasp human nature, we have reason to question Strauss’s understanding as well.

My sense is that Michelet was impressed by that total correspondence between word and thing which was Vico’s legacy from the art of memory, but which modernity, in its fallenness, knows only as the distinction between fact and value. Again, Barthes calls our attention to key manifestation of this correspondence:

R. B. does exactly what he says Michelet does: “There does exist a certain type of Micheletist causality, but such causality remains cautiously relegated to the improbable regions of morality. These are certain “necessities” of a moral order, entirely psychological postulates ... Greece must not have been homosexual, since Greece is all light, etc.”⁶³⁹

⁶³⁸ Wilson, *Finland Station* 3.

⁶³⁹ Barthes, *Roland Barthes*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 151-2.

A closely related example of Micheletist causality (also: the causality of this opera) is when, in the climactic chapter “The New Religion—General Federation (July 14, 1790),” Michelet’s “ipsissimosity” and his “historical consciousness” become one:

“Thus ended the happiest day of our life.” This sentence, which the members of a village federation wrote at the end of their memorial, on the evening of their festival, I was very near writing myself in concluding this chapter. It is ended, and nothing like it is in store for me. I leave here an irreparable moment of my life, a part of myself, which I plainly feel will remain here and accompany me no more; I seem to depart poor and needy.⁶⁴⁰

In other words, Michelet’s sadness is Orpheus’s:

when he brings together the corporeal and transitory sounds with the profound invention of art, that very invention flees again into the depth of learning, since [Eurydice] cannot appear in sounds, and because of this Orpheus remains sad, retaining musical sound without its cause.⁶⁴¹

In the following section I shall consider whether Orpheus’s sadness is also Bloom’s.

II. Natural Right and the Art of Memory

⁶⁴⁰ Michelet, *French Revolution* 451.

⁶⁴¹ Quoted in Boynton 60.

My suggestion of an “organic” connection between the art of memory and historical consciousness presents a difficulty that may be related to that paradox which Barthes posits between History and Photography, namely this: what is the qualitative difference between a “historically reconstructed” art of memory and an art of memory that claims to present history—unless one can be the other? According to Strauss, at the core of social science—“the understanding of society from the point of view of the present”—is the relation of facts to values:

What is trans-historical are merely the findings regarding the facts and their causes. ... No conclusion can be drawn from any fact as to its valuable character, nor can we infer the factual character of something from its being valuable or desirable.⁶⁴²

I do not think it an exaggeration to suggest that this problem of social science is greatest in, and fundamentally related to, the scientific attempt to understand the art of memory.

Summarizing medieval Aristotelian and Augustinian psychology, Mary Carruthers concludes:

Therefore, to say that memory is the matrix within which humans perceive present and future is also to say that both present and future, in human time, are mediated by the past. But “the past,” in this analysis, is not itself something, but rather a memory, a representing of what no longer exists as itself but only its memorial traces.

It seems to me that this is quite different from insisting, as

Renaissance and modern scholars have done, that the past is mediated by

⁶⁴² Strauss, *Natural Right* 39.

the present. The change in emphasis, in the direction of mediation, if you will, is critical. It seems to be typical of modern (Renaissance) consciousness to give the past, like other scientific subjects, objective status apart from present human memories. As a result, perhaps, the Renaissance scholar worried that the past had been “distorted” through the mediation of the present, and sought to recover or resuscitate the dead past itself.⁶⁴³

The end of this passage resembles a kind of esoteric writing: somehow, Carruthers’s “modern” perspective places her somewhere, somehow, outside the modernity, and its distortions, which she criticizes. However unintentionally, this resulting “mental map” is actually quite faithful to the contradictions of modernity. In Straussian terms, the value (who has the better system, the medieval or Renaissance scholar?) is suppressed in order to present the fact of two different systems, despite the fact that the very suppression of value is evidence of the preference for one system (the “objective,” modern system) over the other.

By contrast, how much clearer is Carruthers’s perspective, or orientation, when she illustrates medieval memory in terms of a distinction, which she traces to Ludwig Wittgenstein, between “function” and “mimesis” and a mental map taken from her own experience:

I know that Madrid is “south” in Europe, and so I place it “south” in the United States. Paris, London, and New York (lined up in a row in my mental image) are aligned because they are all three cultural capitals. Given its cognitive function for me, my cultural map is perfectly “correct,” and I

⁶⁴³ Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 192-193.

am right not to change it.⁶⁴⁴

Here, fact and value are expressed simultaneously in the idea of relative positions. Yet, to take “function” and “mimesis” as merely “somewhat different sets of questions,” as Carruthers does, is to miss Wittgenstein’s point. His position is more radical: “function” defines “mimesis.” Reality is what works. We need to interpret the facts of the *ars memorativa* in terms of their value, i.e., their function. In short, I claim for these two passages more than their author perhaps intended: not only does each describe a particular orientation, but each description is “ipsimossitous,” i.e., each embodies the orientation it describes.

On the correspondence between the *pragmata* of temporality (and, implicitly, of mortality) and the *pragmata* of music notation, this chapter identifies this opera as a “historically reconstructed” art of memory indistinguishable from a history reconstructed through an art of memory. I have also introduced a second set of correspondences based on the two passages from Carruthers, between memory and a mental map, on one hand, and, on the other, history and Renaissance perspective. These correspondences parallel another of Barthes’s prescient analyses:

Let us imagine that an affinity of status and history has linked mathematics and acoustics since the ancient Greeks. Let us also imagine that for two or three millennia this effectively Pythagorean space has been somewhat repressed. ... Finally, let us imagine that from the time of these same Greeks another relationship has been established over against the first and has got the better of it, continually taking the lead in the history

⁶⁴⁴ Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 23. More “Wittgensteinian” is the approach and/or subject matter of Carruthers’s *The Craft of Thought* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2000).

of the arts—the relationship between geometry and theatre. ... Thus is founded—against music (against the text) —representation.⁶⁴⁵

Cumulatively these two chains of associations may be contrasted as “historical representation” and “mnemonic Pythagorean space.” Quite literally, I suggest that we should imagine the “space” of the mental map and its corollaries, in contrast to that of the Renaissance scholar, as ascertainable with closed eyes. I suggest in modification of Barthes’s hypothesis, though it is no more than supplying the fact of the art of memory about which, as I noted earlier, he was largely unaware, that representation arose less “over against” the Pythagorean space than in the paradoxical fashion of Plato’s myth on the invention of writing (paradoxical because *written*): “You have therefore found a drug not for memory, but for reminding. You are supplying the opinion of wisdom to the students, not truth.”⁶⁴⁶ Historical consciousness, the opinion of wisdom, was born of music notation.⁶⁴⁷ “What things do we really write down and depict, we mandarins with our Chinese brush, we immortalizers of things that *can* be written ... ?”⁶⁴⁸

This transition from Pythagorean to representational space, which implies a middle space which I term “Architectural” after the dominant mode of medieval and Renaissance arts of memory, is suggested in the commentary on Aristotle’s *On Memory and Recollection* by Albertus Magnus (ca. 1193-1280) under the heading “How does every recollection or memory receive past time?”⁶⁴⁹ Aristotle and Albertus describe a

⁶⁴⁵ Barthes, “Diderot, Brecht, Eisenstein,” in *Image* 69.

⁶⁴⁶ Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. James H. Nichols Jr. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 85.

⁶⁴⁷ Leo Treitler observes, “a musical tradition corresponding to the paradigm of literacy is not demonstrable in Europe before the thirteenth century, four centuries after the earliest music writing.” See Treitler, “Oral, Written and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music,” *Speculum* 56.3 (1981): 486. This “progress” was further complicated by a feedback dynamic as music notation was influenced by and incorporated *non*-mnemonic elements, such as the tendency of equal temperament towards perspectival space.

⁶⁴⁸ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* 177.

⁶⁴⁹ Albertus Magnus, “Commentary on Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection*,” in *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, eds. Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 146.

technique of midpoints in which a person recollects a series of associated topics (*topoi*) by starting from the middle. But as Albertus's modern editor points out, not only is Aristotle obscure on this point but "this obscurity is maintained and perhaps even heightened in Albertus's account."⁶⁵⁰ I therefore discuss the clearer commentary provided by Albertus's student Thomas Aquinas, while acknowledging the fact that its "clarity" may simply lie in its greater similarity to the representational space with which we are all too familiar:

And it is reasonable that there is something in the soul that makes judgments about time, for it makes judgments about physical magnitudes that the soul comprehends—for instance "large" in relation to the size of visualized bodies, and "far off" with respect to the interval of distance from one's place. The interval of time, which is measured according to its distance from the present instant "now," is commensurate with this measurement of distance.⁶⁵¹

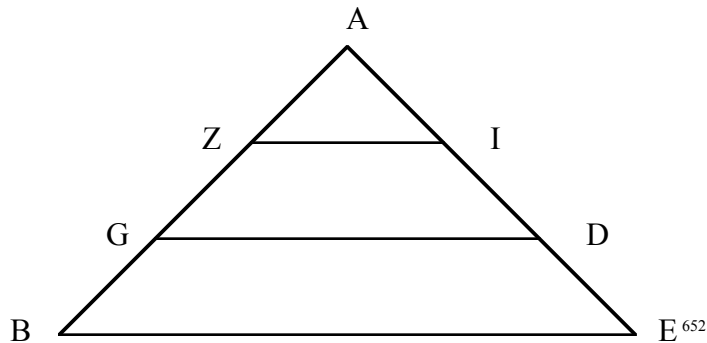
This leads to a series of proportional correspondences:

[Aristotle] demonstrates this kind of varying proportion by means of a diagram through letters. To explain this, it must be noted that, because he said above that in the understanding there are similar figures and movements proportionate to things, here he uses the proof from similarity of form, as geometers use it. They call figures similar when their sides

⁶⁵⁰ See *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, eds. Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 120.

⁶⁵¹ Aquinas, "Commentary on Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection*" in *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, eds. Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 182.

are proportional and their angles are equal, as is evident in the sixth book of Euclid:



However, Thomas seems to be describing a sequence, not a “view.” (In these movements of the soul, behind the spatial metaphor, there may lie a correspondence between the “near and far” of space and the “open and closed” of time.) Consideration of Thomas’s diagram may profit from the controversy over the “internal perspective of ideas” that occurred in the nineteenth century concerning the historical Jesus. In his *Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, originally published in 1835, David Friedrich Strauss contrasted opposing views on the discourses of Jesus on his second coming:⁶⁵³

Hengstenberg ... has advanced, in relation to the visions of the Hebrew prophets, the following theory, which has met with approval from other expositors. To the spiritual vision of these men, he says, future things presented themselves not so much through the medium of time as of space—as it were, in great pictures; and thus, as is the case in paintings or perspective views,

⁶⁵² Aquinas, “*Commentary on Aristotle*” 183.

⁶⁵³ Based on Jesus’s assertion as recorded in Matt. 24 and 25; Mark 13; Luke 17: 22-37 and 21: 5-36.

the most distant object often appeared to them to stand immediately behind the nearest, foreground and background being intermingled with each other: and this theory of a perspective vision we are to apply to Jesus, especially to the discourse in question. But we may here cite the appropriate remark of Paulus, that as one, who in a perspective externally presented, does not know how to distinguish distances, labours under an optical delusion, i.e., errs: so likewise in an internal perspective of ideas, if such there be, the disregard of distances must be pronounced an error; consequently this theory does not show that the above men did not err, but rather explains how they easily might err.⁶⁵⁴

Strauss's "if such there be" indicates to me that he finds thoroughly questionable even the existence of an internal perspective of ideas. We can state with confidence, however, that "an internal perspective of ideas" (in precisely that problematic metaphorization of perspective to which Strauss seems to be referring) is literally what the art of memory, in at least one of its modes, calls for. However, while we should be open to the possibility that this controversy reflected, on both sides, the dying out, the non-recognition of an ancient tradition, I suspect it also presents the more common phenomenon of anachronistic projections of "natural" Renaissance perspective onto pre-Renaissance, not to say pre-medieval, orientations.

To my mind, the crucial example of anachronistic projection is the confusion involving the simultaneous development in the ninth century of music notation and a theoretical note system. This has been taken as "proof" of the arbitrariness of the spatial

⁶⁵⁴ David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, trans. George Eliot (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1972), 591.

conception of sound and as a refinement of the (“arbitrary”) idea, from ancient Greece, of melody as a movement.⁶⁵⁵ In conjunction with the art of memory, Barthes’s notion of different spaces suggests that the development of musical notation and a theoretical note system can be more coherently conceived as a gradual usurpation of Pythagorean space by “Euclidian” space, creating, in the meantime, Architectural space.

The modern introduction to Johann Joseph Fux’s counterpoint manual *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725) reflects triumphant usurpation:

The study of counterpoint might be compared to the study of perspective.

Both reflect the rise of three-dimensional thought.

The medieval composer dealt with different voices of a motet in much the way in which the medieval painter portrayed different levels of a landscape. The composition, in both cases, was an aggregate of parts rather than an entity conceived in depth. It is characteristic of medieval music that theorists speak of *discantus*—two-fold melody—even when they refer to a setting of more than two parts. Theirs was a two-dimensional approach to polyphony.⁶⁵⁶

Never mind the fact that, in the context of the art of memory, the medieval painter’s aggregates of “parts” were frequently (always?—their context being the art of memory) aggregates of “memories” (so that the “entity” which the critic fails to see is simply not one of “depth” but something else): the assertion of a parallelism between counterpoint and perspective is itself precisely not parallel but curved towards perspective, towards

⁶⁵⁵ Leo Treitler, “Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing,” *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 145, 146.

⁶⁵⁶ Alfred Mann, “Introduction,” to Johann Joseph Fux, *The Study of Counterpoint from Johann Joseph Fux’s Gradus ad Parnassum*, trans. and ed. Alfred Mann (New York: Norton, 1965), vii.

dimension, “depth.” Masquerading as “objective” Euclidian space, Mann’s narrative, like Carruthers’s representation of the Renaissance scholar, like all narrative perspective, is curved towards representation.

The same is true of Edward Lowinsky’s path-blazing article “The Concept of Physical and Musical Space in the Renaissance.” *Cantus firmus* is a compositional technique in which a medieval chant melody is used as the basis of a new composition, and is thus a recognizable artifact of *memoria*. Lowinsky was unaware of this fundamental orientation; furthermore, he judges (albeit unknowingly) this artifact of memory not as it relates—in the most fundamental way—to “human nature,” but in relation to a culture (our own) in which “memory” has become wholly and astronomically technologized, i.e., trivialized. With the adoption of the Euclidian grid of vertically aligned musical clefs and “simultaneous” part-composition (i.e., there is no *cantus firmus*, each part being composed “simultaneously”), “imitation was based on motives freely invented by the composer, who could now obey fully the impulses and inspiration he received from the text.”⁶⁵⁷ In effect, Lowinsky treats the dissolution of *cantus firmus* as a not-quite-unequivocal liberation in so far as (though he does not say so explicitly) the text and an ever-more-complex music theory become the (new) limiting powers. To describe polyphony as “perspectival music” makes, at best, formal not historical sense.

Dorit Tanay has recently criticized long-standing assumptions about the music of the fourteenth century, some of which stem from Johan Huizinga’s *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*.⁶⁵⁸ Tanay has observed that “no solid immanent relations are shown to exist between a complex, quasi-degenerate society on the one hand and the intricate rhythms of

⁶⁵⁷ Edward Lowinsky, “The Concept of Physical and Musical Space in the Renaissance (A Preliminary Sketch),” in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1988), 12. Both Strauss and Lowinsky were German exiles and taught at the University of Chicago. The investigation into the connection between music and esoteric writing may be said to have begun with Lowinsky’s *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, trans. Carl Buchman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946).

⁶⁵⁸ Trans. Rodney Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Originally published in Dutch with translation in English as *The Waning of the Middle Ages*.

the music on the other.” She therefore proposes to examine late-fourteenth-century music

not on the background of social procedures but in the context of
fourteenth-century scientific thought, and to demonstrate immanent and
structural cohesion between a compositional trend that features
manipulations within the dimension of musical time and the sciences which
investigate the properties of time *qua* continuum.⁶⁵⁹

A missing link in Tanay’s analysis of the relations between social procedure and scientific thought is the discourse of memory. As Thomas Aquinas suggests, thirteenth-century commentators on Aristotle did not oppose, as their twentieth-century commentators do, “temporal” and “mimetic” aspects of memory:

For the internal conceptual forms and movements correspond
proportionately to external magnitudes and perhaps the situation with
respect to magnitudes or distances or places and times is the same as that
for concepts of things.⁶⁶⁰

The correspondences of the encyclopedia extend to that between time and place.

My usage of the term Architectural is not to be confused with the adoption by musicologists of an architectonic view of Gothic aesthetics which Christopher Page has criticized as “cathedralism.”⁶⁶¹ Accordingly, I offer as the best illustration of

⁶⁵⁹ Dorit Tanay, “‘Nos faysons contre Nature...’: Fourteenth-Century Sophismata and the Musical Avant Garde,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59.1 (1998): 31. See also Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation ca. 1250-1400*, Musicological Studies and Documents, American Institute of Musicology (Holzgerlingen: Hänssler-Verlag, 1999).

⁶⁶⁰ Aquinas, “*Commentary on Aristotle*” 183.

⁶⁶¹ Christopher Page, *Discarding Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1-42. It continues to surprise me how little musicologists have availed themselves of the historical implications of the architectural memory.

“Architectural memory” not a cathedral but a frontispiece (note, however, an architectural term) from a ninth century manuscript copy of the Gospel of St. John. The ornately-decorated carpet page is said to illustrate the opening words of a homily by Scottus, whose commentary on Martianus Capella provided the key to this opera: “The voice of the mystic eagle resounds in the ears of the church.”⁶⁶² At the top left a figure plays something like a wooden flute. On the right is a woman with parted hair, which she raises as though to emphasize attentive listening. A radical conclusion that might be drawn from the relation between this frontispiece and Scottus’s version of the Orphic myth is that music notation and “the art of music” were once indistinguishable. By the end of the Architectural period (say, with Vico’s *New Science* of 1744), narrative representation—not music or text—shot through by the ideology of narrative perspective, had become the foundation of History. History, as representation, became the perspectival lines superimposed upon the actors by the historian.⁶⁶³

In taking narrative perspective as an object of historical study, I have thought it necessary to also consider theology, its ontological *Doppelgänger*; which necessity I relate to Barthes’s skepticism and sympathy towards a theatrical production of Berthold Brecht’s in which “real” wet laundry was placed in the basket of an actress—playing a laundress—to give her the “authentic” movement of (Marxist) alienated labor: “For what weighs down the basket is not wet laundry but time, history, and how [does one] represent such a weight as that?”⁶⁶⁴ In *this* work, theology plays the part of wet laundry. I suggest, in analogy to Hans Frei’s position that Jesus’s discourse has nothing to do with perspective (pro or con) and everything (or at least much more) to do with narrative, that

⁶⁶² *Early Music* 28 May (2000): cover/editorial front matter. Scottus and the illustration may reflect the medieval association of John’s Gospel with the “eagle” of the four cherubim (lion, ox, eagle, man) in Ezekiel 1:10 and also Revelation 4:7.

⁶⁶³ See Elkins’s criticisms of “The Iconology of Tracing” in James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 217-261.

⁶⁶⁴ Barthes, *Roland Barthes* 154.

the optimal starting point for a scientific consideration of Thomas's commentary on Aristotle is an assumed irrelevance of perspective.

Julia Annas does not detract from this assumption when she implies that Aristotle does not oppose memory to recollection: "It thus seems preferable to say that in his treatise Aristotle is discussing two kinds of memory, not memory plus the 'specialized' subject of recollection."⁶⁶⁵ Annas characterizes these two kinds of memory as "personal" and "non-personal": a terminology comparable to the distinction between "my past" and "the past"—that moderates our (modern) habit of singling out "the past" as capable of neutral description, and thereby suggests another approach to the fact/value distinction. Importantly, Thomas's Aristotle does not reject the idea of a "neutral" past: it does not even occur to him. While Thomas, of course, does not use the terms "personal" and "non-personal" memory, these categories are conveyed in his examples: a remembrance of Plato "who is like [Socrates] in wisdom"⁶⁶⁶ is not explicitly temporal, while Thomas's temporal indicators are distinctly personal, such as "three days ago," "the day before yesterday," and—to indicate a memory without specific knowledge of when it occurred—"seen from far off and comprehended indistinctly."⁶⁶⁷

I contrast this phenomenology of Thomas's commentary with the "Renaissance perspective" of Heidegger, as indicated by the term "horizon" in a passage on "remembering":

Just as expectation is possible only on the basis of awaiting, *remembering*

⁶⁶⁵ Julia Annas, "Aristotle on Memory and the Self" in *Essays on Aristotle's De Anima*, ed. Martha C. Nussbaum and Amelie Oxenborg Rorty (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 297-311.

⁶⁶⁶ Aquinas, "Commentary on Aristotle" 181.

⁶⁶⁷ Aquinas, "Commentary on Aristotle" 185. Nothing in these examples of "proto-perspective" precludes the coexistence of the "earlier" *sancta memoria* of the monasteries and the "later" Aristotelian memory "of the past" of the universities; their coexistence may be presumed in many artifacts of Renaissance perspective. Cf. Elkins's *Poetics of Perspective* and its inability to account for the continuity between medieval *perspectiva* (which it associates with optics) and Renaissance *prospettiva* (page 68) with the above discussion of Hobbes's frontispiece.

is possible only on the basis of forgetting, *and not the other way around*.

In the mode of forgottenness, having-been primarily “discloses” the horizon in which Da-sein, lost in the “superficiality” of what is taken care of, can remember.⁶⁶⁸

In this way, Heidegger’s own dependence on Renaissance perspective and his corresponding marginalization of “remembering” is open to the same criticism which he directs at Descartes’s dependence on medieval scholasticism.⁶⁶⁹ More particularly, Heidegger’s criticism of “remembering” and “forgetting” has nothing to say about the

curiously medieval use of the verb “remember” to describe what one was doing when one meditated, in vivid “picture”-form, on hell and heaven, places one had never oneself visited and thus could not actually “remember” [or forget] in our sense.⁶⁷⁰

Heidegger’s “hermeneutic of the everydayness of being-with-one-another” (which he associates with Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*) is extremely significant because it is there that he does seem to come close to this medieval use of the verb “remember” (and the modern distinction between personal and non-personal memory to which it is related); and this points, but from a “philosophical” rather than “historical” standpoint, to the connection between rhetoric and the art of memory:

⁶⁶⁸ Heidegger 312. Heidegger refers to “remembering” far less than to “forgetting.”

⁶⁶⁹ “Everyone familiar with the medieval period sees that Descartes is ‘dependent’ upon medieval scholasticism and uses its terminology. But with this ‘discovery’ nothing is gained philosophically as long as it remains obscure to what a profound extent medieval ontology influences the way posterity determines or fails to determine the *res cogitans* ontologically. The full extent of this influence cannot be estimated until the meaning and limits of ancient ontology have been shown by our orientation toward the question of being.” Heidegger 22.

⁶⁷⁰ Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 150.

Publicness as a kind of being of the they not only has its attunedness, it uses its mood and “makes” it for itself. The speaker speaks to it and from it. He needs the understanding of the possibility of mood in order to arouse and direct it in the right way.⁶⁷¹

But what these comparisons suggest mainly is that though Heidegger “abandoned careful work on the intellectual life of the Middle Ages after his *Habilitationschrift*⁶⁷² on Duns Scotus”⁶⁷³ he was exposed to certain fundamental currents now more accurately identified with the art of memory.⁶⁷⁴ I pursue this discussion of Heidegger because his anticipations of recent historians (of memory) illumine his role as a fundamental aspect of my discussion of Strauss (who is most like Heidegger in his unmusicality) and Bloom. In this context the remainder of my discussion of music notation connects to an introductory statement in Heidegger’s *Being and Time*:

[I]t is one thing to report narratively about beings and another to grasp beings in their being. For the latter task not only most of the words are lacking but above all the “grammar.” If we may allude to earlier and in their own right altogether incomparable researches on the analysis of being, then we should compare the ontological sections in Plato’s *Parmenides* or the fourth chapter of the seventh book of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* with a narrative passage from Thucydides.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷¹ Heidegger 130.

⁶⁷² In the German educational system—a second dissertation written after the Ph.D., dissertation allowing the candidate to formally teach at a university.

⁶⁷³ Not to be confused with the Scottus who preceded him by several hundred years.

⁶⁷⁴ Philip Roseman, “Heidegger’s Transcendental History,” *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 40.4 (2002): 502.

⁶⁷⁵ Heidegger 34.

Despite Heidegger's unfavorable comparison between philosophy and historiography, my discussion so far suggests that what is "lacking" is not so much words or grammar, but things, i.e., the art of memory, *forgotten* from the Middle Ages. However, Heidegger is notably specific in two of his textual citations (the *Parmenides*; the fourth chapter of the seventh book of the *Metaphysics*) and notably unspecific in the other (any passage of Thucydides). What can this mean?

The intimate connection between the *Parmenides* and the *Metaphysics* is clear from Plato's commentator:

perhaps the single most fundamental and striking of Aristotle's reports about Plato's doctrines was drawn from the *Parmenides*, and specifically from the discussion of Unity, or "the One," in its relation to the Others.⁶⁷⁶

Heidegger does not say directly what the *Parmenides* has to do specifically with book seven, chapter four, but the paraphrase of that chapter by Aristotle's translator's is suggestive:

Is there anything the account of which is exhausted by its definition? Yes, says Aristotle, this is the characteristic of the species which are included in the genera of things, especially living things... *species, whose being is exhausted by their essence, are the substances of the world* [my emphasis].⁶⁷⁷

A translation of Aristotle's actual words runs as follows: "*the only things that will have a*

⁶⁷⁶ Plato, *Plato's Parmenides*, trans. and com. R. E. Allen (New Haven: Yale, 1997), 316.

⁶⁷⁷ Aristotle, *The Metaphysics*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin, 1998), 177-8.

what-it-was-to-be-that-thing will be the species of a genus ... nothing else whatever [original emphasis].”⁶⁷⁸ Note how “essence”—“what-it-was-to-be-that-thing”—sounds curiously like the photographic *noeme*!⁶⁷⁹ While it is interesting to consider what Heidegger might have found in a direct comparison of the temporality of the *Metaphysics* with that of *On Memory and Recollection*, I wish mainly to suggest that music notation can be considered as an (attempted) exhaustive definition of a species of temporality. This discussion of Heidegger comes down to my wanting him to have written instead: “to report narratively about beings *is to speak* while to grasp beings in their being *is to sing*.”

Something of my distinction inheres with his statement that “the problem of ‘historicism’ is the clearest indication that historiography strives to alienate Da-sein from its authentic historicity.”⁶⁸⁰ Heidegger ties his position to Friedrich Nietzsche’s “On the Utility and Liability of History for Life” (1874), which

distinguishes three kinds of historiography: the monumental, the antiquarian, and the critical, without demonstrating explicitly the necessity of this triad and the ground of its unity. ... Nietzsche’s division is not accidental. The beginning of his *Unfashionable Observations* makes us suspect that he understood more than he made known.⁶⁸¹

But in offering, explicitly, no reason why Nietzsche might have wanted to keep his doctrine secret, Heidegger makes Nietzsche’s secret his own. According to Leo Strauss, the motives for secrecy are (must be) by definition intelligible. I suspect Heidegger is

⁶⁷⁸ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 180.

⁶⁷⁹ “The *noeme* “That-has-been” was possible only on the day when ... the discovery that silver halogens were sensitive to light.” Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 80.

⁶⁸⁰ Heidegger 361. As paraphrased by Roseman: “Once *Geschick* congeals into history as a discipline, different methods of objectification yield different, conflicting stories. These stories cancel each other out. Heidegger does not see the slightest affinity between his own project and such historical relativism.” Roseman 513.

⁶⁸¹ Heidegger 361-2.

pointing to Nietzsche's reference to the ambiguous "significance of classical philology" in the concluding sentence of the Forward to "The Utility and Liability of History":

I have no idea what the significance of classical philology would be in our age, if not to have an unfashionable effect—that is, to work against the time and thereby have an effect upon it, hopefully for the benefit of a future time.⁶⁸²

My sense is that Heidegger's secret, in comparison to Nietzsche's, is best grasped—sounded—as the silence, in comparison to singing, signified by speaking.

"The voice," Barthes observed, referring particularly to a castrato's, "is a diffusion, an insinuation, it passes over the entire surface of the body, the skin; and being a passage, an abolition of limitations, classes, names, it possesses a special hallucinatory power."⁶⁸³ The voice transcends the oppositions of (narrating) mind and (grasping) body, of singer and audience, of subject and object. Finally, it carries within itself what Barthes hypothesized as Pythagorean space. It is by way of Barthes's Pythagoreanism that we may account for the lack of a horizon, of perspectivalism (in contrast to Heidegger—and Lowinsky, even), in his treatment of forgetting: "Forgetting meanings ... is an affirmative value, a way of asserting the irresponsibility of the text ... it is precisely because I forget that I read."⁶⁸⁴ Barthes's disassociation of photography from perspective⁶⁸⁵ is tied to the shifting boundary between personal and non-personal memory (publicness organized by the art of memory). Having relegated perspective to derivative status, we can now understand *how* the photograph could lead to the Photographic Age which

⁶⁸² Nietzsche, "Utility and Liability of History" 87.

⁶⁸³ Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), 110.

⁶⁸⁴ Barthes, *S/Z* 11.

⁶⁸⁵ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 80.

corresponds precisely to the explosion of the private into the public, or rather into the creation of a new social value, which is the publicity of the private: the private is consumed as such, publicly. ... But since the private is not only one of our goods (falling under the historical laws of property), since it is also the absolutely precious, inalienable site where my image is free (free to abolish itself), as it is the condition of an interiority which I believe is identified with my truth, or, if you like, with the Intractable of which I consist, I must, by a necessary resistance, reconstitute the division of public and private: I want to utter interiority without yielding intimacy.⁶⁸⁶

An utterance of interiority that does not yield intimacy is a “natural right” of a memorial culture. The dissolution of such a culture is most profoundly embodied in the transformation of the musical gift into the “work,” of the maker into “composer,” which Rob Wegman observes as occurring around 1500.⁶⁸⁷ In our own time, the “gift economy” of memory, and therefore of natural right, corresponds most to what has been strikingly demonstrated regarding the logical status of diagrams, which, I believe, has application to many other “set” relations.

Sun-Joo Shin concludes her inquiry into “multi-modal” reasoning by calling attention to the

mistaken belief that soundness and completeness are intrinsic to linguistic representation only. This is a prejudice for symbolic systems that holds

⁶⁸⁶ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 98

⁶⁸⁷ Rob Wegman, “Musical Offerings in the Renaissance,” *Early Music* 33 (2005): 425-37.

that only linguistic systems are valid intrinsically and that other forms of systems [may] be valid only in a derivative sense.⁶⁸⁸

Shin's specific example of a symbolic system is the "closed curves" (circles) of Venn diagrams developed over the last two hundred years by mathematicians and logicians but familiar to many by their use to teach elementary mathematics. This aspect of cognitive functioning has direct relevance to medieval memory craft. Shin's findings apply to countless contexts which, of course, overlap: visual (*mappaemundi*, *figurae*, *music notation*), audio (musical: "the key of G," a Schoenberg tone row, may be thought of as closed curves), linguistic (*mappaemundi* again, *ekphrasis* and allegory) and material (buildings, books). Take the example of Joachim of Fiore's Trinitarian Circles (closed curves!) culminating the *Divine Comedy*.⁶⁸⁹

Within the profound and shining subsistence of the lofty Light appeared to me three circles of three colors and one magnitude; and one seemed reflected in the other, as rainbow by rainbow, and the third seemed fire breathed forth equally from the one and the other.

O how scant is speech, and how feeble to my conception!⁶⁹⁰

This is not, or not only, "visual ekphrasis." Joachim's teaching of history is not dependent on language; its linguistic structure is secondary. He (and why not Dante?)⁶⁹¹ is

⁶⁸⁸ Sun-Joo Shin, *The Logical Status of Diagrams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994), 186.

⁶⁸⁹ Reeves and Hirsch-Reich Plate 26.

⁶⁹⁰ Dante 3: 379. A modern version of Dante's Joachimist figure similarly culminates Proust's *magnum opus*: "I should not fail, even if the results were to make them resemble monsters, to describe men first and foremost as occupying a place, a very considerable place compared with the restricted one which is allotted to them in space, a place on the contrary prolonged past measure—for simultaneously, like giants plunged into the years, they touch epochs that are immensely far apart, separated by the slow accretion of many, many days—in the dimension of Time." Marcel Proust, *The Remembrance of Things Past*, vol. 3, trans. C.K. Scott Moncrieff and T. Kilmartin (New York: Vintage, 1982), 1107.

⁶⁹¹ Dante 3: 139.

describing time, historical epochs, “reality,” in a logical, epistemologically sophisticated manner that approaches “a total correspondence between the terms of the encyclopedia and the reality of things.”

Shin’s findings remind us that rigid distinctions between narrative, symbol and fact must be handled with care. Overlappings occur because they are not mutually exclusive nor easily separated (just as function/mimesis, memory/history are not). As in Dante, symbolic structure can be expressed as narrative and vice versa, which suggests a third entity. This, I suggest, would be a direction to take Hans Frei’s discussion of biblical narrative.⁶⁹² The analysis of the relations between symbolic and linguistic systems is complicated by syntactic and semantic misconceptions. Regarding these, I have found the observations of theologian Paul Tillich particularly helpful. Tillich has called attention to this problem as it relates to the term “symbolic logic.” (Signs are arbitrary; they do not participate in the “pointed-to” reality; symbols do.) Mathematicians have usurped the term “symbol” (rather than “sign”) so that what is called (even by non-mathematicians) “symbolic logic” is actually “signified logic.”⁶⁹³ In contrast to this mathematical “symbolic logic,” Shin’s formalized Venn system presents a “new” standard for recognizing the essence of symbolic representation and interpretation.

The prejudice against symbolic representation is also present in the humanities. Scholars of diagrammatic expression consistently recast “the medieval” as “primitive.” We see this in Michael Evans’s distinction between “formalistic” and “epistemological”:

Medieval exegesis was particularly suited to, and to some extent influenced

⁶⁹² Frei, *Eclipse* 324: “All the more fascinating, in view of this hermeneutical revolution and its large effect on biblical interpretation, is the continuity of the fate of a narrative reading of biblical stories, the gospels in particular. ... Whether anything has changed in this respect since the days of Schleiermacher and Hegel is a question for another day.”

⁶⁹³ Tillich, “Religious Symbols and Our Knowledge of God,” *Philosophy of Religion*, ed. William Rowe (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), 480-1.

by, diagrammatic exposition; so too was medieval logic, because *its most characteristic innovations were formalistic rather than epistemological* [my emphasis].⁶⁹⁴

Though a major current of contemporary philosophy stems from Gottlob Frege's realization that arithmetic was not obviously universal,⁶⁹⁵ Carruthers contrasts the medieval "'logic' of recollection" with the "'universal' logic" of mathematics:

There is a built-in indeterminacy of meaning, and even of relationship to parts, to medieval diagrams, for they follow the "logic" of recollection—which is associative and determined by individual habit—and not the "universal" logic of mathematics.⁶⁹⁶

Shin is apparently unaware of Joachim of Fiore's figural historiography:

There has been some disagreement about when circles (or closed curves) began being used for representing classical syllogisms. They seem to have been first put to this use in the Middle Ages. However, there seems to be agreement that it was Leonard Euler, in the eighteenth century, who proposed using circles to illustrate relations between classes.⁶⁹⁷

Barthes too is susceptible to this prejudice: "... simple equations, schemas, tables,

⁶⁹⁴ Michael Evans, "The Geometry of the Mind," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 12 (1982): 32.

⁶⁹⁵ Gottlob Frege, *The Foundations of Arithmetic*, trans. J. L. Austin (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953).

⁶⁹⁶ Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 256.

⁶⁹⁷ Shin, *Logical Status of Diagrams* 11.

genealogical trees. Such figures, in fact, are of no use whatever; they are simple toys.”⁶⁹⁸

The elaborate diagramed encyclopedias of Raymond Lull (1235-1316), cited by Shin as the first use of “closed curves,” were more than simply “syllogistic.”⁶⁹⁹ They had a missionary and ultimately theological aim: “He believed that if he could persuade Jews and Muslims to do the Art with him, they would become converted to Christianity.”⁷⁰⁰ A hundred years before Lull, Joachim used closed curves to illustrate historical epochs, which surely qualify as “classes.”⁷⁰¹

This “built-in indeterminacy of meaning” which is also, somehow, “more explicit,” “more concise” —an “abstract art form”⁷⁰² —is, philosophical speaking, fundamental:

... diagrammatic systems are more similar to reality than linguistic systems in the way conjunctive information is displayed ... this similarity is characterized by the need for fewer conventions and the power of perceptual inferences in diagrams. ... [V]isual rules are [not] copies of linguistic ones, even though they are very similar. The similarity arises not from copying but from the nature of our valid reasoning.⁷⁰³

The valid reasoning underlying both the visual and the linguistic recalls key aspects of Panofsky’s “Perspective as Symbolic Form.” Panofsky seeks to prove that perspective is “one of those ‘symbolic forms’ in which ‘spiritual meaning’ is attached to a concrete, material sign and intrinsically given to this sign.”⁷⁰⁴ James Elkins, following what he terms

⁶⁹⁸ Barthes, *Roland Barthes* 99-100.

⁶⁹⁹ Yates, *Art of Memory* 173-98.

⁷⁰⁰ Yates, *Art of Memory* 176.

⁷⁰¹ Reeves and Hirsch-Reich Plate 26.

⁷⁰² Evans 32.

⁷⁰³ Shin, *Logical Status of Diagrams* 179, 187.

⁷⁰⁴ Panofsky 41.

Panofsky's idea that "perspective can or should be read as a metaphor,"⁷⁰⁵ advocates the metaphor of a spider web: "it is the friction of our twisting against perspective that can best show us how deeply we are caught."⁷⁰⁶ I have argued for a different reading of perspective-as-metaphor: namely as a "metaphor" of the "architectural memory," especially of the Church.

Architectural space may be contrasted with Carruthers's term "material ekphrasis," which literally subsumes the whole of monastic life under rhetoric. Material ekphrasis may reflect the power structure, and/or the elite, of the Middle Ages, but not, for this very reason, its being—this is the role of music notation. The Church may be a verbal construct, but not because the Fathers were primarily rhetoricians.

Similarly, when thinking about Hobbes's "dependence" on medieval ontology with the frontispiece to *Leviathan*, we should take seriously the extra-linguistic "logic" to which his text points:

And if it were so, that there were a Language without any Verb answerable to *Est*, or *Is*, or *Bee*; yet the men that used it would bee not a jot the lesse capable of Inferring, Concluding, and of all kind of Reasoning, then were the Greeks, and Latines. But what then would become of these Terms, of *Entity*, *Essence*, *Essentiall*, *Essentiality*, that are derived from it, and of many more that depend on these, appplyed as most commonly they are? They are therefore no Names of Things; but Signes...⁷⁰⁷

Syntax, semantics, soundness and completeness may be aspects of representational systems, but they are not tied to any specific system.

⁷⁰⁵ Elkins 188.

⁷⁰⁶ Elkins 272.

⁷⁰⁷ Hobbes 690-1.

In recognition of its ties to the art of memory, I suggest that Hobbes's frontispiece needs to be understood in terms of a metaphysics of the social world.⁷⁰⁸ If the frontispiece is taken as picturing the fact that "the state is an organism whose parts are persons," then according to the mereological analysis (the relation between parts and wholes) of David-Hillel Ruben, Hobbes's picture is not logical: individuals are the "parts" of "no groups." However, Ruben does not take into account visual diagrams, much less Hobbes's frontispiece, as is shown by his statement that "one way in which the mereological relation of being a part of can be distinguished from some other relations, like ... set membership" is the fact that "the spatiality of the parts carries over to the spatiality of the whole."⁷⁰⁹ This carrying over should be compared to what Shin says about diagrammatic systems:

[they] tend to represent relations in terms of spatial arrangements among objects, not in terms of new devices. ... Even if a relation is not spatial, some relations are representable by means of spatial relations among objects ... the relation "being a member of" [i]s an example.⁷¹⁰

Ruben supports his argument about spatiality by noting that even though precisely the same notes or words can, simultaneously, be used, by reorganizing them in different ways, to compose two different tunes or poems (i.e., sets), an analogous principle is not true for abstract parts. Yet he confesses:

I cannot see any way to dismiss the suggestion that social groups are the

⁷⁰⁸ I borrow this phrase from David-Hillel Ruben, *The Metaphysics of the Social World* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985). I've already touched upon this above, in a manner very different from Ruben, with the question of the frontispiece's representation of the optical device.

⁷⁰⁹ See Ruben 57.

⁷¹⁰ Shin, *Logical Status of Diagrams* 187.

wholes of which *individual minds* [my emphasis] are the parts, nor can I see any way in which the suggestion might be supported.⁷¹¹

But that social groups are the wholes of which individual minds are the parts is a valid interpretation of Hobbes's frontispiece concerning "The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiastical and Civill"—it is, in Tillich's sense, a symbolic covenant, on the basis of visual logic.

As noted before, the "Leviathan" pictured in the frontispiece is Hobbes himself (the height of ipsissimosity). We may take this picture as demonstrating the intersection of non-personal and personal memory, the power of the symbolic to unite the associative "logic" of recollection with the "universal" logic of mathematics, and the "gift economies" of the Middle Ages. With reference to Strauss and Barthes, we may say that the frontispiece of *Leviathan* is vital to its reconstitution of "the division of public and private" and its utterance of "interiority without yielding intimacy."⁷¹² Hobbes's frontispiece illustrates, contra Strauss, a "physical" power (of memory) that *is* distinguishable from the purposes for which it is used. However, I suggest that its very obviousness constitutes a secret, the silence of Hermes, which also makes it the fulfillment *avant la lettre* of Barthes's prediction that

[t]he Author himself ... could someday become a text like any other: he has only to avoid making his person the subject, the impulse, the origin, the authority, the Father, whence his work would proceed, by a channel of expression; he has only to see himself as a being on paper and his life as a

⁷¹¹ Ruben 82.

⁷¹² This is even truer of its companion piece, *Behemoth*. A history of the English Civil War in dialogue form, with one interlocutor invested with the authority of the author, it was refused publication by King Charles.

bio-graphy (in the etymological sense of the word).⁷¹³

I conclude this opera by appropriating and explicating an implied connection between bio-graphy and queer political philosophy in the title of a recent work, Lydia Goehr's *The Quest for Voice: Music, Politics and the Limits of Philosophy*. To some degree this connection is born out in Goehr's discussion of how Beethoven's "liberation" of music from its "servitude" to poetry (a servitude that, according to Lowinsky, was a triumph) was interpreted oppositely by Richard Wagner and his enemy, the music critic Eduard Hanslick.⁷¹⁴ Wagner, thinking poetry and music could now interact "in a relation ... of independent and unifying partnership,"

wanted to know what it meant for people to speak, sing, or act freely within any practice, how that autonomy determined a freedom of musical expression, and how that conception dictated an appropriate form and content for the works themselves.⁷¹⁵

Hanslick, on the other hand, advocated the separation of music and poetry:

only the "scientifically verifiable" could constitute the specifically musical content of the purely musical work as an autonomous (self-sufficient and self-meaning) product.⁷¹⁶

That there is a *third* way, which is closer to the heart of Beethoven and points to the

⁷¹³ Barthes, *S/Z* 211.

⁷¹⁴ Lydia Goehr, *The Quest for Voice: Music, Politics and the Limits of Philosophy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 20.

⁷¹⁵ Goehr 96-97.

⁷¹⁶ Goehr 95, 96.

enduring relation between music notation and the art of memory, is suggested by Leo Treitler's observation that "Beethoven's *oeuvre* marks a pivot in the history of the use of words *alongside* 'notation' as musical signs [my emphasis]." ⁷¹⁷ Treitler connects Beethoven's annotations, occurring mainly in solo and chamber works and songs, to an "intimate discourse" about the transcendental realm of music—the scale of which (the works and the an/notation), I suggest, is about as un-Wagnerian (or un-Hanslickian) as one could wish.

In Beethoven's intimate discourse the relation between History and Photography ceases to be paradoxical. If and when History ("memory fabricated according to positive formulas") wishes to represent the "pure music" of Pythagorean space, it nonetheless cannot *speak* "pure music"; but it may speak, as does Barthes—as does the "fugitive testimony" of the analogically perfect Photograph—of *praxis*—"from which nothing spills over—no dreams, no imaginary, in short, no 'soul'". ⁷¹⁸

Just as the reading of the modern text ... consists not in receiving, in knowing or in feeling that text, but in writing it anew, in crossing its writing with a fresh inscription, so too reading this Beethoven ⁷¹⁹ is to operate his music, to draw it (it is willing to be drawn) into an unknown praxis. ⁷²⁰

Beethoven is not only a musician with a future, but a historian. In the history of the relation between of word and image, his "expressive markings" are matched only by

⁷¹⁷ Treitler, "Beethoven's 'Expressive' Markings," *Beethoven Forum* 7 (1999): 100. See also the Rob Wegman's discussion of the parallel between defenders of Beethoven and fifteenth-century defenders of polyphony in "'Musical Understanding' in the 15th Century," *Early Music* 30 (2002): 46-66.

⁷¹⁸ Barthes, "*Musica Practica*," in *Image - Music - Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 154.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. *An Opera in Aid of the Reading of History*.

⁷²⁰ Barthes, "*Musica Practica*" 153.

Eastman's "Kodak."

Bloom's Orphic frontispiece points to a division in history. One side is that bequeathed by Beethoven and Eastman; on the other is that which is suggested by Strauss's estimation of Heidegger as "the only man who has an inkling of the dimensions of the problem of a world society" and its demand for "a meeting of the West and of the East." According to Strauss-Heidegger, "The Western thinker can prepare for that meeting by descending to the deepest root of the West."⁷²¹ Strauss indicates where he felt this "deepest root" lay by contrasting Hobbes, for whom passion has "acquired the status of a freed woman" through the intercession of reason, with Rousseau, for whom passion is a rebel—"denying her libertine past" and passing judgment on reason's "turpitude": we are close by the controversies of Galatia.⁷²²

On a scale commensurate with Hobbes's frontispiece—"reason," I have shown, is Strauss's over-determined interpretation of Hobbes's art of memory, as is "passion" with respect to Rousseau. Music notation, however (limiting ourselves to the demonstrations of this dissertation), refutes the idea that the art distinguishes between passion and reason: if it may be said to deny passion's "libertine" past, it nonetheless retains the greater part—the past itself.

On a grander scale—we have reason to believe that Carl Schmitt shared Strauss's estimation of Heidegger as the "only" one with an inkling of the dimensions of the problem of a world society; but we may also say that Schmitt inadvertently demonstrated that these dimensions are no deeper than the Erie Canal. This too, I have argued, passed quite close to Galatia, i.e., Rochester (actually, it *once* ran through it—its modern-day version, the "Barge" Canal, runs some miles to the south).

⁷²¹ Strauss, "Introduction to Heideggerian Existentialism" 43; see also: "Within the West the limitations of rationalism were always seen by the Biblical tradition. ... [T]he Bible is the East within us. ... Not the Bible as Bible but the Bible as Eastern can help us in overcoming Greek rationalism," 43-44.

⁷²² Strauss, *Natural Right* 252.

Bloom's frontispiece of Orpheus teaching the worship of the gods points to the myth of his descent to the deepest root.⁷²³ It is precisely because it stands at the edge of Heidegger's "night of the world" that it may be said to be holding out for a more humble and less austere understanding of what is deepest in it. Henry James apprehended firsthand a similar prospect in the scheme of Hendrik Andersen and, perhaps, because of his own experiences with the New York Edition, was much alarmed, as he wrote on 14 April 1912:

For that, dearest boy, is the dread Delusion to warn you against—what is called in Medical Science *Megalomania* (look it up in the Dictionary;) in French *la folie des grandeurs*, the infatuated & disproportionate love & pursuit of, & attempt at, the Big, the Bigger, the Biggest, the Immensest Immensity, with all sense of proportion, application & possibility madly *submerged*. What am I to say to you, gentle & dearest Hendrik, but these things, cruel as they may seem to you, when you write me (with so little *spelling* even—though that was always your wild grace!) that you are extemporizing a World-City from top to toe, & employing 40 architects to see you through with it?⁷²⁴

Less frequently do we now hear of a "world society" or "world city"; instead it is said: "'Time' has ceased, 'space' has vanished. We now live in a global village."⁷²⁵ This village, its self-contradiction making no pretense of nature, is a movement greater than any previous "crisis" of modern natural right. On the other hand, by so entirely forsaking

⁷²³ Cf. the idea of Adam of Fulda (c. 1490) that music is philosophy because it is a meditation on death, discussed in Wegman, "Musical Understanding."

⁷²⁴ James, *Dearly Beloved* 72.

⁷²⁵ Marshall McLuhan and Q. Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage* (New York: Bantam, 1967), 63.

nature, it leaves nature's profundity intact; intact but also of the past. It is this that renders bearable for me the fact that, despite all precautions, the myth has been fulfilled—in trying to rewrite a history of Orpheus, he has been torn limb from limb, each claimed by a different specialty, a different science (geography, Biblical criticism, mythology, Rosicrucianism, music notation, optics, political philosophy, set theory, etc.)—for the ideal of the science of all sciences, the art of all the arts, the total work (*opus*) of art, is the *opera* (plural), the work—*praxis*—itself.

Appendix I: Program of the Frontispiece

Blue Orpheus: Hymns and Lullabies

Disc One

Part I

Tragic Blue (S. 2nd St.)

The Last of the Angels

Part II

Sail, Baby, Sail

The Ghost of Manhattan

*

Sweet Tristesse (Wood Fungus)

Anthony and Cleopatra

You Drift Away

*

The Well of Loveliness

The Consolation of Philosophy

Pentheus

The Forest Through the Trees

*

Disc Two

Ballad of the Lonely Hunter

Ode to Henry James

Song for Me

*

A Cold Wind (Blows Through My Heart)

We Are All of Us Losers

The Remains of the Day

Part III

I Rode the F Train

Three Words

*

Disc Three

Fulfill My Heart

Eye Blue Skies

Who'd Believe How Happy We Were?

Kreuzberg Sonata

Remembrance of Things Past

Swann Lake

*

The Shadow Line

Nightingale Waltz

Out of the Blue

*

Sunset Boulevard

'Round the World a Year Has Flown

*

Paradiso

Part IV

In Ancient Gardens

On Magic Mountain

Appendix II: Alexander Jackson Davis's Linwood Diaries⁷²⁶

1841

Jan Design for a pointed Villa on Hudson river
for J. B. James. Esq.
Set for altering old house, afterwards abandoned \$25.⁷²⁷
No. 1 Basement plan. No. 2 Principal floor plan
No. 3 2 story plan " 4 front
5. E. end 6. Attic plan
25 7. Section and specifications of 3 sheets \$30.00
Estimate.... 10 to 11.000 dollars
\$75.00*⁷²⁸

Feb 27 Shading Design front for J.B. James

July 4
Exhibited at Nat. Academy. May to July 1841
III [J.B. James' Villa Mr. D.M. Fox's Villa and
Villa with semicircular portico, on dark ground.

July 25 Rode to Rhinebeck with Mr. D and Miss Isabella Donaldson to hear
promised to visit them
Mr. Kirk Preach. Met Mr. & Mrs. J.B. James,⁷²⁹ at church ^ (very hot.)

Aug 17 Had interview with Mrs. Vanderburgh⁷³⁰ about cottage
" 18 Designing a cottage for Mrs. V \$30.00⁷³¹
" 19 {Sent letter to Dr Vanderburgh Rhinebec Dutch Co. NY (with specification)
care of John B. James Esq

11

Oct. ~~13~~ Wednesday 6 AM joined Mrs. & Dr Vanderburgh at breakfast. 6 1/2 cab to
steamboat "Troy" with Mrs. V. to Newburgh Met on board
the Warren family, going home to Troy. Also met Mr. Brinkerhoff
Ar. at Newburgh 11-12, walked with Mrs. V. to Downings.⁷³² D[owning]
not at home. remained there until 2; then to Mr. Harbroosher's house

⁷²⁶ Transcribed from Davis's Day Book at the New York Public Library. Alexander Jackson Davis papers; Series: I. Alexander Jackson Davis Materials, 1821-1890. For discussion see chapter three, part I, section 1: "The Feudal Grandeur of Linwood."

⁷²⁷ Presumably, these are the Greek Revival plans that were abandoned in favor of a completely new structure.

⁷²⁸ Gothic Revival.

⁷²⁹ Born Mary Helen Vanderburgh (1815-46).

⁷³⁰ Mother of Mary Helen Vanderburgh.

⁷³¹ Gothic Revival.

⁷³² Most likely this is Davis's business partner Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-52), influential landscape gardener, editor, author.

- asked to US [?] Hotel to dinner; 5 [o'clock] saw Mrs. V on board boat to NY and went back to Downings. The weather being cold and wet was kept in doors, agreeably occupied in designing furniture and sketching with Mr & Mrs Downing
- Saturday 16 12' o'clock went with [two letters, illegible] boat to Rhinebeck, and had a fine walk in woods to Mr. John B James's 3 miles to dinner there met 2 Miss Gastons. Miss Temple and Miss James; the 2 last from Albany.⁷³³
- Oct 17 Sunday rode to church with Mrs. James & master Johnny⁷³⁴ cold windy day remained in doors (library) most of day. [illegible] with [illegible] While at Mrs James, rose at or before 7; and sat down to reading in library. Breakfasted at 8 1/2 then usually a short walk in which the ladies joined party, viewing the premises Dr. Vanderburgh's site to cottage. Dined at 3-4. walk in garden and planning with Mrs. James;  laying out grounds and planning green houses.
- 21 Tuesday, the Temple & James left for Albany. Wednesday the Gastons left for B. Thursday morn 9-10 Rode with Mr. James to Warwick's to view house & grounds. 1-2 Mr. Donaldson⁷³⁵ W.m Gaston and daughter & niece came to visit Mr. J's—dined Mr. D James Mrs. J Js. walked to site Party from Blithewood returned in evening.

[The activities of 21 October are elaborated in a separate entry titled "Diary at Linwood":]

Thursday. Oct. 1841. Rose at half past six—toilet to seven; descended to library; wrote letter to P.R.P.⁷³⁶ —somewhat annoyed by smoke of fire place, and opening of doors by master Johnny: the weather being cold and windy, sky portentous with cloud, with only an occasional gleam of sun. Sat down with the works of Farquhar, Vanburgh & Congreve, reading their biography. 8 A.M. Mr. & Mrs. J. appeared; breakfasted at 8 1/2; then went out to walk in garden with Mr. J. While surveying the new buildings for green house, Mrs. J. joined us, and we proceeded to lay out the flower garden walks according to a

⁷³³ This dinner at Linwood reflects the marriage, in 1839, of James's aunt, Catherine James, to Robert Emmet Temple. One of their orphaned daughters was Minny Temple, whose death is the subject of the last words of *Notes of a Son and Brother*: "We felt it together as the end of our youth"; in James, *Autobiography* 544.

⁷³⁴ John Vanderburgh James, a.k.a. "J. J. the younger" (1835-58).

⁷³⁵ Between 1836-and 1851 Davis made many improvements to Blithewood, the Robert Donaldson estate; see Peck 15.

⁷³⁶ Phillip R. Paulding (?-1864), for whom Davis designed Knoll (1838-42), known today as Lyndhurst; in Tarrytown, New York; see Peck 81.

previous plan. For this purpose we used straw to mark the lines, curves and connecions. At 10 Mr. J. and myself took a drive to Warwick's. The weather continued threatening, and we found our great coats conformable. Drove round W. without alighting, and were glad to get back home to the fire, and Mrs. J. Chatted in drawing room and sketched gothic easy chairs for Mrs. J. and talked about furniture. Speculated on the anticipated arrival from Blithewood. At 1 Judge Gaston, daughter Eliza, and niece with Robt. Donaldson, Esq. arrived from B. to dinner.—

Before dinner a carriage load of us sallied forth to view the site for the Vanderburgh cottage. Mr. Donaldson agreed with me as to a location 150 ft. south of and on a line parallel with from of barn. This spot we considered to be the most eligible for space around, convenience of approach, and landscape views of wood, water, and distant mountains. Returned to Linwood and dined at 3 1/2. Mrs. J. gave us a handsome dinner. At table I was mostly a listener to the Judge and James, edging in a word now and then. The talk was of persons and things of a local [sic] kind, in which I could feel no interest, and the ladies were on the other side of the table—across which I never talk. We had four courses in two stages, of dinner and dessert, with variety of wines. I ate sparingly, finding the cooking too rich to agree with my squeamish stomach, used to simple food. I took ala mode beef, when I should have taken fricaseed chicken. After dinner, sat a while in drawing room with the ladies. There we took coffee, viewed cameos. Etc. 4 1/2 the party left, and Mrs. John James & myself tea'd at 7, passed the evening in agreeable conversation, and reading Scott and Shakespeare Retired to bed in good humor at 11.

[The original diary continues:]

- 22 Friday Mr. & Mrs. James, Johnny & myself went to Mr. Donaldsons. I remained Mr. J. Js returning home. Before dinner D, Gaston; James. & myself walked grounds met on island Mrs. Barton of Montgomery Place...⁷³⁷
- Oct 25 While at Mr James's read lives of Farquhar, Vanbrugh and Congreve, with part their comedies. and dipped into several other works. Mr. James had a respectable library.

⁷³⁷ Coralie Barton was the daughter of Mrs. Edward Livingston, for whom Davis designed an open-sided pavilion at Montgomery Place, Anandale-on-Hudson, New York, in 1843-44; Peck 65.

1842

- June 22 With Mrs. L to Rhinebeck, and left her for Mary Garrettson.⁷³⁸ Dr. Vanderburgh — At. Mrs. L & met Rev. Mr. Ligh of Monrovia, Africa.
Mrs. L. and 3 children. Mr. James's. Saturday 25 left in Troy St.
for Hudson Berkshire Railroad for Westlhask [sic] lodge.
- May 19 Mr. J.B. James called and paid 78.00 due⁷³⁹

⁷³⁸ In 1842 Davis designed a schoolhouse for Mary Garrettson in Rhinebeck; see Peck 110.

⁷³⁹ This Diary points mainly to the “James” side of the family—but some involvement from the “Walsh” side may be indicated later by the entry of 28 May 1845. Accompanying a sketch is the following: “Design. Dwelling for Mrs. Wm Walsh, Albany in Grecian style.” Is this the William Walsh who was the first cousin of Henry’s mother?

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