TITLE: **Activist Archives**  

SUMMARY: In a climate of fake news and alternative facts, how can we teach students to think seriously about sources, contexts, and the uses we make of historical texts? In the moment of #metoo, how do we take account of the atmospheres that conduce women’s expression, including the cues and constraints that are obdurate in lived experience but faint or unmarked in recorded history? This workshop looks for answers in a perhaps surprising place: the archive. By turning to archives of early modern texts and objects, we both explore how the stories we tell about the past came to be and offer alternative histories and futures. This workshop relates most directly to the “Pedagogy” theme, but will also contribute to conversations on Confrontation, Collectivity, and Choice.

ORGANIZERS:  
Penelope Anderson, Associate Professor of English, Indiana University  
Ellen MacKay, Associate Professor of English, University of Chicago

DESCRIPTION:  
In the wake of the 2016 election, teaching students how to navigate a world of fake news and alternative facts makes careful evaluation of sources more vital than ever. Often, though, the exigencies of daily political life make the texts of the early modern period seem, at best, unimaginably distant, and at worst, a dangerous indulgence. At the same time, politicians and pundits continue to make pernicious use of the past, mythologizing a world that never existed in order to secure power in the present.

This workshop pushes back against these forces to consider how close and careful study of the archives of the past can offer our students skills for dealing with the present and tools for building a different kind of future. Drawing on particular experiences with primary sources in both undergraduate and graduate classrooms, this workshop aims to explore methods for using precisely the elements that make Renaissance texts difficult – their complexity and distance from the present day – to generate student interest and illuminate present day concerns. These pedagogical activities focus on key skills for undergraduates and graduates: the selection and evaluation of relevant materials; the accurate description of their contents and histories; and finally the interpretation of their meanings in the context of the course.

Our primary texts will establish three different lines of inquiry. With Isabella Whitney’s “Wyll,” we will focus on information literacy, addressing the use of archival materials to evaluate digital and archival resources. Then, we will turn to the use of early modern archival materials to illuminate present-day issues, looking at the ways that Hester Pulter’s treatment of sexual assault in *The Unfortunate Florinda* differs depending on whether you look at the manuscript or Alice Eardley’s 2014 edition. Finally, we will look at the plans and contents of Hardwick Hall, the architectural masterwork of Bess of Hardwick, to consider how her shaping of public and domestic space might offer a model for thinking about the staging and flow of women’s lives and how they imprint on history and its archives. Our primary materials also stress the interdisciplinary aspects of archival work, drawing on the expertise of literary studies, history, information science, and the digital humanities.

Our advance reading will combine theoretical materials on archival works, digital resources that capture elements of the archives, methodological position papers on performance and
historiography, and pedagogical materials developed for archival workshops. In bringing together these resources, we hope both to capture something of the experience of the classroom and explore the intellectual underpinnings of that pedagogical work.

We will spend the first 5-10 minutes of our workshop asking participants to discuss their own experiences teaching and researching in the archives, including examples of problems encountered and lessons learned. Then, the co-organizers will take 3-5 minutes to introduce and contextualize each of the three primary texts, offering brief anecdotes about teaching experiences with each text. We will move from these questions into a guided discussion (of about forty minutes) of the primary texts and pedagogical materials, facilitated by a pre-circulated handout of questions that link the materials. It is our hope that participants will bring to the conversation paradigms and interlocutors we have not considered, and we look forward to discovering new perspectives together. Our main questions will be how to use archival materials to reimage our relationship to the past and future. In our last twenty-five minutes, we will conclude by imagining those futures together: what do we hope our students will take away from encounters with the past? how can we use the strangeness and difficulty of early modern texts to build a more just present and future?

PRELIMINARY READINGS:

PRIMARY:


Bess of Hardwick, selected embroidered panels and wall hangings. See http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/results?SearchTerms=Hardwick+eight+embroidered+velvet+panels

Zenobia http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1129593.3
Penelope http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1129593.1
Lucretia http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1129593.2

PEDAGOGICAL:

Teaching materials (assignment sheet and in-class exercise)

http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/
National Trust searchable collection focusing on Hardwick Hall (a sample is gathered under the web address for a search for “Bess of Hardwick” below):  
http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/results?SearchTerms=Bess+of+Hardwick

SECONDARY:  


ADDITIONAL SUGGESTED READINGS:  


QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

SHARING EXPERIENCES
1. What have your own encounters with the archive been like?
2. How do you make the archives accessible for students, especially if they primarily encounter materials through a digital interface?

GUIDED DISCUSSION LINKING PRIMARY AND THEORETICAL TEXTS
3. What types of opportunities do digital and archival resources offer for reading a poem like Whitney’s “Wyll”? How can these resources make the poem more accessible to students or, alternatively, how can they show the excitement of the period’s difference from ours?
4. How can an awareness of editorial choices, prompted by looking at the manuscript, help us read Pulter’s The Unfortunate Florinda differently? How can the choices about how to depict the sexual assault in the romance help us guide responsible conversations about consent now?
5. How does a built archive present a different set of questions and possibilities from a textual or digital one? What barriers do non-textual objects present to intelligibility?
6. What forms of searchability make the past more legible, or more supportive of scholarly use, in digitized collections and/versus textual archives? What toolbox should we devise (or demand), and what skills should we inculcate in our students?
7. On which theoretical models do we want to draw, and how can we make them useful for our students?
8. What is the right relation of a scholarly method to claims of empirical ascertainment? What counts as a responsible practice of teaching or researching the past? Whose consent do we seek (actually or figuratively) in determining how to correctly answer these questions?
9. Based on your own experiences, how would you teach these texts or others? What problems and resources do they reveal?

CONCLUSIONS
10. What do you hope students will take from an encounter with the archives?
11. What versions of the past can help build a more just future?
For Isabella Whitney’s “The Wyll and Testament of Isabella Whitney,” please read the hyperlinked version in the Library section of the online Map of Early Modern London. We have included the relevant selection here, but we would like you to explore the website’s interactive features, too.  
https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/WILL10.htm

For there it is: I little brought  
but nothyng from thée tooke.  
Now for the people in thee left,  
I haue done as I may:  
And that the poore, when I am gone,  
haue cauſe for me to pray.  
I wyll to prifons portions leaue,  
what though but very ſmall:  
Yet that they may remember me,  
occasion be it ſhall:  
And fyrt the Counter they ſhal haue,  
leaft they ſhould go to wrack:  
Some Coggers and ſome honeſt men,  
that Ŝergantes draw a back.  
And ſuch as Friends wyl not them bayle,  
whole coyne is very thin:  
For them I leaue a certayne hole,  
and little eafe within.  
The Newgate, once a Monthe ſhal haue  
a ſeffions for his ſhare:  
Leaft being heapt, Infection might  
procure a further care.  
And at tholfe ſeffions ſome ſhal ſkape,  
with burning nere the Thumb:  
And afterward to beg their ſées  
tyll they haue got the ſome.  
And ſuch whole deedes deferueth death,  
and twelue haue found the fame:  
They ſhall be drawne vp Holborne hill,  
to come to further ſhame:  
Well, yet to ſuch I leaue a Nag  
ſhal foone their forowes ceafe:  
For he ſhal either breake their necks  
or gallop from the preace.  
The Fléete, not in their circuit is,  
yet If I geue him nought:  
It might procure his curſe, ere I  
vnto the ground be brought.  
Wherfore I leaue some Papift olde  
to vnder prop his rooſe:  
And to the poore within the fame,
a Bore for their behoofe.
What makes you standers by to smile.
and laugh so in your fleece:
I thinke it is, because that I
to Ludgate nothing geue.
I am not now in caste to lye,
here is no place of theft:
I dyd referue, that for my selfe,
yf I my health poolest.
And euer came in credit for
deutor for to be.
When dayes of payement did approch,
I thither ment to flee.
To throude my selfe amonst the rest,
that chufe to dye in debt:
Rather then any creditor,
shoulde money from them get.
Yet caufe I feele my selfe so weake
that none mee credit dare:
I here reuoke: and doo it leaue,
some Bankrupts to his share.
To all the bookebinders by Paulles
because I lyke their Arte:
They cry weke shal mony haue,
when they from Bookes departe.
Amongst them all, my Printer must,
haue from what to his share:
I wyll my Friends these Bookes to bye
of him, with other ware
For Maydens poore, I Widdoers rich,
do leaue, that oft shal dote:
And by that means shal mary them,
to set the Girles aflote.
And wealthy Widhowes wil I leaue,
to help yong Gentylmen:
Which when you haue, in any caste
be courteous to them then:
And fee their Plate and Jewells cake
may not be mard with ruft.
Nor let their Bags too long be full,
for feare that they doo burft.
To cry Gate under the walles,
that compas thee about:
I Fruit wiues leaue to entertaine
such as come in and out.
To Smithfeelve I must somthing leaue
my Parents there did dwell:
So carelesſe for to be of it,
none wolde accompt it well.
Wherfore it thrice a weeke ſhall haue,
of Horſe and neat good ſtore.
And in his Spitle, blynd and lame,
to dwell for euermore.
And Bedlem muſt not be forgot,
for that was oft my walke:
I people there too many leaue,
that out of tune doo talke.
At Bridewel there ſhal Bedelles be,
and Matrones that ſhal ſtyll
See Chalke wel chopt, and ſpinning plyde;
and turning of the Mill.
For ſuch as cannot quiet bee,
but ſtriue for Houſe or Land:
At Th’innes of Court, I Lawyers leaue
to take their caufe in hand.
And alfo leaue I at ech Inne
of Court, or Chauncerye:
Of Gentylmen, a youthfull roote,
full of Actiuytie:
For whom I ſtore of Bookes haue left,
at each Bookebinders ſtall:
And parte of all that London hath
to furniſh them withall.
WORKSHOPS AND PAPER: EVALUATING DIGITAL AND ARCHIVAL SOURCES

DUE DATE: Workshop in class Thursday 21 September 2017 and at the Lilly Library Tuesday 26 September 2017; paper due Thursday 12 October 2017, either in hard copy to my mailbox or submitted to Canvas as an Assignment attachment in MSWord format by 5.00pm. **Please do not submit assignments by email.**

LENGTH: 3-5pp., double spaced, for the paper.

GRADING: 20% of course grade.

Our workshops will focus on Isabella Whitney’s “Wyll and Testament” and its relation to London’s geography, but you can also choose different digital and archival resources, and a different poem, for your paper.

In our first in-class workshop, we will work with the digital *Map of Early Modern London*. Working in pairs, you will choose two or three places from Whitney’s poem to investigate in depth using MoEML. Using the map, I want you to find as much information as you can about all of the places you choose:

-- First, locate them on the map.
-- Then, see what kinds of activities seem to take place there. What is your evidence for this?
-- What else is near the place? Do they seem to be the kind of places that would last for a long time, or do you think they will disappear quickly? Why?
-- How would you get to this place, using major routes (keep in mind that the Thames River was one of the major ways that people traveled in early modern London)?
-- What kind of neighborhood does it seem to be: wealthy, poor, well-organized, central, on the outskirts? How can you tell?
-- What other information do you want to know? How and where might you find it?

In our second in-class workshop, at the Lilly, you will search for these places in archival materials, including maps and geographical descriptions. You will be asking the same questions of those sources, but you might find different answers.

For your paper, you will reflect on the information you gathered via each method. In a short (3-5 pp.) paper, you will analyze the strengths and weaknesses of both archival and digital resources. What does one give you that the other cannot? What are the limitations and particular insights offered by each? You are welcome to use the resources we use in our workshops, or to choose others in consultation with me. In your analysis, please use a poem as a way to test the interpretations the outside resources enable.

Additional resources:

-- Handout on “Close Reading” posted under “Files” in Canvas
-- Handout on “Generating a Thesis” posted under “Files” in Canvas
-- *Oxford English Dictionary* for historically relevant definitions of words, linked under “Modules” in Canvas
-- *Map of Early Modern London* for a digital map, linked under “Modules” in Canvas
QUESTIONS FOR EVALUATING DIGITAL AND ARCHIVAL SOURCES
USE THESE QUESTIONS FOR BOTH WORKSHOPS!

1. Choose your 2-3 places and locate them on the map.

2. Then, see what kinds of activities seem to take place there. What is your evidence for this?

3. What else is near the place? Do they seem to be the kind of places that would last for a long time, or do you think they will disappear quickly? Why?

4. How would you get to this place, using major routes (keep in mind that the Thames River was one of the major ways that people traveled in early modern London!)?

5. What kind of neighborhood does it seem to be: wealthy, poor, well-organized, central, on the outskirts? How can you tell?

6. What other information do you want to know? How and where might you find it?
Poems, Emblems, and
The Unfortunate Florinda

LADY HESTER PULTER

*Edited by*

ALICE EARDLEY

The Unfortunate Florinda—The Second Part

But she was no sooner gone than missed by the amorous king, who presently went after and found them walking in a gallery. "Lady," said he, "you are called for by the queen." At which word they hasted away. But before Florinda could follow Castabella, the lascivious king laid hold of her arm, saying, "stay, fair Florinda, and see me die with the scorn of those eyes of thine, in whose influence thou art so cruel as not to suffer me to live." Then, clapping to the door which had a spring lock, he said, "now I see that you are so ungrateful as to value that imaginary trifling bubble, honor, above not only your own happiness but my life also, longing, I believe, to see me lie dead at your feet." Then, drawing out his sword as if he intended to kill himself, hoping by this high passion to prevail. But she (in much fear) mildly replied, "if it must be so it is much better to die innocent than to survive in that guilt which will be your inevitable and eternal ruin." "Oh but, Florinda," said he, "nature commands us to preserve our essence, which is not possible for me to do without the enjoyment of thee, which if I may willingly obtain, myself and kingdom will be at thy command." She sweetly answered that, "all the kingdoms (not only on this orb but the worlds in every star) were of too considerable weight and value when virtue was laid in the scales." "Nay then," said the enraged king, "if you will not yield upon honorable terms, I must take you by storm" and, notwithstanding all her prayers and tears and screaming and striving, being much stronger than she, he violated the unfortunate Florinda, who still breathed out curses and deprecations against him and with floods of tears implored divine vengeance.

So that now the king found it as difficult to still her complaints as before to persuade her, till the devil or his own cursed nature (she worse devil of the two) prompting him, he said, "my dear Florinda, I have so much affection for thee that if thou wilt but conceal this violent expression of my love I will perform more than at first I did promise. But if you still refuse my love, I will immediately fetch up the most deformed Negro slave in my blackguard and make him deflower you and then run my sword through you both [and then [call] up the [king and] queen, who [call] not but [applaud] my [just] stice. So shall you die in horrid infamy." Poor Florinda, whose soul boiling with revenge and abhorring infamy, thought best to return this answer, "sir, I cannot but see upon this violence of yours as proceeding from an irresistible passion and shall willingly join you in concealing it, lest the knowledge of it should be an eternal corrosive to the hearts of my dear and tender--hearted parents, who perhaps may not be so ready to excuse you as I, who have all along been too sensible of your suffering." Thus, she, poor soul, suffered herself to be embraced by him, whom her soul did so infinitely abhor that certainly the clawing of a lion or grips of a tiger or clippings of serpents was much more pleasing to her. But she, in hope to live to revenge her dishonor, acted it so well that he believed all to be real. So she desired leave (because she was very much discomposed) to go to her chamber. He promising her to excuse her to the queens, which he did, telling them that she (not being very well) was gone to bed.

But the virtuous Castabella (not so satisfied) hastened after and found her in bed and, as she thought, asleep. So she went softly to bed to her, but when their attendants were gone and they two were alone then the wronged Florinda, whose sorrow was more than she was able to contain, with huge floods of tears, burst out into this sad acclamation, "oh Castabella, happy Castabella, that may now even this very hour expire a happy virgin. Could I do so, I would not breathe one minute but woe is me. I live (or rather dying live) in horrid infamy. But oh, you celestial powers, let me but live to be revenged and then welcome, oh welcome, eternal death or annihilation." Then Castabella (who now but just knew what had befallen her), sympathizing with her in her sorrow and suffering, said, "ah, dear Florinda, let not the sin of others provoke you (by revengeful thoughts) to suflly your unsotted soul, which remains still in its virgin purity." "Ah" replied she, "I thought you had so much affection for me and had been so sensible of my dishonor that you would have joined with me to study some way to revenge this irreparable injury. What? Have the heathens
ruin. Medea’s naphthian robe was nothing to what I intend to do.” So out of her bed she leapt and, taking a pen and paper, wrote only thus:

Know that the greatest dishonor imaginable is fallen upon the unfortunate Florinda. [53v]

Then, calling up one of her truest servants, she gave it to him conjuring him with all possible haste and privacy to carry that paper to her father, who was in ambassage in Barbary. He promised faithfully to fulfill her command. Thus the afflicted Florinda lay, imploring vengeance, and wishing that heaven and earth might blunder together that her shame might be covered with universal ruin. Nether could all the pious dehortations of compassionate Castabella prevail, although she told her that she was very confident that her brother would still look upon her as in her present purity. “No, no,” replied she, “I am now so infinitely unworthy of him that I shall never dare to look him in the face more. Neither can I love anything now but revenge.” [Th]us with watching and weeping, she was next day sick, indeed, so that the kings and queens came to visit her, but all their loving expressions were aggravations of her torment.

But time, though it could not take away the cause of her sorrow, yet it restored her to a competency of health. Yet could not the sadness of her soul be so hid under feigned smiles but that it was discernible to all, though few guessed right at the cause. The king loading her still with jewels and treasure in hope to gain her love, and she as willingly received all he gave, though never intending to return love but hoping (as indeed it did) that it might be advantageous unto her in the expression of her implacable hatred. Count Julian, her father, as soon as he had notice of this high dishonor offered to his dear and only child was so enraged at it, and did so swell with desire of revenge

385. In Greek mythology, Nemesis or Rhamnusia, is the goddess of retribution.
386. Adrastea is the Greek goddess of inescapable punishment.
387. MS. “of”
388. Alternative word supplied by Pulter: “hate.” In “The Second Part,” Pulter frequently provides alternatives for a word appearing in the text. These alternative words are written above the line in which the original words appear, and there is no indication they are to be preferred to the originals (i.e., the original words have not been crossed out). In this edition, each time this occurs, the alternative word is supplied in a footnote.
389. Alternative word supplied by Pulter: “appellation.”
390. Food, fodder (OED).
391. Proverbial: patience exercised when there is no alternative (OED). See Tilley, Proverbs, 525, P111.
392. Strengthening, supporting, comforting, consolatory (OED).
393. The earth.
394. In Greek mythology, Medea, daughter of the king of Colchis, is betrayed by the hero Jason, who has an affair with Creusa. Seeking revenge, Medea presents her rival with a gown soaked in naphtha, an inflammable liquid. As Creusa sacrifices burnt offerings to the gods, the gown catches fire and she dies. See “When scorned Medea saw Creusa led,” lines 1–8.
395. Dissuasions (OED).
396. Wakefulness (OED).
397. Sufficiency (OED).
Owinging my self and kingdom with due
out my command she determined that all the
kingdoms (not only this Office but the
world) were in defenseable
safety when that was said the Prime
may then saide the rewaged king if you will
not yield upon honourable termyns I must take
you by storm and norwithstanding all
her priuys and teemes and cornsilige and
wrangle george much stronger I may
have violated the unfortunate Florida
who still thronged in her castle and danger
and pusillanimity against him cut with
words of scorns injured
precipitate devise
devine vengeance but that now she was found in
difficult of still her complaint as before
to persuade her till the Divillor his own
murder name promishe and then she said my
peace Florida having so much affection
for thee that if thou wilt not concede this
violent expression of my soul it shall you
force me more that I at first my mind but if
you still refuse my love it will white
and they set up the most profligate night have in
many black and make him dethowe you
and they may my sword than you both
and then the King him self is committed to
the Florida who the whole long and bod
him with revenge and beeghe force to lose
himself in her revenge shone
Florida whose she boyshs with revenge
she and acknowledging his fortune thought best
of revenging this detestable sophie but I can not
butlock upon that violence of yours as concept
from unrelaxable passion and shall willing
saw him in contending concollage it of
the knowlege of it should be and eternal
comminge to the hawes of my deare and tender hawed
patient who perhaps maye not be fro reade
to excuse you as he who have al long knew
him but the secret of your suprences thus
he still watchynge for any opertunity to finde
the true Florinda alone who was so vigilant
to prevent it till one night after supper
might because fitted for deeds of darkness
they besride all a danceinge the longe
was so vable to prevent the violence
of his affection that poone was afraid it
would be delected of the secret misprisi
Queene for she did yeonge the count
or dance with him which were agays affiched
by his mocest virgin that she the next day
the delecte rode Castabella by the hand and
slid out of the room to fide noe son.
Next gen then must by the amorous knight
who preciuitly went after and found them
walking in the Galayre set ladys sayde she you and
called for the Quenee at which they
would they haste aside but before Florida
could follow castabella the Gladways
said hold of her armes sayde she
Florida and Lee met shool
with the assurance of the eyes of myne
in whole influence than ate by the head as not
to suffer to see then changenge the door which had a slaming locke she said
now I see that you are ungrateful as
to valent that is myserable dorible honoure
above not only your own happiness but
my life also longenage I believe to see
me the dead at your feet then drauwenge
out his sword she as if she intended to
kill himselfe hopes by this high passion to
prevail but she so much feares mildly
repelde # if it must bee soo soo it is much
better to the proqueste then to survive in
that gult which will bee your inveterate
and eternal menow dout Florinda said he
nurture commade us to pursige our attence
which is not poulose without the most merne
men of thee which if I maye willnot
Thus she more fully suffered herself to be
instructed by him (Whom her soul did infinitely
abhor) the certainly the Change of a Lion or
grip of a tiger, or clings of serpents
was more much pleased to her; but she
in hope to reconcile her discontents
accorded not: she well that she believed at
all to see real for she desired love: because
she was very much disconsol'd to God
to her chamber, he promised her to execute
her to the Queens: Which he did besides
them that she not grieve very well was
gon to bed, but the visitation Castabella
not for a while he had affect and would her
in bed, and at she thought to be her
went shortly to bed and her when these
abominations was gone and they two allalone
then the wronged woman a whole sorrow as
was more than she was able to converse
with huge floods of tears burst out in to
this sad declamation: Oh Castabella happier
Castabella: Now may not this universe
execute a happy a happy woman could
I lose I would not bestow your minutes
but woes is mee I live: nor rather learn
(against live in) mortified instance: but if
but oh you Celestial prince for mee but
live to see revenged and then welcome
annihilation or welcome eternal death
or a competition. Now Castabella (Who now
but too well knew what had befallen her
and sympathecized with her in her orrow and
suffering) and an dearer woman felt not
the influence of others provoke you by revenge
full thoughts to fully your tenderest version
soule: which remained still in not very
parity: as might she I thought you had
bought: else she she which had so much
affection for mee and had bn mee.
of revenge that she immediately came to the court of France, but, when she
had sworn a vow that she would lose her life for revenge, she promised to go into
the court of Spain, and, in order to gain the king's good will, she promised to
do him a service.

The queen of Spain was very much grieved to hear this. She was determined
to prevent her from going into the court of Spain. She sent a message to her
father, the king of France, expressing her sorrow and promise to remain
faithful to him.

The king of France was very much grieved to hear this. He was determined
to prevent her from going into the court of Spain. He sent a message to her
father, the king of France, expressing his sorrow and promise to remain
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father, the king of France, expressing his sorrow and promise to remain
faithful to him.
In the newe building at Hardwick

In one of the turretes on the leades: a bedsted with postes turned and Carved and the head inlayde, an other plaine bedsted, fowre Iron bounde Chestes, a wood Chest, two truncke, eleven fetherbeds, newe tickes for fetherbedes, a wooll quilt, three mattisses, a tapestry Coveletter, five blankettes, three pieces of graine cloth hanginges, too wood Chares, tenn frames for Chares, three wood stooles, a Close stoole covered with lether, an other close stole, a preserving pain of Iron, a warming pain of Iron, a black sill, a sixteen of pewter. In an other Turret on the leades: twelve dozen of newe pewter dishes, tenn dozen and seaven olde pewter plates, seaven dozen and one sawers, tenn pewter plates, three pewter boles, three pewter porrengers, three flower pots of pewter, fowre pewter Candlestickes, fowre pewter Chamberpottes, three pans for Close stooles, fowre Candlestickes of brass, Fytene kettills, eleven pans, three frying pans, too skummers, two morters and pestles, too Chopping knyves, too grydyrons, one dripping pan, a beit forke, too Chafingdishes, Fytene spittes. In an other Turret at the staire head: a Clock. In the staire Chamber: sixe pieces of guilt lether hanginges, Twelve foote deep, a bedsted with turned postes, a tester and double vallans of blew cloth stich with white blew and white silk frenge, Fyves Curtins of blew cloth stich with white, a newe Coveletter of blew cloth, a Caberdd, a Carpet for it of green cloth stich with white & yellow and black silk frenge, a matriss, a fetherbed, a bolster, too pilowes, a quill, too blankettes, a black lether Chare guilid, a quition of tapistry, too Joynd stooles, a Chamber pott, a fyer shovell, a payre of tonges, wayscotton under the windowes. In the pallet there, a matriss, a fetherbed, a bolster, too blankettes, a Coveletter. In the greene bed Chamber: four pieces of tapestrie hanginges with personages, nyne foote deep, a bedsted with head and postes Carved and guilt, a tester with bedes head and double vallans of graine cloth stich with yellowe silk and yellowe and graine silk frenge about, Fyve Curtins of green cloth stich with yellowe silk, a matriss, a quilt, a fetherbed, a bolster, too pilowes, a Covering for the bed of newe graine cloth with yellowe and graine silk frenge, and a graine and yellowe lace about it, a quilt of graine sarcenet, too spanishe blankettes, a payre of fustanes, fowre Curtins for the windowes of graine and yellowe tufted sackings, a Caberdd, a turkke Carpet for it, a little folding table, a turkke Carpet for it, a Chare of graine cloth stich with yellowe silk, a stoole of graine cloth stich with yellowe silk, too Joynd stooles, a close stoole covered with Lether, a stoole pott, a Chamber pott, a payre of Copper Andryons, a payre of tonges, a fyer shovell, wayscotton under the windowes. In a paller there: a matriss, a fetherbed, a bolster, too blankettes, a Cover of tapestry. In the Turret Chamber: sixe pieces of hanginges imbrodered upon white damask muryr velvet and other stuffe, Tenne foote deep, a bedsted of white wood with head and postes turned and Carved, a tester bedes head and vallans of black velvet set with staggges and talbottes imbrodered with sivines, with a golde frenge about the vallans, three Curtins wrought with black silk nedwerk upon fine holland Cloth with buttons and lowes of black silk on the sides. Pantes to goe about the sides of the bed at the botteme of cloth of golde and Crimson velvet, fringed with black and yellowe silk frenge, a Curtin of durnix and a piece of buckermor about the bed to Cover it, fowre Curtins of tufted sackings for the windowes, a matriss, a fetherbed, a bolster, too pilowes, too spanishe blankettes, a payre of fustanes, a grene sarcenet quilt, a Court Caberdd inlayde, a Carpet for it of Cloth of tyssuie and black wrought velvet with red and white silk frenge, lyned with Crimson sarcenet, a square table, a Carpet for it of black velvet and white bodkin trymmed with golde, and with white & red silk frenge lyned with black sarcenet, a Chare of cloth of golde and cloth of tyssuie, the back nedwerk and wrought with golde, a little Chare of cloth of golde, a stooile of cloth of tyssuie and black wrought velvet, a Joynd stoole, too Copper Andryons, a fyer shovell, a payre of tonges, wayscotton under the windowes. In the uter Chamber to the Turret Chamber: a bedsted, a matt, a matriss, a fether bed, a bolster, too blankettes, a Coveletter, a Caberdd, a little square table, a Joynd stoole, a Close stoole covered with Lether, a stooile pan, a Chamber pott. In the servantes Chamber next to the wardrope: two bedstedes, two mattes, two mattisses, too fetherbedes, too bolsteres, fowre blankettes, three Coveletters, a Caberdd with turned postes, a Joynd stoole, too Chamber pottes. In the gallery Chamber: four pieces of tapestrie hanginges with personages, Eight foote deep, a bedsted with head and postes Carved guilt and inlayde, a tester, bedes head and vallans of Cloth of tyssuie lyned with grene buckermor & the vallans having golde and grene solk frenge, three Curtins of Chaungable taffety, a matriss, too fetherbedes, a bolster, two pilowes, a payre of fustanes, a quilt, too blankettes, too flegges, a Cover for the bed of wrought silke stuffe red and grene, a Curtin for the windowe of durnix, a Caberdd, a Carpet for it of saye stayned red and white, a nedwerk Chare with yellowe silk frenge, a stooile of cloth of tyssuie and Crimson velvet with grene, red, and yellowe silk frenge, too Joynd stooles, a close stooile covered with Lether, a stooile pan, a Chamber pott, a payre of Copper Andryons, a fyer shovell, a payre of tonges, wayscotton under the windowe. In a paller there: a matriss, a fether bed, a bolster, too blankettes, a tapestry Covering. In the Pearle bed chamber: Fyve pieces of hanginges called the planetes, whereof one piece in the wardrope, Eleven foote deep,
a bedsted Carved and guilt, a tester bedes head and double vallans of black velvet embroidered with silver gold and pearl with sivines and woodibines fringed with golde silver and black silk with my Ladies and Sir William Cavendishes Armes in the bedhead, Fyve Curtins of black and white damask layde about with golde lace and golde freenge, and golde lace downe the middest. A matriss, a fetherbed, a woodd quilt, a bolster, too pillows, a payre of fustean, too spanische blanketet, a Counterpoyn of black velvet stript with silver, embroidered with pearl and purle, an other Covering for the bed of black sarcenet quilted, too Curtins for the windows of darnix, a square table, a Carpet for it of cloth of tyssue and purple wrouthe velvet, fringed with golde freenge lyned with crimsion sattin bridges, A Cubbered, a Carpet for it of nedleworke with golde freenge and lyned with red sarcenet, A Chare of cloth of tyssue with golde freenge the frame guilt, a stooole of wrouthe cloth of golde and silver with yellowe and red silk freenge, a Joyned stooole, a long quotation of black velvet embroidered with golde, silver, and pearl suitable to the bed, the tassells of golde, pearle, black silk and lyned with turaffete. An other quotation of purple cloth of silver and golde wrouthe with black silk freenge and golde & red silke tassells, and lyned with purple velvet, a payre of Copper Androns, a fier shovell, a payre of tonges, a wicker skreyne, wayscort under the windowes. In the paller there a matriss, a fetherbed, a bolster, too blanketet, a Coverlet of fine tapestrie. In a close by the Pearly bed Chamber: Sixe pieces of hanginges of red mockadowe, a Close stooole covered with lether, a stooole pan, a Chamber pott. In the wardrop: A long standing press to laye stuff on with great canvas to Cover it, a tester, bedes head and double vallans of tinsill and black wrouthe velvet with black silk freenge, a tester for a field bed of Crimson taffette sarcenet with red silk freenge, foure Curtins of Crimson taffety sarcenet to it, a Canapie of yellowe seye, stayned with birdes and Antickes, a quif of Chaungeable taffety sarconet, a quif of yellowe inda stuffe embroidered with birdes and beasts and white silk freenge and tassells, lyned with yellowe sarcenet, too fetherbed tickes of fustean, a Cubbered, a turkic Carpett, a Carpet of yellowe silke and purple Cruell with yellowe and purple silke freenge, and lyned with yellowe buckerom, a saye Carpet rowe yellowe red and blewce, a little Carpett of Cruell Checkered red and yellowe, a long quotation of cloth of silver black and white with golde freenge, lyned with yellowe sattin, stript with silver, a long quotation of grene cloth of silver with a golde freenge lyned with grene sattin bridges, a long nedleworke quotation, grounde orne tawny wrouthe with knotes with red and blewce silk freenge golde and grene silk buttons lyned with black damask, a long quotation of cloth of golde and black stript turaffete, lyned with black sattin bridges, a black velvet quotation layde with black silk lace, lyned with black sattin.

square quitions of nedleworke wrouthe with couloured Cruells, too square quitions of blew cloth stich with white, a square quition of red cloth stich with white, too square quitions of Arras worke, a wood Chare, a stooole of Cloth of golde with yellowe and red silk freenge, too stoooles of cloth of silver with red and grene silk freenge, three stoooles of cloth of golde and crimson velvet with red and yellowe silk freenge, a stooole of black wrouthe velvet fringed with yellowe red and grene silke, a stooole of red and grene cloth stich with white and yellowe and grene freenge, too stoooles of cloth of golde, too Joyned stoooles, a fayre looking glass with paynteied glass on the side, a rownde glass paynteid, a frame with armes paynteid in it. A table with a mapp, a picture of bastane, lyfrenye plate Candelstickess of Copper to hang on wales, sise perfuming panns, too brass Candelstickes, a fayre payre of tables guilt, too peeces of fayre matres black and white, a wood Chest. In a roome at the wardrop dore: a Curtin of grene saye, an other Curtin of darnix, too Coverlettes of tapestrie, too blanketet, too copper voyders, nyne payre of beames for imbroedurers. In the best bed Chamber: Seven pieces of hanginges of imbroderie of Cloth of golde and silver, cloth of tyssue, velvette of sondry Coulers, and nedlewore twelve foot depe, one peecer of the picture of fayth and his contrarie Mahomet, an other peecer with the picture of hope, and the contrarie Judas, an other peecer with the picture of temperance and the contrarie Sardanapales, the other four pieces paned and wrouthe with flowers and slips of nedleworke, a bedsted guilt, a fayre lardge sparver and bedeshead with double vallans of cloth of golde, cloth of silver; sondry Coulers of velvet imbrodered fayre with divers armes with portalls and pictures, and with a deep golde freenge, sixe Curtins of blewle and red sattin stript with golde and silver and layde with golde lace about the edges and a gold twist downe the seams and fringed about with golde freenge, a matriess, a doone bed, a downde bolster, too pillows, a woodd guilt, a payre of fustean, a white spanische rugge, a Counterpoyn of Cloth of tyssue paned with cloth of gold and silver and a brode golde lace and golde freenge about it, lyned with Crimson saccenct, a purple sarcenet guilt, three foote turkic Carpett the grounde of them white, to laye about the bed, a square table inlayde, a Carpett for it of nedlewore, made with a rose and antickes with a brode golde and silver lace with a border of white sattin imbrodered and a golde freenge, a Cubbered, a Carpett for it of the storie of David and Nathan with trees of nedleworke and a border of Crimson velvet about it & golde freenge, A great Chare tymned with Crimson velvette imbrodered with golde and with a golde freenge, an other little Chare and a little stooole suable with a golde freenge, a little Stooole Covered with Crimson velvette imbrodered with nedlewore Flowers, too french stoooles inlayde sett with marble stones, a Joyned stooole, too nedleworke
STANDING in a deer park, with clusterings of magnificent old oaks, on the eastern border of Derbyshire, and close upon that of Nottinghamshire, on one of the more picturesque eminences of that eminently picturesque county, stand two mansions almost close together, the one, old Hardwick Hall—a venerable, dilapidated, and ivy-clothed building, the home of the Hardwicks, and birthplace of Elizabeth Hardwick, who died Countess of Shrewsbury; the latter, a quaint Elizabethan structure, erected by the said Countess Elizabeth, who considered the old home of her fathers not sufficiently stately for her subsequent exalted position, and who, in carrying out her mansion-building mania, spent an extraordinary amount of care in re-building her native domicile.

The approach to the mansions is by a noble avenue of majestic trees, which commands the admiration of all who pass along it, and the aspect
of the two Halls on the eminence is very imposing, the old, venerable, and weatherworn contrasting with the more modern, with its eccentricity of architecture.

The modern Elizabethan house is very large, and seems to consist of more glass than wall, hence the saying:

“Proud Hardwick Hall
More window than wall.”

The house consists of projecting towers, pierced in the walls with a multitude of lofty windows, and surmounted by a balustrade, whilst the initials E.S. (Elizabeth Shrewsbury) are introduced wherever practicable, both outside and inside. The interior consists of large, lofty apartments, wainscoted and hung with tapestries, the most notable being the Picture Gallery, extending the whole length of the building, 160 feet in length, 22 in width, and 26 in height; lighted by eighteen broad windows, 20 feet high, and containing portraits, two hundred in number, of the Cavendishes, the Countess's relatives and friends, herself when young and when old, of Queen Elizabeth, of Mary Queen of Scots, and of several other historic personages of the time.

One room is shown as the apartment of
Dances with Things

Material Culture and the Performance of Race

Robin Bernstein

In a photograph from Yale University’s Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, a light-skinned woman stands behind a larger-than-life-size caricature of an African American eating a slice of watermelon (fig. 1). The young man, shoeless and dressed in rags, perches on a fence. The woman poses behind the cutout; her hand gently overlaps with the caricature’s. She bares her teeth, miming her own bite from the fruit. A typed caption on the back of the image indicates that the photograph was taken at the Hotel Exposition, a gathering of professionals from the hotel industry, in New York City’s Grand Central Palace. At some point, a curator at the Beinecke penciled “c. 1930.”

How might one read this ugly, enigmatic image, this chip of racial history archived at Yale? Taking a cue from Robyn Wiegman, who has influentially called for a transition from questions of “why” to “how” with regard to race, one might bracket questions about the woman and her interiority: Who was she? Why did she pose as she did? What did her actions mean?

Figure 1. A woman poses with caricature at the Hotel Exposition in New York’s Grand Central Palace, circa 1930. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
to her? These questions are unanswerable not only because the woman never archived a written explanation of her intentions but also, and more significantly, because the “whys” of race are often unstable and inconsistent, unspoken or unspeakable. Given the “difficulties of handling why,” Wiegman suggests, scholars might “take refuge” in the “how,” trusting the “how” ultimately to register the “why.” In the “watermelon” photograph, “how” questions accrue around the caricature: how did this text produce historically located meanings? Possible answers appear swiftly as the caricature channels a panoply of racist libels. The cutout refers to narratives of the “Old South” through its depiction of a black youth outdoors, wearing ill-fitting clothes that suggest poverty and parental neglect. The caricature’s bandaged toe might connect to the racist motif of African Americans attacked by animals, particularly alligators. One could place the image in conversation with films of the 1920s and 1930s, linking the rural setting to that of, say, Gone with the Wind (1939) or the action of eating with that of the African American characters in Our Gang/The Little Rascals (1922–44), who stereotypically feasted on watermelon. The scrawl on the fence, “I LOVE RASTUS” (with each s illiterately reversed), connects the figure to the turn-of-the-century Cream of Wheat icon of the same name and, in combination with the oversized slice of watermelon, associates African Americans with consumable commodities. In these readings, the caricature embodies a dehumanizing expression of racism or a tool by which white Americans could symbolically commodify or otherwise control African Americans long after slavery ended.

The “watermelon” photograph constructs race, however, through neither an isolated woman and her “whys” nor an isolated caricature and its textual “hows,” but instead through a complex interaction between the two figures. The woman entangled herself with the wooden caricature: she slipped her thumb in the crevice of its palm, grasped its forearm, pretended to consume what it consumed. As she mingled her body with the caricature’s, posing so they might together flatten into a photograph, she complicated and disturbed the distinction between person and text, “why” and “how.” Of the two subjects that posed at the Hotel Exposition in about 1930, only one was sentient, but she took her cues from the inanimate caricature. The woman arranged her body in response to the caricature’s coordinates; it prompted, inspired, and structured her actions. In this dense interaction between thing and human, the caricature scripted the woman’s performance.

The term script denotes not a rigid dictation of performed action but, rather, a necessary openness to resistance, interpretation, and improvisation. As photographs in this essay will show, the woman’s pose was not unique, but it was not compelled: other people posed with parallel wooden cutouts, in roughly the same historical moment, in different ways. When I describe elements of material culture as “scripting” human actions, I am
not suggesting that people lack agency. Rather, I am proposing that agency, intention, and racial subjectivation co-emerge through everyday physical encounters with the material world. I use the term *script* as a theatrical practitioner might: to denote an evocative primary substance from which actors, directors, and designers build complex, variable performances that occupy real time and space. A play script, whether *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare or *Operation Hamlet* by Richard Foreman, combines properties of elasticity and resilience so that the play remains recognizable even as it inspires a unique live performance each night. That which I call a “scriptive thing,” like a play script, broadly structures a performance while simultaneously allowing for resistance and unleashing original, live variations that may not be individually predictable.

As focus shifts from the caricature or the woman in isolation to the movements enacted between them, questions of “why” versus “how” burst from their binary configuration into a triangle: psychological questions of why a person acts and textual questions of how material culture produces meaning give way to questions of how humans perform with racially meaningful, three-dimensional material culture. In the moment captured in the “watermelon” photograph, a caricature was insentient but active, while a person was agential but reactive. These complexities demand a new question: how do people dance with things to construct race?

**Scriptive Things**

Things, but not objects, script actions. Martin Heidegger and more recent scholars of “thing theory” define an object as a chunk of matter that one looks through or beyond to understand something human. A thing, in contrast, asserts itself within a field of matter. For example, when an amateur cook uses a knife to chop an onion, the knife might function as an object that the amateur barely notices; in this scenario, the knife is only a tool used to obtain the chopped onion that the human desires. For a trained chef, however, a knife can never be an object: for such a person, each edge of a knife glitters individually with potential and stubbornness, with past, present, and future motions of slicing and chopping. The trained chef’s knife is thus a thing with which a chef negotiates, while an amateur’s knife is an object to the extent that it is only a means to an end. If the amateur’s knife should slip and cut a finger, however, that knife suddenly becomes a thing that has leapt up and asserted itself, a thing that demands to be reckoned with. The difference between objects and things, then, is not essential but situational and subjective.

Objects are important insofar as they manifest, respond to, or transmit meaning that originates in humans. A thing demands that people confront it on its own terms; thus, a thing forces a person into an awareness
ARCHIVE FEVER
A FREUDIAN IMPRESSION

JACQUES DERRIDA

Let us not begin at the beginning, nor even at the archive.

But rather at the word “archive”—and with the archive of so familiar a word. *Arkhe* we recall, names at once the *commencement* and the *commandment*. This name apparently coordinates two principles in one: the principle according to nature or history, *there* where things *commence*—physical, historical, or ontological principle—but also the principle according to the law, *there* where men and gods *command*, *there* where authority, social order are exercised, *in this place* from which *order* is given—nomological principle.

*There*, we said, and *in this place*. How are we to think of *there*? And this *taking place* or this *having a place*, this *taking the place one has* of the *arkhe*?

We have *there* two orders of order: *sequential* and *jussive*. From this point on, a series of cleavages will incessantly divide every atom of our lexicon. Already in the *arkhe* of the commencement, I alluded to the commencement according to nature or according to history, introducing surreptitiously a chain of belated and problematic oppositions between *physis* and its others, *thesis*, *tekhne*, *nomos*, etc., which are found to be at work in the other principle, the nomological principle of the *arkhe*, the principle of the commandment. All would be simple if there were one principle or two principles. All would be simple if the *physis* and each one of its others were one or two. As we have suspected for a long time, it is nothing of the sort, yet we are forever forgetting this. There is always more than one—and more or less than two. In the order of the commencement as well as in the order of the commandment.

The concept of the archive shelters in itself, of course, this memory of the name *arkhe*. But it also *shelters* itself from this memory which it shelters: which comes down to saying also that it forgets it. There is nothing accidental or surprising about this. Contrary to the impression one often has, such a concept is not easy to archive. One has trouble, and for essential reasons, establishing it and interpreting it in the document it delivers to us, here in the word which names it, that is the “archive.” In a way, the term indeed refers, as one would correctly believe, to the *arkhe* in the physical, historical, or *ontological* sense, which is to say to the originary, the first, the principal, the primitive, in short to the commencement. But even more, and even earlier, “archive” refers to the *arkhe* in the *nomological* sense, to the *arkhe* of the commandment. As is the case for the Latin *archivum* or *archium* (a word that is used in the singular, as was the French “archive,” formerly employed as a masculine singular: “un archive”), the meaning of “archive,” its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded. The citizens who thus held and signified political power were considered to

Lecture given on 5 June 1994 in London during an international conference entitled Memory: The Question of Archives. Organized at the initiative of René Major and Elisabeth Roudinesco, this conference was held under the auspices of the Société Internationale d’Histoire de la Psychiatrie et de la Psychanalyse, of the Freud Museum, and of the Courtauld Institute of Art.

The initial title of this lecture, “The Concept of the Archive: A Freudian Impression,” was modified after the fact. The French title is “Mal d’archive: Une impression freudienne.”

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possess the right to make or to represent the law. On account of their publicly recognized authority, it is at their home, in that place which is their house (private house, family house, or employee’s house), that official documents are filed. The archons are first of all the documents' guardians. They do not only ensure the physical security of what is deposited and of the substrate. They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives. Entrusted to such archons, these documents in effect state the law: they recall the law and call on or impose the law. To be guarded thus, in the jurisdiction of this stating the law, they needed at once a guardian and a localization. Even in their guardianship or their hermeneutic tradition, the archives could neither do without substrate nor without residence.

It is thus, in this domiciliation, in this house arrest, that archives take place. The dwelling, this place where they dwell permanently, marks this institutional passage from the private to the public, which does not always mean from the secret to the nonsecret. (It is what is happening, right here, when a house, the Freuds’ last house, becomes a museum: the passage from one institution to another.) With such a status, the documents, which are not always discursive writings, are only kept and classified under the title of the archive by virtue of a privileged topology. They inhabit this unusual place, this place of election where law and singularity intersect in privilege. At the intersection of the topological and the nomological, of the place and the law, of the substrate and the authority, a scene of domiciliation becomes at once visible and invisible. I stress this point for reasons which will, I hope, appear more clearly later. They all have to do with this topo-nomology, with this archontic dimension of domiciliation, with this archic, in truth patriarchic, function, without which no archive would ever come into play or appear as such. To shelter itself and sheltered, to conceal itself. This archontic function is not solely topo-nomological. It does not only require that the archive be deposited somewhere, on a stable substrate, and at the disposition of a legitimate hermeneutic authority. The archontic power, which also gathers the functions of unification, of identification, of classification, must be paired with what we will call the power of consignation. By consignation, we do not only mean, in the ordinary sense of the word, the act of assigning residence or of entrusting so as to put into reserve (to consign, to deposit), in a place and on a substrate, but here the act of consigning through gathering together signs. It is not only the traditional consignatio, that is, the written proof, but what all consignatio begins by presupposing. Consignation aims to coordinate a single corpus, in a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration. In an archive, there should not be any absolute dissociation, any heterogeneity or secret which could separate (secernere), or partition, in an absolute manner. The archontic principle of the archive is also a principle of consignation, that is, of gathering together.

It goes without saying from now on that wherever one could attempt, and in particular in Freudian psychoanalysis, to rethink the place and the law according to which the archontic becomes instituted, wherever one could interrogate or contest, directly or indirectly, this archontic principle, its authority, its titles, and its genealogy, the right that it commands, the legality or the legitimacy that depends on it, wherever secrets and heterogeneity would seem to menace even the possibility of consignation, this can only have grave consequences for a theory of the archive, as well as for its institutional implementation. A science of the archive must include the theory of this institutionalization, that is to say, at once of the law which begins by inscribing itself there and of the right which authorizes it. This right imposes or supposes a bundle of limits which have a history, a deconstructable history, and to the deconstruction of which psychoanalysis has not been foreign, to say the least. This deconstruction in progress concerns, as always, the institution of limits declared to be insurmountable,1 whether they involve family or state

1. Of course, the question of a politics of the archive is our permanent orientation here, even if the time of a lecture does not permit us to treat this directly and with examples. This question will
law, the relations between the secret and the nonsecret, or, and this is not the same thing, between the private and the public, whether they involve property or access rights, publication or reproduction rights, whether they involve classification and putting into order: What comes under theory or under private correspondence, for example? What comes under system? under biography or autobiography? under personal or intellectual anamnesis? In works said to be theoretical, what is worthy of this name and what is not? Should one rely on what Freud says about this to classify his works? Should one for example take him at his word when he presents his Moses as a "historical novel"? In each of these cases, the limits, the borders, and the distinctions have been shaken by an earthquake from which no classificational concept and no implementation of the archive can be sheltered. Order is no longer assured.

I dream now of having the time to submit for your discussion more than one thesis, three at least. This time will never be given to me. Above all, I will never have the right to take your time so as to impose upon you, rapid-fire, these three + n essays. Submitted to the test of your discussion, these theses thus remain, for the time being, hypotheses. Incapable of supporting their demonstration, constrained to posit them along the way in a mode which will appear at times dogmatic, I will recall them in a more critical and formal manner in conclusion.

The hypotheses have a common trait. They all concern the impression left, in my opinion, by the Freudian signature on its own archive, on the concept of the archive and of archivization, that is to say also, inversely and as an indirect consequence, on historiography. Not only on historiography in general, not only on the history of the concept of the archive, but perhaps also on the history of the formation of a concept in general. We are saying for the time being Freudian signature so as not to have to decide yet between Sigmund Freud, the proper name, on the one hand, and, on the other, the invention of psychoanalysis: project of knowledge, of practice and of institution, community, family, domiciliation, consignation, "house" or "museum," in the present state of its archivization. What is in question is situated precisely between the two.

Having thus announced my intentions, and promised to collect them so as to conclude in a more organized fashion, I ask your permission to take the time and the liberty to enter upon several lengthy preliminary excursions.

never be determined as one political question among others. It runs through the whole of the field and in truth determines politics from top to bottom as res publica. There is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation. A contrario, the breaches of democracy can be measured by what a recent and in so many ways remarkable work entitles Forbidden Archives (Archives interdites: Les peurs françaises face à l'histoire contemporaine). Under this title, which we cite as the metonymy of all that is important here, Sonia Combe does not only gather a considerable collection of material, to illuminate and interpret it; she asks numerous essential questions about the writing of history, about the "repression" of the archive [318], about the "repressed' archive" as "power... of the state over the historian" [321]. Among all of these questions, and in referring the reader to this book, let us isolate here the one that is consonant, in a way, with the low tone of our hypothesis, even if this fundamental note, the patriarchive, never covers all the others. As if in passing, Sonia Combe asks in effect: "I hope to be pardoned for granting some credit to the following observation, but it does not seem to me to be due to pure chance that the corporation of well-known historians of contemporary France is essentially, apart from a few exceptions, masculine.... But I hope to be understood also..." [315].