

Autobiography and Narrative

JOHN FRECCERO

The great nineteenth-century medievalists were not famous for their literary sensitivity. Perhaps the most famous anecdote illustrating the point is told about Gaston Paris, who ridiculed the legend about how the unicorn is attracted by the milk from a virgin's breast: with impeccable positivist logic, he pointed out that, as everyone knows, virgins do not lactate. Such remarks would seem to deserve the description Henri Marrou gave Jeanroy's work on the troubadours—the most exacting science applied to an object that the investigator has not yet located.

St. Augustine is an object that has been particularly hard to locate, precisely because he may be said to be the first subject. His work therefore belongs as much to the twentieth century as to the fifth and does not easily lend itself to the empirical analysis to which troubadours and unicorns have been subjected. St. Augustine is as important in the study of modern literature as he is for the study of Western Christendom. His relevance to a conference entitled "Reconstructing Individualism" is that his *Confessions* presents for the first time the literary self-creation of an individual seen both as object and as subject, with all of the contradictions that those aspects imply. If in Nietzschean terms individuality is achieved only by its own destruction, then it may be said that Augustine's is the paradigm for all such achievement, inasmuch as conversion, the theme of the *Confessions*, was theologically defined as the destruction of a former self. Whatever the psychological bases for the theological claim, in this paper I shall try to show that this theme is inherent in the autobiographical genre, which, when it claims to be true, definitive, and concluded, implies the

death of the self as character and the resurrection of the self as author. In theological terms, conversion is the separation of the self as sinner from the self as saint; but in logical, or narratological, terms, this separation founds the possibility of any self-portraiture, a separation between the self as object and the self as subject when the two are claimed to be the same person.

When Pierre Courcelle assembled his repertoire of the posterity of the *Confessions*, ending with André Gide, one of the effects was doubtless to show modernists how scholarly light could be shed on a field usually explored only by critics and other dilettantes. A curious effect of Courcelle's book, one he perhaps did not intend, is that it reveals the influence of the *Confessions* to have been greater in the Renaissance and in the modern period than in the Middle Ages. Themes and influential passages from that great work were cited continually throughout the Middle Ages, of course, but it was always *Magister Augustinus* who was cited; not until Petrarch did it occur to anyone to take the bishop of Hippo as a literary role model. If the modern era may be said to begin with the Petrarchan cult of personality, when Cicero and Virgil ceased being *auctores* and became pen pals, then it may be said that the *Confessions* came to be regarded only in the modern era for what it is: not simply the life of a saint, but also the paradigm for all representations of the self in a retrospective literary structure. This monument of Western Christianity paradoxically achieved its literary significance at the beginning of a distinctly more secular age.

What was thematized in Christianity as the conversion of the sinner into the saint who tells his story may be thematized in a modern narrative in a variety of ways that need have very little to do with the Christian experience. The essential paradigm is unchanged, for it springs from the formal exigencies of telling one's life story rather than from any explicit experience. To state the matter hyperbolically, we might say that every narrative of the self is the story of a conversion or, to put the matter the other way around, a conversion is only a conversion when it is expressed in a narrative form that establishes a separation between the self as character and the self as author. When he told his life story in terms of a conversion from paganism to Christianity, Augustine was at the same time establishing a literary genre, the confession, or narrative of the self.

One reader who found Augustine's conversion difficult to under-

stand was at the same time one of his most assiduous followers. St. Teresa of Avila mentions no other author in her autobiography. Having been given the book to read by her confessor, she is genuinely stirred by some of the ecstatic passages in the narration. Nevertheless, she feels a certain frustration, wondering how someone could have been such a terrible sinner, then seen the light, never to sin again, whereas her own life seems a perpetual series of ups and downs. In her own quest for sanctity she seems disheartened by what she takes to be episodes of backsliding.

If we think of other and later memoirs of saints, particularly in the Renaissance, we too will be struck by the definitiveness of Augustine's conversion. He does list in Book 9 some of the temptations to which he remains subject, but these are not sins properly speaking. There is of course no reason for the bishop to recount every peccadillo—his confession is meant more as witness, which is one of the senses of the word, than as confession in the sacramental sense. But my point here is not the sincerity but the completeness of the story, the starkly definitive crisis that conversion seems to represent.

In order to suggest that this is not a small point, I should like to mention that the contrast between the linear conversion story of Augustine and the fragmentary, dispersed account of Teresa's life may correspond to a distinction that some have made between life stories told by men and those told by women. Male versions seem to be linear, conflictual, and, in a word, oedipal, marked by a struggle for separation. Female versions seem less obsessed with separation and struggle, less linear and more global in their recounting of a life story.

Whatever the value of such a distinction, a question that I have no grounds or competence to decide, it does seem that, historically, in religious memoirs crisis conversions are a male genre—perhaps because the opportunity for sinful behavior, like other opportunity, has traditionally been greater for men. One of the greatest narratives in the Augustinian tradition by a woman, the *Golden Notebook* by Doris Lessing, seems a deliberate refutation of the Augustinian pretense of writing a definitive life story—the red notebook and the black notebook are partial views of the definitive golden notebook that, by implication, can never be completed short of death. Lessing seems to represent as gender specific this view of the writer's attempt to capture her life.

It may be, however, genre specific: Augustine may also be considered the first to have written a story of oedipal separation that resembles the myth of male coming of age. Just as a conversion narrative suggests a separation between the sinner and the saint who tells his story, and as any story of the self implies a separation between the self as protagonist and the self as narrator, so the myth of male maturation is represented as a separation from the parents, which is to say, the separation of a nondifferentiated self from the self that thereby gains an irreducible identity. This pattern, named after Oedipus since Freud, also finds expression, perhaps its first narrative expression, in the *Confessions*. Whatever else is recounted in that story, its plot is clearly oedipal: a struggle to reject the "father of the flesh," as Monica refers to her husband, in favor of the true father and an authentic identity. The basis of the struggle is also clearly sexual, played out in symbolic terms, marking the evolution of the mother from obscure object of desire to frail human being, with all of the faults of any other.

In Augustine's story, the separation of the self from the self is undeniably the central theme; my remarks thus far have interpreted that theme both theologically and psychosexually. The instrumental use of literature would permit either reading: a theological or traditional interpretation, or a Freudian or Eriksonian explanation of the theme. My purpose here, however, is to privilege narrative form in order to show that the autobiographical structure demands this separation, regardless of how theologians, sociologists, or psychologists may use that literary exigency.

The contribution of narrative form to the phenomenology of conversion or maturation becomes apparent when we contrast St. Teresa's observation of her conflicting moments of sin and sanctity with the strict linearity of Augustine's crisis. If we were trading observations about the psychology of everyday living we would probably have to admit that conflicting states of consciousness are what we in fact experience—the "yes" and "no" of what romantic theorists described as "ironic consciousness"—and so we find the Spanish mystic's account of her inner life more true to real life. There is probably no escape from these conflicts in real life, but in literature there does seem to be a way to transform discontinuous moments into linear trajectory: by taking one moment of contradiction and transforming it into a narrative, from *Augustinus* to *alter Augustinus*, so that alternating atemporal moments are trans-

formed into a single temporal sequence and the observing self is segregated from the observed, with which in real life it is constantly confused. In the terms of a now-classic article by Paul de Man, this is the transformation of irony into allegory, the creation of ideal narrative time.¹ We learn in Book 11 of the *Confessions* that time is an extension of the self, just as a literary text is a spatial extension of time; it would not be too bold, perhaps, to turn Augustine's formula around and suggest that the self, the individual, is an extension of inner conflict into an idealized, narrative time.

The literary representation of the self that originates with St. Augustine implies conversion as a logical precondition for the coherence of such a story. The representation of the self in confessional literature involves a reduplication of the self, a separation between the self that was, whose story is narrated, and the self that is, who narrates the story. When the story pretends to be true, definitive, and concluded, it implies simultaneously a continuity between the narrator and the protagonist, so that the intimate details of the story may be known, and a discontinuity, providing an Archimedean point from which the story of that former self may be judged with apparent objectivity and detachment. Any autobiography rests on this logical contradiction. The Pauline doctrine of conversion as a death and resurrection provides a thematic basis for an otherwise-absurd pretense: the story of one's life is definitively concluded, yet one survives to tell the tale. Conversion is therefore not only the subject matter of confession but also the premise that makes the telling of such a story possible. Like the legendary drowning man who sees his whole life panoramically, the storyteller pretends somehow to have survived his own death.

At the same time, the idea of conversion is inconceivable without its narrative expression, the testament that gives an at least rhetorical answer to the question of Nicodemus in the Gospels (John 3:4): "How can a man enter into his mother's womb and be born again?" When the subject is the self, then a retrospective literary structure, with its formally imposed closure, provides a simulacrum of death in its ending and a simulacrum of survival in its very existence. The phenomenon of conversion can be adequately represented as definitive only by extending what may be simply a moment of self-consciousness into a temporal sequence, which is to say, into narrative form, in which the observing self is separated from the observed.

There are, of course, many wry variations on the allegory of the self in modern literature, and all of them depend on the lack of verisimilitude of linear narrative. For example, the arbitrary ending that places an indeterminate time between living the story and telling it, as in Jean-Paul Sartre's *The Words* or in James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, where the qualifying phrase might almost be underscored in order to make a fictive assertion of authenticity. Again, the absurdity may be thematized by infinite regression, as in Gide's *Counterfeiters* (a novel that calls forth a journal and then the journal of the journal), or by alternate versions of a life story, as in Doris Lessing's *Golden Notebook*. Finally, aesthetic distance may be substituted for spiritual distance in the secularized form of conversion exemplified by Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*. All of these may be said to be attempts to borrow the structure of conversion narrative or to reveal its impossibility while avoiding its theological theme.

Such a borrowing marks the beginning of irreducible individuality in literary self-portraiture. Petrarch, for example, arguably the most influential poet in the history of European literature and an assiduous Augustinian, based his self-proclaimed uniqueness on a reading of the *Confessions*, turning Augustine against himself, making sin the principle of individuation. The historical fact is that Augustine the sinner, radically other in his own terms—*alter Augustinus*—turned out to be far more fascinating than the disembodied episcopal voice that judged him so severely.

It is in the nature of the narrator's role to be without individuality—"Call me Ishmael," as Melville put it. From the standpoint of the theme of conversion, nothing further can happen to the person who has faced death and survived. The sinner, however, has historicity. All that happens in a confession has happened to the sinner; as every reader of Dante knows, the truly interesting people are in hell. Similarly, Petrarch's portrait of himself as sinner is essential for his characterizing himself as unique. By the time the genre reaches Rousseau and uniqueness seems more and more elusive, the claim to sinfulness requires virtuoso efforts. This turning-around of Augustine's avowed purpose marks the origin of what might be called the hagiography of the sinner. Because saints are meant to represent the image of God, they all look pretty much alike.

Saints are dull, however, also because in conversion stories

they must function as narrators. Every quality attributed to a narrator transforms that function into a character or a persona. The author is a pure function and is discovered only when all qualities are refined away. One is reminded of Chaucer's straight-man narrator of *Troilus and Criseyde* copying out the story that he finds written in his author, Lollius. To arrive at Chaucer through that series of reduplications would require further ironization of the narrator until his only characteristic would be writing. When the story is autobiography, this progressive attenuation of the storytelling function to pure writing is thematized to represent an authorial self without individuality.

If we were to translate the struggle between author and character, saint and sinner, into modern terms, it might recall a dialectic of consciousness, the self aware of itself, sometimes as totally other. In the field of rhetoric, as Paul de Man has shown, the same separation is characteristic of the figure of irony, a turning back or away from normal signifying processes. What is characteristic of these processes, according to de Man, is that they are endlessly repeated and seem to provide for no escape. The same may be said for Augustine's analysis of conversion and aversion: since the process of turning to God in this life is endless, it is constantly in danger of blockage. No story of the self can be built on such a threat. If, however, the two moments were placed in temporal sequence, aversion from the self and conversion to God, so that in a single turning the reified self led to the self as sign, it would then be possible to transform irony into allegory, specularity into linearity, and the story could be told.

This is in fact what happens in the *Confessions*. Two specular moments are juxtaposed, and an arbitrary period of time is said to separate them: the first is the theft of pears in a nearby orchard; the second is the conversion proper, which takes place under a fig tree in a garden in Milan.

The theft of the pears in Book 2 of the *Confessions* is perhaps the most memorable moment of Augustine's early life and has become part of the standard repertoire of autobiographical narration. Not only is Rousseau's theft of a piece of ribbon in his *Confessions* obviously modeled on this incident, but so are incidents recounted in far less Augustinian stories, as, for instance, the theft of apples in the autobiography of Charles Darwin. What all of these incidents have in common is the relative unimportance of the object

stolen and the gratuitousness of the act. The pears in Augustine's story were misshapen, he was not hungry, and he had far better pears at home: "But it was not the pears that my unhappy soul desired. I had plenty of my own, better than those, and I only picked them that I might steal. For no sooner had I picked them than I threw them away, and tasted nothing in them but my own sin, which I relished and enjoyed. If any part of one of those pears passed my lips, it was the sin that gave it flavor."² The extraordinary fact about this incident is that Augustine goes on for pages analyzing it, whereas he seems to treat much more briefly several far more serious sins in his life that, even by contemporary standards, should have provoked considerably more guilt or at least more space. For example, he mentions in a few lines his casting-off of a common-law wife with whom he had lived for many years and by whom he had had a child. He abandoned her and took her child, and whereas she went back to Africa swearing she would never know another man, he waited barely two months before he took another mistress.

Even Jean-Jacques Rousseau may have been shocked by the disproportionate amount of time Augustine spends on pears as compared to the paragraph he grants to his treachery. In Rousseau's *Confessions* scholars seem not to have noticed that the two Augustinian episodes are conflated: Jean-Jacques steals the ribbon to give to the servant girl under circumstances in which only she or he could be suspected of the crime. When he is publicly accused, he falsely accuses her, knowing she will be sent back home in terrible disgrace. Although, as de Man has suggested, he reflects on her pain and his guilt with considerable relish, he has at least managed to elevate petty thievery to the rank of a monstrous deed. By contrast, Augustine seems scrupulous over a peccadillo and callous about a crime.

From the standpoint of apologetics, it is easy enough to see why Augustine concentrates on such a minor incident: the purpose of confession in his day was almost diametrically opposed to Rousseau's. Presumably anyone could be guilty of adolescent willfulness as Augustine describes it; the theft of the pears establishes a certain solidarity between him and his readers and provides a control for analyzing sin at its most elementary level. Jean-Jacques's crime, although also petty larceny, is a *tour de force* of evil. The implication is that not even in his wildest imagination could a reader forge such an injustice out of such trivial material.

The two stories also have in common the public nature of the theft: Jean-Jacques is surrounded by the members of the household when he is accused of the crime, and he says that, had he been alone with the father, he would not have lied about his responsibility. Shame paradoxically induced him to compound his guilt. In a different vein, Augustine also attributes his act to shame before his companions, who might have thought him cowardly if he had not gone forward with the theft: "Alone, I would not have done it." The voices of his companions seduce him into the otherwise-unmotivated theft so that he may prove himself.

The real motivation for Augustine's apparently gratuitous act is his desire to be God-like: "All who desert you and set themselves up against you merely copy you in a perverse way" (2.6; p. 50). Herein lies the importance of the gratuitous nature of the theft: to have a motive is to be in need and therefore to be contingent. The appropriation of the pears is a self-appropriation, an illicit assertion of one's selfhood and one's autonomy. At the same time, this is the essence of all sin. The context of the episode makes it clear that the pears might be metonymically replaced with any other object of desire and its structure would be the same: sex for the adolescent, riches and ambition for the adult, all are conversions to the self. A passage from *On the Trinity* presses the analogy between any human action, for good or ill, and the inner life of the Trinity, inasmuch as both generate a word, defined as the union of knowledge and love: "Now a word is born, when, being thought out, it pleases us to the effect either of sinning or of doing right. Therefore love, as it were a mean, conjoins our word and the mind from which it is conceived, and without any confusion binds itself as a third with them, in an incorporeal embrace."³ The word of sin is averted from God and directed toward materiality in a parody of power, "like a slave," says Augustine, "who ran away from his master and chased a shadow instead" (2.6; p. 50).

There is a sexual overtone in the theft of the pears that is never made explicit. It derives from the fact that the episode is virtually contemporaneous in the narrative with Augustine's sexual coming of age: "The brambles of lust grew high above my head and there was no one to root them out, certainly not my father. One day at the public baths he saw the signs of active virility coming to life in me and this was enough to make him relish the thought of having grandchildren." (2.3; p. 45.) Fortunately, from the standpoint of the

narrative, even Monica stays her hand: "For even my mother . . . did not act upon what she heard about me from her husband with the same earnestness as she had advised me about chastity. She saw that I was already infected with a disease that would become dangerous later on, but if the growth of my passions could not be cut back to the quick, she did not think it right to restrict them to the bounds of married love." (2.3; p. 46.) The phallic associations were doubtless as obvious to the author as they are to us, so that it seems ponderous to insist on the threat of castration manqué suggested in that passage. For the moment, it is enough to say that the assertion of selfhood by shaking down and carrying off the pears and the suggestion of nascent sexuality are contiguous in this text, whereas theft and adolescent sexuality are conflated in Rousseau.

If there is a suggestion of sexuality hovering about the pear tree, there is more than a suggestion of maternity associated with the fig tree. In Book 3, Augustine makes fun of some Manichean beliefs that he once shared: "I was gradually led to believe such nonsense as that a fig wept when it was plucked, and that the tree which bore it shed tears of mother's milk. But if some sanctified member of the sect were to eat the fig—someone else, of course, would have committed the sin of plucking it—he would digest it and breathe it out in the form of angels." (3.10; p. 67.) Immediately following this passage, Augustine returns to the subject of his mother, precisely to her tears: "You . . . rescued my soul from darkness because my mother, your most faithful servant, wept to you for me, shedding more tears for my spiritual death than other mothers shed for the bodily death of a son. . . . You heard her and did not despise the tears which streamed down and watered the earth in every place where she had bowed her head in prayer." (3.11; p. 68.) The episode of the fig tree itself, in Book 8, is preceded by a series of female apparitions. First, Augustine's former mistresses pluck at the "garment of [his] flesh" and ask, "Are you going to dismiss us? . . . Will you no longer be allowed to do *hoc et illud*?" They keep plucking at his back, trying to make him turn his head although he wishes to go forward. Habit then asks, "Do you think you can live without these things?" Finally Lady Continence appears, beckoning him: "She stretched out loving hands to embrace me, holding up a host of good examples to my sight. With her were countless boys and girls, great numbers of the young and people of all ages, staid widows and women still virgins in old age. In their

midst was Contenance herself, not barren but a fruitful mother of children . . . saying, 'Can you not do what these men and these women do?'" (8.77; p. 176.) Reinforcing the association of Contenance and the tree is the fact that the catalogue of innocents in the arms of Contenance is strongly reminiscent of a Virgilian simile in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* comparing generations of men and women to leaves.

Amid the head-high brambles of lust, Augustine was called to the pear tree by a band of roughnecks: "Come on, let's do it!" He is summoned to the fig tree by the voices of children, perhaps from a nearby house, calling, "*Tolle, lege*"—"Take it and read." He wonders whether children ever say such words in their games, and not being able to recall ever having heard such words before, he interprets them as a command to take up the Bible and to read the passage that leads to his conversion. He reads the book because he remembers hearing the story of St. Anthony, who was converted when he heard the Gospel. The interpretive process does not stop here, however, for he passes the book to his friend Alypius, who reads on and is also converted. That touch has the effect of extending the trajectory of the reading proleptically to us, the readers of a text about someone who was interpreted by a text after someone was interpreted by a text in a regress that for Augustine goes back to the Gospels. Finally, Book 8 ends when the two friends go back to tell an overjoyed Monica about their experience, and she is pleased more than she could have been by grandchildren begotten by the flesh.

The insistence upon the fruitfulness of Lady Contenance and the mention of the conversion as the spiritual equivalent of Monica's grandchildren marks the end of Augustine's sexual identity and the beginning of the narrator's ideal existence. In Augustine's terms, it marks the turning around of the inner word from the creature to the Creator, for the fruit of the tree are like words: "The words of scripture are a leafy orchard, where some see hidden fruit. They fly about in joy like birds, breaking into song as they gaze at the fruit and feed upon it." (13.20; p. 328.)

It is tempting to read the *Confessions* as an oedipal drama, in which the "father of the flesh," as Monica referred to her husband, is at last defeated and replaced by his son. The narrative even provides a godfather in the person of St. Ambrose, ready to play the

part of Creon in order to make the drama complete. The psyche thereby revealed, however, would not be that of St. Augustine the individual but rather that of Latin Christianity. Augustine's father, still a pagan, is rejected as Rome is rejected in favor of Mother Church. Ambrose the bishop is at once spiritual godfather and spiritual husband of the Church. The roles for the drama had been established by Scripture; if the *Confessions* are oedipal in structure, then so is the *City of God*.

The same may be said for the psychosexual drama of the two trees, for they are clearly allegorical: for all of the dramatic realism that seems to be conveyed by the incident of the theft of the pears, there are several suggestions in the text that the pear tree is meant to be the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Not only are the pears referred to as *poma*, the Vulgate's generic word for fruit in the Garden of Eden, but the themes of hiding and temptation are prominent as well. Augustine's description of his relationship with his mistress also recalls Genesis, for when she is torn away from him, it is as if he has lost his rib: "The woman with whom I have been living was torn from my side . . . and this was a wound which left my heart bleeding." Finally, even the highly suspicious allusion to castration can be subsumed under the authority of Christ's words in the Gospel of Matthew, cited by Augustine immediately before the anecdote about the onset of adolescence. The text of the Gospel (Matt. 19: 12) is as follows: "For there are some eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs which were made eunuchs by men: and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake."

A similar series of allusions surrounds the episode of the fig tree in Book 8. The fig tree represents the ultimate aspiration of the Jews in the Old Testament. The prophet Micah looks forward to the day when "he shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree" (Mic. 4: 4). Undoubtedly the writer of the Gospel of John had this in mind when he began his narration with a calling-forth of Nathanael the Jew, who had been sleeping under the fig tree (John 1: 45-48). Philip summons him to Jesus: "We have found him of whom Moses and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." Nathanael answers with what is probably the only joke in the Gospel of John—"Can anything good come out of Nazareth?"—but goes to Jesus, who says, "Before Philip called you, when you

were under the fig tree, I saw you." The episode is traditionally read as the vocation of the Jews to begin the struggle again where the Old Testament had left off.

Genesis and John were the two portions of the Bible upon which St. Augustine commented most often and on which he became the interpretive authority. They were linked, as far as he was concerned, by their tracing of the history of the word. Genesis begins, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth"; the Gospel of John begins, "In the beginning was the Word." For him, these were equivalent statements that summed up the rationale of all of history, a movement from the uncreated word before time to the incarnation, the word made flesh. Readers of the *Confessions* will remember that the book ends with a reprise of this favorite theme.

If I am correct in my identification of the pear tree and the fig, then they are nothing less than the poles of human history, from the interdiction in the beginning to the conversion at the end. Far from being simply anecdotes drawn from an irreducibly individual human life, they are intended as the embodiments in Augustine's life of the pattern of the Redemption. Furthermore, if my hypothesis is correct, then this reading may help to explain what the autobiographical books of the *Confessions* have to do with the exegetical books that close the work, dedicated to an understanding of the words "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." It is as if the historical Augustine had been refined away by his conversion and had become the commentator on the very structure that retrospectively seemed to be the principle of his own life's organization. In other words, the conversion marks the transformation of autobiography into biblical allegory.

I have spoken of the transformation of ironic impasse into allegorical temporality at the level of autobiography and of universal history. What binds these together is the very nature of narration, the fact that a sentence, a life, or a book must have an ending. In an extraordinary passage in Book 11, in the midst of a discussion on the nature of time, Augustine makes a poem the paradigm of understanding linearity and separation in all of the realms we have been discussing. We may extend his observation in a thoroughly secular way by suggesting that his own idealized self-portraiture is a result of its presentation in narrative form. The *Confessions* remains the exemplary autobiography because it makes coextensive the book and the life that the book was meant to illustrate. Theme and form

are one. The important implication for this conference is that individualism, with all its contradictions, is inconceivable, in the Augustinian tradition, without its literary expression. This is the meaning that subsequent generations of writers took from Augustine's work, long after they had rejected what he considered to be its substance.

Contributors

CHRISTINE BROOKE-ROSE

STANLEY CAVELL

NANCY JULIA CHODOROW

JAMES CLIFFORD

NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS

JOHN FRECCERO

MICHAEL FRIED

CAROL GILLIGAN

STEPHEN GREENBLATT

IAN HACKING

WERNER HAMACHER

NIKLAS LUHMANN

JOHN W. MEYER

MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM

J. B. SCHNEEWIND

PAOLO VALESIO

Reconstructing Individualism

Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self
in Western Thought



EDITED BY THOMAS C. HELLER,
MORTON SOSNA, AND DAVID E. WELLBERY
with Arnold I. Davidson, Ann Swidler, and Ian Watt

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Stanford, California 1986