Early Modern Protestant Listicles: God's 'Done' and George Herbert's 'To Do' Lists

Abstract

Protestant devotional writing from the turn of the seventeenth century uses the list to appeal to the reason, the emotions, and the will. Though as common a device as the dialogue, meditation, catechism, or homily, the list mostly goes unnoticed because of its humble pragmatism. This article looks first at the affordances of the list per se, then at how the period's devotional writing characteristically entices readers with lists to argue, meditate, and act. Finally, the article argues that George Herbert's *The Temple* (1633) uses the list to bring out the opportunities and comedy in the solifidian paradox.

Word count: 98

Article

The dialogue, the catechism, and the sermon have been recognized as characteristic Protestant genres, but not the list. They are seen as dramatic and interactive; it is not. Yet this modest and transparent device structures much religious discourse in the period, including George Herbert's poems. It is a triumph of persuasion disguised as administration. This article looks at the affordances of the list, its uses in early modern devotional writing, and at how it structures Herbert's lyrics.

1. <u>Thinking with Lists</u>

The two principal revolutions in ways to store knowledge and give access to it – a move from manuscript to print, and thence to digital media – have inspired influential work on second-order thinking. This acknowledges that cognition is not solely brain-bound, but occurs as a cooperation between brain, body, and environment (the latter category including technologies such as writing).

Historians of print study lists as devices designed to ensure readers follow a text's arguments closely, or, alternatively, to let them use its content in ways not anticipated by the author. In the first case, research has followed Walter J. Ong's influential thesis that, with the wide-spread increase in print literacy of the sixteenth century, writing restructured consciousness. Ong argues that an oral culture's tendency to aid memory with aggregative patterns gave way to a print culture in which space can be used to think analytically. He points to the popularity of advice by the dialectician Peter Ramus to approach a subject by dichotomizing it, then dividing each result, again and again, until its logic or facts are reduced to their most basic elements. Ramus advocated using branch diagrams to do so, producing class logic in space, where the first stage of rhetoric, invention, became part of the second stage, arrangement.[1] Likewise, in popular technical writing of the period, about skills ranging from book-keeping to the care of horses, the precise order and activities of processes are recorded in lists that use concrete nouns in a subject-verb-object syntax. Page formatting is also used to preserve the visual and oral elements of step-by-step, face-to-face instruction, as Elizabeth Tebeaux has shown.[2]

Such listing is not only an intellectual or verbal activity, it is an embodied one. Early modern readers were skilled at interpreting words whose meaning was co-created by the

medium (as in the case of shape poetry, graphic dance, and emblems). Early modern printers were equally skilled in anchoring readers' eyes, and hence attention, toward particular interpretations by using the authority of a list. The impression that the device is giving essential information is in part created by how its layout provides a narrative structure: valued units are placed high and to the left of the page, blank space surrounds words to privilege them, non-alpha-numeric symbols point up an area, font distinguishes words from other parts of the page (for instance, by typeface, size, or depth of ink), and so on.[3] This is the list as enforcer of meaning, as with today's use of bullet points.

Yet the early modern list could also be made to work in the opposite direction, to yield material which could be used independently of its complier's aim. Ann Blair, Neil Rhodes, and Jonathan Sawday have traced the efflorescence of methods to manage information in response to the burgeoning of print. Sub-headings, branch diagrams, marginal or footnoted citations and summaries, contents pages or tables, indices, and running heads developed to store, sort, select, and summarise material.[4] Though all these devices are presented as comprehensive lists, they also allow readers to find their own ways to repurpose material by skipping and recombining units. This is the list as anthology, where ideas are made into things that can be manipulated spatially to produce new ideas, like today's mind maps.

The digital revolution has clarified a politics behind the instinct to classify, list, and rank. The human brain looks for ways to reduce the entropy it perceives in a collection of disparate items by finding ways to arrange these, either discerning or imposing a pattern.[5] Lists make the inchoate graspable - definite, ordered, inclusive, and transparent - so can deal with situations whose essence or boundaries are unclear.[6] They provide purity frameworks.[7]

But there can be less neutral uses of the list, exacerbated when its reach can be extended so enormously by digital technologies. Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star analyse how unaware users of lists are of the social and moral order sustained by categories resulting from now-forgotten political choices. Such lists record what was previously thought significant in a flow of tasks, actions, and roles. Their divisions are ubiquitous and interwoven into other systems, both material and conceptual, so it usually takes a cumbersome bureaucratic effort and considerable institutional or social authority to recognize the insufficiency of old classifications and replace them with new ones, or to reclassify items whose group identity has already been assigned, or to put usefulness above precision in that classification.[8] Per Ledin and David Machin show how listing may be used to turn complex processes and social relations into abstracts, that can be fragmented and manipulated without context by the unscrupulous. Bullet-pointed and numbered lists and tables present what is said to beas being logical, factually correct, properly ordered, and complete, giving a powerful tool to legitimise content. The form of the list suggests that it presents fundamental, essentially technical, details of a particular social practice, hiding any bias in the way it categorises, includes, omits, and ranks components.[9]

However, a more benign, visible, and shared digital form has also recently come to the fore: the listicle, a portmanteau genre in which each item on a list has appended to it a comment or short article. The listicle's layout facilitates an F-shaped reading process: first the header words (down the list), then across, to those comments not evident from the headers, so readers are free to engage or disengage at will, depending on the depth of detail they want. Bram Vijgen, studying listicles on Buzzfeed, thinks the form's popularity lies in being easily recognised, dealing with content in simple units, short enough to be read rapidly, and readily shareable. The latter is particularly important: the listicle is formatted and expressed to be remembered and amended by its next user. Titles are focused on a single topic and stated

concisely (usually in around nine words), giving the impression that its material will be easy to master. They often include the number of items in the listicle (generally between five and twenty-five), helping the reader to assess the time it would take to read, and so decide if it is worth doing so. The most prominent nouns in titles of listicles on Buzzfeed ('things', 'reasons', 'signs', and 'ways') indicate readers will get facts; the most prominent adjectives ('best', 'worst, 'awesome', and 'greatest') advertise that these will be the essence of a topic.[10]

This, at least, would be the ideal listicle, whose format makes clear an underlying concept that brings together apparently diverse examples, allowing the collection to be developed further by readers. Even when readers do not add new material, the form encourages them to be active in hunting down and across, perhaps clicking through to other pages. However, there is a downside as this delta spreads: content may be overlooked in the pleasure of following up the branches. Surfing through units or pages may be more immediately rewarding than pausing to interrogate their content, as psychologists investigating our internet use have found.[11]

Both print and digital revolutions gave rise to new ways of thinking about lists: as authoritative (forming users' opinions and actions), and the converse, as open-ended (encouraging users to share, apply, and amend their content). The following section argues that Protestant writers - astute psychologists - used both qualities of the list to hook their readers.

2. <u>Protestant Lists to Reason with, to Delight, and to Move</u>

To give a sense of how ubiquitous the list is in Protestant religious writing, this section draws on twenty-two texts which between them were, according to the English Short-Title

Catalogue, issued nearly 200 times between 1590 and 1639 (a startling quantity, given most texts were published only once). All bar three of the sample are in Ian Green's catalogue of religious 'steady sellers': books printed at least five times over a generation (thirty years).[12] Such characteristic book titles as 'marks, 'rules', 'directions', 'collection', 'catalogue', and 'steps' imply that the reader will meet division and order within. The pious requirement to search one's heart diligently, precisely, and comprehensively makes the list an obvious finding aid for all shades of Protestantism. There is no particular sectarian preference in who commonly used lists; some authors cited in this section are conformists, some reformers. Although parodied by Ben Jonson (in such precisionist figures as Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, dividing 'the state of the question' about eating 'pig' at a fair), an establishment figure like the Dean of St. Paul's, John Donne, likewise divided the issues raised by his illness into twenty-three groups of three repeating structures (meditation, expostulation, and prayer). Nor was list-making a brief fashion: a century later, Robinson Crusoe is reassured of God's presence in his situation by drawing up 'the State of my Affairs in Writing... to deliver my Thoughts from daily poring upon them… the Comforts I enjoy'd, against the Miseries I suffer'd'.[13]

The devotional texts use three sorts of list: the rational, the affective, and the motivational.

The first type of catalogue intends to inform its readers by explicating the principal biblical or theological positions on a topic, then concluding on their consequences. For instance, Robert Bolton, rector of Broughton, Northamptonshire, analyses the opening of psalm one (about the qualities of the elect man) as though the psalm is a list:

This happie man is here described unto us by many arguments.

1. First, are laid downe his markes and properties; negative, and affirmative, in the first two verses.

2. Secondly, his happinesse is lively set out by a similitude, in the third verse… The negative properties in the first verse are three… amplified with a threefold gradation in the persons, actions, and objects of the actions… The second verse containing his imploiment in pietie, seemeth to answer in opposition, the three negatives, with three affirmatives.[14]

By cataloguing the argumentation as well as the content of each part of the psalm, Bolton points out that no individual unit is aimless: each segment sets out to assert, oppose, exemplify, and so on. Bolton wants his readers to think with (not merely about) the psalm's list. The influential theologian William Ames, professor at the University of Franeker, gives his lists in catechetical form when reasoning about the conscience:

Quest. What is to bee done when the conscience is scrupulous?

Answ. For the understanding of this question, wee must consider;

1. That a Scruple is a feare of the minde…

2. Every feare is not properly a Scruple…

These things being set downe, it is answered to the question. 1. (God being instantly called unto for grace) one must… remoove these scruples… [by] reason… 2. It helpeth much (if it may be conveniently) that the thinking upon those things be shunned, from which scruples may rise.[15]

Such lists characteristically use virtuoso printing techniques to facilitate an F-shaped reading, pulling the attention first to the top left of the page, then to the drop-down units of the list, and finally to the explication of each point, with sub-headings, indents, missed lines, numbering, marginalia, colons and dashes before sub-units, and variable types and sizes of

font.[16] This sort of layout discourages readers from losing themselves in a flow of words. Instead, they are to navigate alertly down and across the places of the argument, in the sequence intended by the author. To reorder another person's list can threaten their underlying thesis, in Dudley Digges's opinion: 'now Sir, imagine you were the Reader to bee satisfied, and you shall see, how while the froth of his [the opponent's] Meander floud and such like following fuming stuffe evaporates it selfe… I will extract all his Objections, which now like folded sheepe, or as raw Souldiers in a rout, stand faces everie way, but I will put them in aray, in order Sir, and yet defeat them, fairely as I goe'.[17]

When lists are nested, one within another, readers are expected to remember the structure of sub-divisions, so they can move up and down through the layers of argumentation. For instance, discussing how to approach the eucharist, the bestselling devotional manual by Lewis Bayly, the Bishop of Bangor, which went through forty-four editions before 1639, asks its readers to keep in mind a five-layer structure. The discussion starts with three divisions relating to time (preparation for communion, its reception, and after), divides the first of these into three (one of which is the value of the sacrament), divides this one into three (one of which is the parts of the sacrament), divides this one into three (one of which is heavenly grace), and, finally, divides this one into two.[18] Then it goes back up to the final division to take the second line of argument. Then it climbs back to the penultimate division, to take the second of the three parts, and so on.

The reader has to explore the delta of these listicles, and it is hard not to conclude that some of the mental energy expended in reading such texts was absorbed in virtuoso mind-mapping of their terrain. The 1593 edition of Henry Peacham's rhetorical manual (taking most of its examples from the bible) argues that the scheme of numbering then defining parts of a discussion, eutrepismus, is 'profitable and pleasant' because it lets an author include

large amounts of varied material in an orderly way. However, Peacham also offers a 'caution': 'it is verie behovefull to take heed that when the parts be numbred in generall, they be not forgotten in the particular prosecution: as he that promised to expound the twelve articles of the Creed and after could remember but nine'. Peacham offers similar cautions about making the handling of a subject 'absurd' by dividing it too often, when he covers partition and enumeration.[19] Herbert's pastoral manual, *A Priest to the Temple*, criticises those preachers who so crumble a bible verse into parts that its main points cannot be discerned, or plainly applied to the business of living a godly life.[20]

Listeners valued numbering when trying to follow complex material: the link between Protestantism and literacy has a parallel in numeracy, in the sense of producing people who habitually used numbering to think about faith. The Geneva Bible (1560) was the first to divide its chapters into numbered verses (as 'most profitable for memorie'), giving the text the appearance of a numbered list.[21] As Arnold Hunt has argued, note-taking at sermons encouraged the ability to grasp the structure of a discourse by visualising it as though laid out sequentially on page.[22] Mid-seventeenth century Oxford students, noting down sermons delivered at the university church, used numbered lists to fix structures in their minds, even retaining a unit's number when they could not gather or remember its content. For instance, two individual students at the same sermon at Oxford leaned heavily on numbers when trying to capture what was said:

Dr Wilkins of Wadham

Text in ye 2 Tit. 10 ve. that they may adorn ye gospell of our Saviour

in all things. in ye ep 3 parts

1 about ye ordaining of bishops.

2 concerning ye particular duties of men in their

3 ye duties of [deleted: "co*m*on"] xtians in ge*n*rall.

I have pitchd upon a text wch is rould under ye 2d dutie.

1 wt tis to adorne,

2 wt

3 wt by do

1 to adorne. is to set a thing of wch is [deleted 'is']

1 removing blemishes, they myt avoyd bad actions.

2 by addition of adornment.

Dr. Wilkins

Tit. 2.10.

That ye may adorne ye doc: of Gd our Saviour in all things.

St Paul having by his preaching ld a found of Xian faith in Crete he reputes Tit: to be

his dputy & to yt end writes this epistle to him.

1. concerning episcopacy

2. touching ye dutyes of family

3. touching all dutyes of all sorts of people.

The text is in ye 2nd pt: wr he exhorting all sorts degrees & condicons of men speaks

here to servants. to be subject to yr masters.

There are but 3 terms in ye text yt seem to need explication

1. Adorne. wch sig: to set a thing off to the best show. yt it may appear lovely.

1. a removall of blemishes

2. and a supaddition of ornaments.[23]

Learning to listen and learning to list were, for both students, skills to be acquired hand-in-hand. The habit continued when reading: manuscript marginalia on printed texts sometimes repeat the latter's numbers, not just their logical divisions and subheadings. For instance, in

the Huntington Library copy of William Perkins's best-selling discussion of the marks of

salvation, manuscript notes on the contrasting ways in which the reprobate and the elect hear

the word of God retain Perkins's figures: '8 speciall notes how ye elect receive ye word of

god', 'two thinges to be observed of a christian', 'Ye first thinge', 'Ye second thing'.[24]

Lists, however, are not merely instruments to think with, they are also devices to

arouse or control feelings. The second type of list, the meditative one, is antithetical to the

closed list of reasons; the meditative list, in the meditative list, a whose reader can linger on -

or skip - any of its items, according to the zeal or boredom encouraged by each. Each entry is

complete in itself, so need not be read in a particular order, or even at all. Readers are thus

encouraged to lose themselves in the flow of units in the catalogue, or to wander from them

into other topics which are pricking their hearts to turn to God. Unlike the argumentative

texts, the printing style of meditation lists is generally unobtrusive, with no visual prompts to

march a reader's thoughts through a series of regimented moves. For instance, John

Andrewes, one-time minister of Berwick Basset, Wiltshire, praises the elect man in a

contrasting manner to Bolton: 'hee rejoyceth in forgiving them that hurt him; and loveth them

that hate him; and rendreth good for evill; he dispiseth none, but loveth all, and is not rash in

words, but reasonable, not hasty but seasonable, not grievous, but gracious, not provoking,

but appeasing, not offensive, but to good purpose: Sober in censuring, faithfull in answering,

milde in reprooving, carefull in defending'.[25]

Such litanies are based on what Umberto Eco calls 'a poetics of the "etcetera"' rather

than completeness, their form suggesting the many things not (yet) included on them.[26] There

is no beginning or end to the goodness of God, so itemisation could flow on endlessly,

readers occasionally dipping into for what appeals to them most. When Nicholas Breton, a

popular poet and devotional writer, surveys the manifold signs of God's care for creation, he

runs to one creature a line for around eighty stanzas. Readers could choose to linger on how God humbles the proud:

> The Lyon first is fearefull of the Bee,
>
> The Elephant doth dread the little mouse,
>
> A crowing Cocke the Dragon may not see,
>
> The stoutest Eagle subject to the louse.

Or they could reflect on how God gives all creatures a home:

> Within the depth the fish their holes doe keepe,
>
> And in the rocks the Conny makes his house,
>
> Into the earth the crawling wormes doe creepe,
>
> And hollowe rocks are harbour for the mouse.[27]

Each unit in such lists has the potential to generate devotion, but their compilers do not insist that it be felt at every step. These lists emphasize helpless awe at God's sublimity, rather than human efforts to understand it. They are structured by sound, not numeration or hypotaxis: parallels in schemes or syntax suggest thematic ties between apparently heterodox items. Andrewes, for instance, uses antithesis (love/hate, good/evil, none/all), isocolon (not/but; adjective-verb; the elision of 'he'), and homeoteleuton ('censuring… answering… reproving… defending'). Breton repeats or reverses the same syntactical pattern of subject-verb-object.

The third type of list, the prompt to action, draws out the human consequences of catalogues that argue or praise, in ensuring the reader acts on what these have is endorsedpresented. This deliberative rhetoric gets readers to apply the text to their lives. For instance, Bolton's listicle on how to recognise a besetting sin uses anaphora and numbered units, after a sub-heading, to cue readers to tick off each item.

> Thou mayst discover it by such markes as these:

1. It is that, which thy truest friends, thine own conscience, and the finger of God in the Ministerie, many times finds out…

2. It is that, which if it breake out into act…

3. That which thou are lothest to leave…[28]

Lists of marks, promises, and signs characteristically urge readers to treat them not as descriptions but as 'to do' notes. Stephen Denison, the curate of St Katharine Cree, London, in a sermon preached at the funeral of the godly wife, Elizabeth Juxon, describes how she habitually examined herself, in writing, for marks of salvation. He summarises her list of such signs (noting each item in 'small letters for distinction'), urging his readers to take it 'not as a bare report or commendation of the partie deceased; but duly observe every marke… and… examine whether thou findest these signes in thy selfe or no'.[29] Such lists often also appear in self-scrutiny before communion, usually organised around the ten commandments or the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer. The Northampton Puritan preacher, John Dod, reduces all the sins a reader could possibly commit into eighteen leaves of numbered heads. For instance, those against the first commandment are:

1. Aetheisme, which is, when men either thinke there is no God, or live as if there were no God.

2. Idolatry: which is, the having of a false god.

3. Ignorance…[30]

A 'no' to any of these header words lets one move on down the list; a 'yes' requires a pause to text the appended definition against one's conscience. The 1629 edition of Antony Fawkner's collection of 104 (numbered) promises made by God to his elect is organised by a double layer of repetition ('The IV. Legacy / If thou despaire', 'When thou… When thou... When thou', 'The V. Legacy / If thou…'). The 1631 edition helps readers still further by providing a concluding 'Table for the right and ready finding out of any Promise in this

Booke, for the comfortable supplie of present necessitie: the number showes the page, where the Promise (wee would have) is to bee found' (an index ordered in the same way: 'If wee… / If thou… / When thou').[31] A dialogue about the godly life, by the Somerset preacher Richard Bernard, compiles numbered lists of ways to sanctify each moment of the day: six 'to dos' while dressing, four while washing, five while brushing one's clothes, four when glancing at a mirror before leaving the bedchamber, and so on.[32] The section on practical divinity in a popular anthology of writings by Richard Rogers, William Perkins, Richard Greenham, Miles Mosse, and George Webbe (the best of the best) combines alphabetized and numbered double-layered subsections in laying out its advice:

A Threefold Alphabet of rules concerning CHRISTIAN practise.

A

1   Awake with GOD in the morning, and before all things give him your first fruits and calves of your lips, 1. in Confession of sinnes: 2. Petition of necessaries for body and soule. 3 Thankefulnesse for mercies receiued, especially your late preservation, rest, and protection of you and yours.

2   Account it not enough that your selfe serve GOD, unlesse you see all in your charge doe the same.

3   Arme your selfe against whatsoeuer the day may bring forth…

B

1   Beware of occasions of sinne, and wisely inure your selfe in subduing the least, that at length the greater may be foiled…[33]

The device of the list does not appear in Ian Green's discussion of genres and sub-genres in religious writing, but certain such genres will tend toward one of the three types of list, depending on whether they are interested in popular theology, comfortable words, or

godly directions (in other words, whether they want to teach, delight, or move their readers). However, since some authors want to do all three (often sequentially), they cycle between, or combine, the different forms of list. Bayly, for instance, states the theology of the attributes of the divine essence (concisely, in sub-sectioned numbered lists), provides meditations on the 'seaven sanctified thoughts, and mournfull sighes of a sicke man' (in amplified lists of feelings about, and prayers on, death), and gives 'Rules to be observed in singing of Psalmes' (in short lists, using imperative verbs: '2. Remember to sing David's psalms with David's spirit… 2. As you sing, uncover your heads').[34] Clement Cotton's catalogue of the twenty-three terrors of a sinful heart describes each individually and emotionally, but then rebuts it with a reasoned list based on the phrase 'None but Christ':

> 1   Fall.
>
> *I am fallen in Adam, I am falne, I am fallen, Oh! Who shall raise mee?*
>
> None but Christ, who as hee is set for thy uprising, Lke 2.34. so is hee perfectly able to keep thee, that thou fall not againe, from thy own stedfastnesse, Jud. 24.
>
> 2   Guilt.
>
> *By my fall I have….*

Cotton concludes by showing, in intermittent soliloquy, how this accumulated evidence finally changes the will of the speaker to believe himself saved:

> here the afflicted began a little to pause: and having received much refreshing, and good satisfaction from those several answers which a good conscience hitherto framed to his severall demands and doubtings: ceased from further objecting: and began thus to be a little cheared and revived.
>
> > Well then, I finde and feele, to my no litle joy, and contentment, that there is None indeed but Christ…

And then, after some further pantings, and breathings (faith having put, as it were, a new life into him) he brake foorth into this passion, of admiration and thankfulnesse.

And it is true indeed, O thou lover of men![35]

Cotton's list is an emotion-script to lead his reader from one state of grace to another, through demonstrative, then judicial, to deliberative lists.

The pre-eminent maker of devotional lists was Nicholas Byfield, vicar of Isleworth, Middlesex, with bestsellers on the infallible signs of a blessed man (with a companion volume on the indications of an evil man), rules for reading scripture ('Places that in reading I found sensible comfort in. / Places that in the reading of them I found did rebuke corruption in my nature or practise /… Miscellanea or places I would faine remember but know not to what head to referre them'), and a collection of biblical verses on when and how to be assured that one is saved ('Seven principles concerning Gods providence… -/ Eleven things admirable in Gods providence… / Foure sorts of men reproved… / Eight uses for instruction').[36] Numeration helps ensure the reader is not overwhelmed, in a fearful situation:

First, it is proved by eight apparant Arguments, that [no fear of death] may bee attained to…

Secondly, it is shewed by fifteene considerations, how shamefull… it is for a Christian to bee afraid to die…

Thirdly, the way how this feare may be removed, is showed…

Two ways of Cure…

Seventeen Priviledges of a Christian in death…

Eight aggravations of Gods corrections in this life…

Eight apparant miseries from the world…

Fifteen manifest defects and blemishes…[37]

Byfield's contents pages mix the styles of technical catalogue and self-help manual, promoting an interactive reading with section titles that (like his preface) tell readers what intellectual or emotional movement will result from each unit being applied to their own circumstances (prepared, ruled, persuaded, relieved):

The persons whom those Treatises concerne, pag. 11. 12

Incouragement to the study of those things, p. 13. to 18

Generall directions by way of preparation, p. 18. to 22…

The rules that shew distinctly what men must doe about their sins. p. 22 to 59

Motiues to perswade to the care of these rules. pag. 23. 24

Three rules of preparation. pag. 24. 25. 26

Foure things deliuer vs from all sinnes past. p. 27

About the gathering of the Catalogue of sins. p. 27. to 35.[38]

Byfield keeps repeating that his aim is make things clear, so that readers can take action. It might, he thinks, be more intellectually profitable to read the original authorities behind his treatises, but his work provides the most 'distinct digesting' of the principal points in salvation; thus 'things are made more plaine, and so more easy'. In searching the conscience, his lists aim to take the strain off the penitent's memory: 'look upon the Catalogue… so thou maist observe, what faults thou couldst not finde, or remember by thy private examination, and withall see in what phrase or order to digest thy sins'. Byfield urges a pragmatic approach in working down the list: 'cheerefully endure this trial of thy selfe, and take heed thou do it not cursorily, but take time enough, and so thou maist, if thou wilt onely take one of the Chapters, or two of them, as they lye in the Catalogue, and no more in a day'. If readers feel their sins be 'innumerable, and so cannot be gathered into a Catalogue', then they are simply to tick them off under one of his general headings (Byfield thinks that precision should not overwhelm substance).[39] When the best is not made the enemy of the

good, his reader is free to ignore any 'perplexities of an unquiet hart'. Thus, he advises, in going through the list be 'earnest as thou canst, and when that is done, goe cheerfully about the works of thy calling. Hang not downe thy head like a bulrush'. Moreover, readers can also compile their own 'distinct catalogue of promises' by God to hear the repentant, as 'treasure' to alleviate future anxiety. Giving a few examples of such comfortable assurances, Byfield recommends that his readers make 'a full Catalogue, and write out the words verbatim, & learne them without book'.[40]

Lists thus provide an exoskeleton around the flagging will. A bureaucratic approach to forming a saved self – self-regulation by authoritative listing – tries to make salvation thinkable and actionable, to cope with a situation in which readers could feel overwhelmed and inadequate. Occluding the awe-inspiring facts of *sola fide* and predestination, such lists give something, at least, that could be ticked off, even if the last item on the list would be the 'etcetera' of waiting for God's grace to complete the actions to make them valid. It is, as Eva von Contzen says, 'remarkable that such a simple formal element [as the list] can elicit… feelings of control and security (the world is in order) or, on the contrary, insecurity and fear (of that which we cannot grasp, in size and number)'.[41] It is less remarkable that commentators on religious writing have not noticed this powerful but ubiquitous device: the list has been hidden in full sight as a result of looking as if it serves, not creates, powerful attitudes to its content.

George Herbert's Lists of Emotion, Reasoning, and Action

Critical approaches to Herbert often focus on his sociable qualities (as a courtier, a minister, or a musician) or his meditative moments (of agony, content, or ecstasy). Herbert

the internal bureaucrat, organising into lists his feelings, thoughts, and proposals for action, is about to make his first appearance.

In his pastoral manual, *A Priest to the Temple*, Herbert talks about the minister's duty to be versed in recent works of divinity; it is likely, therefore, that he would have read similar works to the devotional steady sellers appearing in Green's catalogue.[42] Critics have recognised Herbert's use of contemporary religious genres (particularly catechisms and case casuistry), but not noticed his purposeful use of lists as an expression of his wider commitment to an authoritative, plain, and practical style in his ministry.[43] Herbert sees the self as responsive to external environmental prompts, including how godly advice is laid out on a page.

Herbert's friend and spiritual companion, Nicholas Ferrar, was confident that the written word, human as well as divine, could act in this way. At Little Gidding, Ferrar drew up lists of 'Advises in a written Book' to cover how the community was to behave in most situations, from running its pharmacy, to praying overnight, to relaxing with pastimes. Collections of godly sayings to guide its conduct were pinned up on all the walls (even the dining room had blank tablets, to be inscribed with useful points as they came into the minds of the family and their visitors). Ferrar found no situation too personal or sensitive not to benefit from having its attributes catalogued for consideration. When he rebuked his sister-in-law for her marital shortcomings, he drew up a written table of pertinent bible verses, read it out loud to her, and then offered it her to take away to think about (that she stormed out instead was seen as yet another fault!)[44]

The most well-known of the pious activities at Little Gidding was the production of gospel 'Harmonies', where printed bibles were cut up and their elements (in what the compilers called the 'Composition') reorganised into a continuous prose list of the events in each

chapter of Christ's life. Adam Smyth argues that, as a result of the purposeful reading habits of the period, texts were seen as an assemblage of pieces, so individual readers had no compunction over disassembling these and rearranging them into new configurations more useful for themselves. Herbert owned one such 'Harmony'.[45] So it is unsurprising that Herbert uses the list as a technology of thinking, part of what Andy Clark and David Chalmers have called 'the extended mind', to pin out his feelings, ideas, and resolutions.[46] In his poems, all three types of list appear: those to delight, to teach, and to move readers into action.

Starting with the meditative list form: parallels between lists in secular love poems and Herbert's open-ended lists of praise (such as 'Prayer (1)', 'The H. Scriptures 1', 'The Quidditie', 'Providence', and 'Constancie') have been discussed by others, but not their relationship to contemporary Protestant lists of devotion.[47] Herbert's praise poems have three features in common: they declare their topic at the start, they then accumulate descriptions that must be linked by readers, and such lists do not offer a hierarchy between them.

The opening lines of such poems are concise headers: 'Shall I write, / And not of thee', 'My God, a verse is not…', 'Prayer the Churches banquet…', 'Oh Book! infinite sweetnesse…', and 'Who is the honest man?' The implication that a plain description or argument will follow is not taken up, however, since the poems go on to accumulate epithets (either positive or negative) or a series of examples which have roughly the same emphases or theme, but which are not linked by a stated argument. 'The H. Scriptures 1' groups disconcertingly secular and varied uses for its addressee (in medicine, cosmetics, and accounting). The register in 'The Quidditie' of what poetry is not (not a crown, not gossip about the stables, not commercial news, and so on) has the same basic area of interest (the courtier's pursuits), but no reason is offered about why this is apposite. Herbert's conceits

about prayer (grouped around searching for, struggling in, and being refreshed by God's love) are presented as discrete miniature riddles for the reader to solve: 'Angels age' (perhaps, here, because angels express creation's praise of God, starting when first made), for instance, or 'man well drest' (perhaps because prayer arises out of grace which is given to cover the sinner). 'Constancie' brings together many diverse circumstances in which its hero stays true to his principles, but develops none of them. 'Providence' surveys the climate, the landscape, the food chain, diurnal and seasonal changes, the water cycle, the transformation of soil to leaves to leaf-mould, and then turns to apparent antitheses or challenges to usual practices to show that God is never bound, even by his own conventions (glass gives light without drafts, thorns are harsher than pears but make better hedges, every creature but the elephant sleeps lying down, the coconut has many surprisingly uses, and so on). The poem orders the world by a chant that creates new relations between what have hitherto appeared to be independent units, until encountered in the poem. Readers are invited to participate by realising they are part of this whole, one in a chain of singular instances forming the universal.[48] Creation is a synecdoche of God, not a metaphor for him.

The start of each new unit in three of the poems, 'The Quidditie', 'Providence', and 'Constancie', is bullet-pointed by grammatically-related words, generally at the start of a line or a phrase, permitting an F-shaped reading. 'The Quidditie' uses 'not', 'nor', 'never', and 'no'; the eleven introductory stanzas of 'Providence' repeat 'all' eleven times; 'Constancie' is structured by the repetition at the start of the seven stanzas, and the mid-point of further three, of 'who', 'whose', or 'whom'. As Robert Belknap wittily says, 'the stacked lines of a verse provide virtual ledger entries in which the poet can itemize, registering and elaborating a certain number of items per line'. However, while partial completion comes at the end of each line, there is the possibility of many further lines to come, and 'though without bounds in principle, the list has a load limit of what it can skilfully hold'. Thus, Belknap argues,

tightly-controlled forms like the sonnet may be selected in order to impose a needed (but arbitrary) cut-off. [49]

Reading Herbert's praise poems side by side with the Protestant devotional works, however, offers a different interpretation: rather than thinking that every unit is to be read in full – and, consequently, feeling anxious about the number of lines ahead still to get through – the series of instances which Herbert offers can be surfed through, until striking one that arouses zeal. Pausing on any of these units becomes a private ritual of blessing and praise. The poems offer both an aesthetic pleasure and a theological point in allowing the reader to skip units: all or any of these instances can show God's plenitude and spontaneity, and there could be many more.

Such praise poems aim to thicken each topic taken up in turn, rather than argue their readers into a conclusion about the whole. There is thus no particular hierarchy among the items, but instead a network which connects nodes of praise. As 'Providence' finally declares, 'Each thing that is… /… hath many ways in store / To honour thee… /… yet this one more'. This is the list as rhetorical amplification, where the boundaries of God's qualities and actions are beyond the reach of human understanding (a form which Thomas Traherne was later to make his own).[50] What is not on it is as suggestive as what is, as the list negotiates between the sublimity of God and the limited number of ways in which human understanding can be dizzily appreciative of what it does not know. Thus, two of the poems teasingly conclude that they can offer no definitive conclusion. 'Prayer 1' has no main verb, and ends with 'something understood'. 'The Quidditie' suggests it will turn its negative definition of what poetry is not into a positive definition of what it is, but does not do so: poetry remains an undefined good, something 'which while I use / I am with thee'.

By contrast, Herbert also writes lists of arguments for or against a position. These poems are taxonomies, where a topic is divided into different instances, and each interrogated in a creative adversarial network. Their closed lists of reasons drive to a single point: readers should re-categorise life events to recognise them as evidence of God's love. 'The Pearl. Matt.13', 'Vanitie (1)', 'The Quip', 'Unkindnesse', 'Sinne (1)', and 'Mortification' (320-7, 307-10, 394-7, 338-41, 157-9, 352-6) are, effectively, conversion narratives.[51] The topic is, as with lists of praise, usually declared in the first few lines: what an ambitious person should know, or the likely collusion between different temptations, or the ways to treat a friend, or the preventatives to sin, or the events which prefigure death. As with the lists of praise, the units in the argumentative lists are marked out by refrains ('I would not [could not / cannot] use a friend as I use Thee'; 'But thou shalt answer, Lord, for me'; 'Yet I love thee'), or by repeated words or phrases, with some slight variation at the start of each stanza ('First… Then… Then…. Then…'; 'I know the wayes of… / Yet I love thee'), or by different topics dealt with in parallel syntax ('The fleet Astronomer… / The nimble Diver… / The subtil Chymick…'). Such lists have readers nodding along, with mounting satisfaction, toward the increasingly familiar end of each stanza.

This organising principle offers rewards which dull any deep interrogation of the list's content. So it is a shock when, at the conclusion of each poem, its line of argument is abruptly reversed away from that expected outcome. The moment is marked by logical connectives such as 'yet', 'but', 'so', 'only', and 'then'. Though a register of the influences of parents, schoolmasters, ministers, afflictions, bible verses, promises of salvation, shame, guilt, and angels has been accumulated, 'Yet… / One cunning bosome-sinne blows quite away' these defences. The list Herbert compiles of things he knows how to do but is willing to subordinate to his love of God does not end with self-congratulation on his efforts: 'Yet… not my groveling wit, / But thy silk twist let down from heav'n… / Did both conduct and

teach me'. His repeated efforts to help a friend are turned into reproaches: 'Yet use I not my foes, as I use thee [God]'. Humanity 'searchest round / To finde out death, but misses life at hand', so must say 'Yet Lord; instruct us so to die, / That all these dyings may be life in death'.

Such reversals, so common at the end of poems in *The Temple*, have long engaged critics. For Stanley Fish they are catechetical moments when a reader is invited to make an interpretation too soon, which is then challenged and reinstated in a deeper or more accurate way. For Raphael Lyne they are new stages in an ongoing process of discovering the truth. For Sophie Read they are corrections in a drama of doubt, where the poet illustrates how to amend his understanding (though without actually performing this, which would entail rubbing out the old poems entirely).[52] Remembering Bowker and Star's warning about how lists invisibly replicate a social and moral order, and how much effort it takes to redo categories or redirect items, the abrupt turns in Herbert's lists seem to point up the repeated efforts needed to rethink faulty categories. The original classifications behind the lists, embedded in a particular cultural or theological context, turn out to be inadequate. Such 'reformed' writing tests the usual epistemological categories, exposing their worldly bias; in effect, 'yet' and 'but' are the bullet points which start God's reclassifications.

The third form of list Herbert uses, the action list, aims to move the reader from a state of high anxiety but low agency to the opposite situation. Lyne, taking a Theory of Mind approach to ask how believers could interrogate themselves for reliable signs of salvation, points out that 'the believer was meant to be highly receptive to the meaning of nuances in their thought processes, but also robustly practical in moulding these processes'.[53] He mentions spiritual autobiography and meditation as two practical methods to reform the self.

Lists, I would argue, are a third, as Smyth's history of shredded books meets Lyne's cognitive literary study.

Herbert's action lists are flowcharts of what needs to be done. In 'The Method' (466-7), when the speaker finds he cannot contact God directly, he searches around in his heart, his 'book', until he finds a series of performance appraisals from God about why the technical reasons for this: 'What do I see / Written above there?' and 'But stay! what's there' (the glitches turn out to be careless prayer and ignoring a godly motion). Before the reader enters the body of *The Temple*, 'The Church-porch' has already recommended making such 'to do' lists: 'Summe up at night, what thou hast done by day; / And in the morning, what thou hast to do' (62). The poem itself is a pragmatic register of activities, voiced in brisk segments of two or three lines. As John E. Booty argues, much of 'The Church-porch' echoes catalogues used to examine the conscience when preparing to take for communion.[54] Herbert uses a similar form in 'Charms and Knots' (346-49) and in his compendium of 1184 saws, *Outlandish Proverbs* (1640), both of which list practical ways to approach quotidian situations.

As Helen Wilcox shows, early readers were impressed with 'The Church-porch' (it was widely quoted and translated into Latin, 48-9). Modern readers, however, are more attracted by action lists where any such confidence in being able to do well is problematized by the theology of *sola fide*, as in 'Love Unknown', 'The Thanksgiving', and 'The Holdfast' (452-8, 111-5, 498-500). The poems are registers of concrete actions, either of what God has done to the speaker (in the first poem, his heart is scrubbed, boiled, and pricked), or what the speaker intends to do in return for God in the other two poems (weep blood, submit to be scourged, sing hymns, give alms, be celibate or dedicate his family to God; obey God's laws, trust in God, admit that trust comes from God). Such realistic details are a list-maker's mode

of self-regulation, encouraging the will to resolve on actions which are small enough, and clear enough, to be credibly do-able.[55]

As with the other types of list, the points are divided off by repeated words ('Shall I… / Shall I… / Shall I.../ If thou… / If thou…') or refrains ('Your heart was foul [hard/dull], I fear', 'Indeed, 'tis true', 'I sigh to say [tell/speak]') or parallel syntax ('I [verb]… But… Yet… [so] I [verb]'). The list both joins and separates its individual units with these conjunctions and repetitions, each item having meaning in itself but also meaning from its place in the overall list.[56] Such structures should give their speakers (and readers) the momentum to undergo the process of being organised, as their compilers pose as street-level bureaucrats, accommodating an ideal form and the real life situation.[57]

Yet Herbert often undercuts his own enthusiastic 'to do' lists with God's sardonic assurance that the items have already been ticked off. Sometimes the reversals are not even delayed to the end of the poems, but come at the end of each proposed action. In 'The Holdfast' the speaker tries to respond in kind to each instance of God's goodness, but his assurance gives way to mounting alarm as each of his suggestions are immediately prevented. In 'Love Unknown', the speaker keeping offering his heart in good faith, and is horrified and bewildered to feel its apparent mistreatment, until a friend explains the point of each stage. At least in 'The Thanksgiving', a monologue, the programme is let run down of its own accord, without interruption. The speaker's promise of 'As for thy passion – but of that anon, / When with the other I have done'' is left unfulfilled: 'Then for thy passion – I will do for that – / Alas, my God, I know not what'.

The double vision of the doctrine of faith alone is both a problem and its solution, as Richard Strier says.[58] In 'A true Hymne' (574-8), this paradox is expressed with ardent love: 'if th'heart be moved', but can only sigh '*O, could I love! And stops: God writeth, Loved*'.

However, what appreciating the presence of the lists in the other three poems does is to point out that their humour comes not from sophisticated irony (where the reader is aware that the speaker's friends are aware of God's prevention) but from a sort of clowning. The would-be worker *keeps* taking an eager run-up to an action, and *keeps* being tripped up by some tart note that 'to have nought is ours, not to confesse / That we have nought'. Henri Bergson influentially argued that onlookers laugh when a person shows themselves to be inflexible in thinking or acting, so that the graceful energy of living beings drains away, leaving them merely material, rigid, or mechanical.[59] The caricatural figures in these poems compile a pointless list of actions to remove doubt. By contrast, their concluding, reformed souls know 'not what' to do or 'wot': being 'amaz'd' and 'much troubled' are their marks of salvation.

Word count (excluding abstract, including endnotes): 9580

[1] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word*, ed. John Hartley (London, 2002), 77-8, 96-9, 119-23; Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 307-18.

[2] E. Tebeaux, 'Pillaging the Tombs of Non-canonical Texts: Technical Writing and the Evolution of English Style', *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, 18 (2004), 165-77; E. Tebeaux, 'Technical Writing and the Development of the English Paragraph, 1473-1700', *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, 41 (2011), 219-53.

[3] Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design* (London, 1996), 39, 55, 59, 79-107.

[4] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2010), 3-4, 49-52, 117-72; Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, 'Introduction', in Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (eds), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London, 2000), 1-16.

[5] Robert Belknap, *The List: the Uses and Pleasures of Cataloguing* (New Haven, 2004), 5.

[6] Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists: from Homer to Joyce*, tr. A. McEwen (London, 2009), 15.

[7] Cristina Malcolmson argues that Herbert's work registers a sense of pollution, as he moves between the categories of gentleman and God's labourer, *Heart-work: George Herbert and the Protestant Ethic* (Stanford, 1999), 96-125.

[8] Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its Consequences* (Cambridge, 1999), 337 ff.

[9] Per Ledin and David Machin, 'How Lists, Bullet Points, and Tables Recontextualize Social Practice: a Multimodal Study of Management Language in Swedish Universities', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 12 (2015), 1-19.

[10] Bram Vijgen, 'The Listicle: an Exploring Research on an Interesting Shareable New Media Phenomenon', *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai-Ephemerides*, 59 (2914), 103-22.

[11] John Brockman (ed.), *Is the Internet Changing the Way You Think? The Net's Impact on our Minds and Future* (New York, 2011), 2-4, 19-20, 70-72, 80-82, 98-100.

[12] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), 173-80, appendix 1.

[13] John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, and Severall Steps in my Sicknes: Digested into 1. Meditations upon our Humane Condition. 2. Expostulations, and Debatements with God. 3. Prayers, upon the Severall Occasions* (London, 1624); Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), ed. E.A. Horsman (London, 1960), 1.6.56; Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), ed. J. Donald Crowley (London, 1972), 65-6.

[14] Robert Bolton, *A Discourse About the State of True Happinesse* (London, 1611), 2-3.

[15] William Ames, *Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof* ([Leyden and London], 1639), 19-20 (not in Green).

[16] On ways that printers encouraged a non-linear reading of devotional texts, see Matthew Brown, 'The Thick Style: Steady Sellers, Textual Aesthetics, and Early Modern Devotional Reading', *PMLA*, 121 (2006), 67-86.

[17] Dudley Digges, *The Defence of Trade* (London, 1615), 16, advertising his aggressive reclassification of the points in Robert Kayll, *The Trades Increase* (London, 1615).

[18] Lewis Bayly, *The Practise of Pietie* (London, 1613), 664 ff. See also Henry Tozer, *Directions for a Godly Life Especially for Communicating at the Lord's Table* (Oxford, 1628), 69 ff.

[19] Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London, 1593), 124-6.

[20] *A Priest to the Temple, or, The Country Parson* (1652), in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F.E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), 235.

[21] Evelyn Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: the Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, 1993), 32, 35, 40.

[22] Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), 97-9.

[23] Ceri Sullivan, 'The Art of Listening in the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Philology*, 104 (2006), 63-5.

[24] William Perkins, *A Treatise Tending unto a Declaration Whether a Man be in the Estate of Damnation or in the Estate of Grace* (London, 1590), 24-6.

[25] John Andrewes, *The Converted Mans New Birth… With an Excellent Marke, to Know the Childe of God* (London, 1629), 34-5.

[26] Eco, *Lists*, 8, 10, 15-8.

[27] Nicholas Breton, *A Solemne Passion of the Soules Love* (London, 1598), A3r, A2v.

[28] Robert Bolton, *Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God* (London, 1626), 36.

[29] Stephen Denison, *The Monument or Tombe-stone: or, a Sermon Preached at Laurence Pountnies Church in London… at the Funerall of Mrs. Elizabeth Juxon* (London, 1620), 83-4.

[30] John Dod, *A Brief Dialogue, Concerning Preparation for the Worthy Receiving of the Lords Supper* (London, 1614), A4r-v.

[31] Antony Fawkner, *A Collection of Certaine Promises Out of the Word of God* (London, 1629), 6-8; later retitled *The Saints Legacies, or a Collection of Certaine Promises Out of the Word of God* (Oxford, 1640), I11r ff.

[32] Richard Bernard, *A Weekes Worke, and a Worke for Every Weeke* (London, 1616), 38 ff.

³³ Richard Rogers [et al], *A Garden of Spirituall Flowers* (1609; 1610), part two (new title page added, 1613), A2r-v.

³⁴ Bayly, *Pietie*, 52 ff., 942 ff, 465 ff. See also Jeremiah Dyke, *Good Conscience: or a Treatise Shewing the Nature, Meanes, Marks, Benefit, and Necessitie Thereof* (London, 1626), A8r-B2v.

³⁵ Clement Cotton, *None But Christ, None But Christ Intimating that in Him… is to be Found, the Full and Absolute Cure of Mans Misery* (London, 1629), A12r-v, B11v-B12r. See also Christopher Sutton, *Godly Meditations upon the Most Holy Sacrament of the Lordes Supper* (London, 1601), 6 ff.

³⁶ Nicholas Byfield, *The Signes, or an Essay Concerning the Assurance of Gods Love and Mans Salvation* (London, 1614); *The Beginning of the Doctrine of Christ. Or a Catalogue of Sinnes Shewing how a Christian May Finde Out the Evil, He Must Take Notice of* (London, 1619), later repeatedly republished as *The Marrow of the Oracles of God*; *The Signes of the Wicked Man* (London, 1619); *Directions for the Private Reading of the Scriptures* (London, 1618), [118 ff], not in Green; *The Paterne of Wholsome Words, or a Collection of Such Truths are of Necessity to be Believed* (London, 1618), A2r.

³⁷ Nicholas Byfield, *The Cure of the Feare of Death* (London, 1618), A8r-A9v, not in Green.

³⁸ Byfield, *Beginning*, A7r-v.

³⁹ On the danger of lists substituting precision for substance and validity, see Bowker and Star, *Categories*, 24-5.

⁴⁰ Byfield, *Beginning*, 12, 13, 30-1, 32, 41-2, 44, 47.

⁴¹ Eva von Contzen, 'Experience, Affect, and Literary Lists', *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and History of Ideas*, 16.2 (2018), 324.

⁴² Herbert, *Priest to the Temple*, 229-30.

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[43] Stanley Fish, *The Living Temple: George Herbert and Catechizing* (Berkeley, 1978), 14-53; Joseph H. Summers, *George Herbert: his Religion and Art* (Cambridge, 1954), 73-94; Camille Wells Slights, *The Casuistical Tradition in Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert, and Milton* (Princeton, 1981), 183-246; Christopher Hodgkins, *Authority, Church, and Society in George Herbert* (Columbia, 1993), 2-3, 11, 115; Kate Narveson, 'Herbert and Early Stuart Psalm Culture: Beyond Translation and Meditation', in Christopher Hodgkins (ed.)*, George Herbert's Pastoral: New Essays on the Poet and Priest of Bemerton* (Newark, 2010), 221-8.

[44] Bernard Blackstone (ed.), *The Ferrar Papers* (Cambridge, 1938), 26, 29, 45, 292-4.

[45] Adam Smyth, '"Shreds of holinesse": George Herbert, Little Gidding, and Cutting Up Texts in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 42 (2012), 460-7.

[46] Andy Clark and David Chalmers, 'The Extended Mind', *Analysis*, 58 (1998), 7-19; Andy Clark, *Supersizing the Mind: Embodiment, Action and Cognitive Extension* (Oxford, 2011), 44–59, 220–32; Richard Menary, 'Introduction: the Extended Mind in Focus', in Richard Menary (ed.), *The Extended Mind* (Harvard, 2010), 1–26.

[47] George Herbert, *The English Poems*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge, 2007), 176-81, 207-10, 253-5, 415-27, 262-5. All further references to Herbert's poems will be from this edition, and will be made in the text.

[48] John Mason, 'Walt Whitman's Catalogues: Rhetorical Means for Two Journeys in "Song of Myself"', *American Literature*, 45 (1973), 34-49.

[49] Belknap, *List*, 15, 31, 32-3.

[50] Kathryn Murphy, 'No Things but in Thoughts': Traherne's Poetic Realism', in Elizabeth S. Dodd and Cassandra Gorman (eds), *Thomas Traherne and Seventeenth-century Thought* (Cambridge, 2016), 48-50.

[51] Herbert argues that the continuous prose of sermons inflames while the dislocated prose of catechisms informs, *Priest to the Temple*, 256.

[52] Fish, *Living Temple*, 15, 21, 24-5, 35; Raphael Lyne, 'Reading for Evidence of Faith in Herbert's Poems', *Review of English Studies*, 71 (2020), 78-83; Sophie Read, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013), 102-3.

[53] Lyne, 'Evidence for Faith', 80.

[54] John E. Booty, 'George Herbert: *The Temple* and the Book of Common Prayer', *Mosaic*, 12 (1979), 75-90.

[55] Dorothee Birke, 'The World is Not Enough: Lists as Encounters with the "Real" in the Eighteenth-century Novel', *Style*, 50 (2016), 297-304.

[56] Belknap, *List*, 15.

[57] On good-enough classification, more-or-less fitting items into categories, see Bowker and Star, *Classification*, 35.

[58] Richard Strier, *Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert's Poetry* (Chicago, 1983), 66, 71, 72-3.

[59] Henri Bergson, *Laughter: an Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*, tr. Cloudesley Brerton and Fred Rothwell (New York, 1911), pp. 29-33, 39-45, 54-5, 69, 91-3, 179-81.