



Constructing the Medieval and Early Modern across Disciplines

Edited by Karen Christianson



THE NEWBERRY

*Constructing
the Medieval and Early Modern
across Disciplines*

*Selected Proceedings of the
Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies
2011 Multidisciplinary Graduate Student Conference*

Edited by Karen Christianson

Contributing Editors:

Anupam Basu, Elizabeth Black, Andrew Bozio,
Glen Doris, David Hitchcock, Matthew Maletz,
Brad Mollmann, Renée Anne Poulin, and John Walters

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Introduction

By Karen Christianson

Each year in January the Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies holds a multidisciplinary graduate student conference. Emerging scholars studying the medieval, Renaissance, or early modern periods in Europe, the Atlantic world, or the Mediterranean world come together to share their research, meet future colleagues, and gain experience in organizing, presenting at, or simply attending an academic conference. The participants of the 2011 conference comprised some seventy presenters in eighteen sessions, which were organized and presided over by a group of nine advanced doctoral students from member universities of the Center consortium. Overall, forty-three consortium schools and sixteen disciplines in the humanities were represented, with participants from sixteen U.S. states, three universities in Canada, and two in the United Kingdom. At most of these schools, the graduate students studying these early periods constitute a very small group. Thus the conference provides a rare opportunity for such scholars to not only hear cutting-edge research in their fields, but also get to know and talk informally with others who share their interests.

After the conference, the hardworking organizers met to choose the best papers for inclusion in this selected conference proceedings. Each organizer/editor then worked with two authors to help them expand and revise their conference presentations for publication. The result is this volume. It epitomizes the essential idea of multidisciplinary at the heart of the conference, with essays from scholars in departments of Near Eastern languages, music, comparative religion, art history, English, Spanish, and history. The span of time periods, geographical regions, and methodological approaches of these essays is equally broad, mirroring the richness and vitality of premodern studies.

Karen Christianson, Ph.D., is associate director of the Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies.

That Melodious Linguist: Eloquence and Piety in Christian and Islamic Songbirds

By Cam Lindley Cross

“Birds,” writes Albertus Magnus, “generally call more than other animals. This is due to the lightness of their spirits.”¹ Although Albertus here employs “lightness” (*levitas*) as a technical term, the broader valences of the word are very significant; a lightness of spirit does not only indicate one who is fickle, flighty, and unconcerned with the problems of the world, as we see in its cognates *légèreté* in French and *levity* in English, but can also suggest a state of moral purity and innocence. The etymological relationship between lightness (*levis*) and light itself (*lux*, both from the Indo-European root *leuk-*)² adds another level of interpretive meaning—as Dante illustrates in the *Divina Commedia*, sin is both dark *and* heavy, a kind of moral weight that crushes the body and hinders spiritual progress.³ As creatures of light and levity, whose wings take them beyond the borders of *terra firma* that demarcate the domain of man, birds can be seen as residing in a state of proximity to the spiritual world that no other living thing may access; their myriad and musical songs only reinforce their depiction as bearers of secret knowledge, concealed by a secret tongue. Solomon, wisest of all kings, is granted the ability to speak with the birds in both Jewish and Islamic tradition;⁴ the qur’anic passage “we were taught the language of birds [*manṭiq al-ṭayr*]” (Qur’an 27:16) is directly referenced by the Persian poet and mystic Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (d. c. 1221) in his *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*, a metaphysical journey into the sublime realm of gnosis, usually translated into English as *The Conference of the Birds*.⁵ Birds have long played the role of bearers of heavenly

¹ Albertus Magnus, *On Animals: A Medieval Summa Zoologica*, trans. Kenneth F. Kitchell and Irven Michael Resnick, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 23.6, p. 1546. Cf. “Sunt aves generaliter magis vocantes aliis animalibus: et hoc contingit propter spirituum ipsarum levitatem.” Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus Libri XXVI*, ed. H. Stadler, 2 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, 15–16 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1916–21), 23.6, p. 1432.

² Calvert Watkins, ed., *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1985), cf. *leuk-*.

³ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno*, trans. Robert M. Durling (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), Canto VII, ll. 25–30; Canto XIX, ll. 73–75; Canto XXIII, ll. 65–67.

⁴ Ellen Frankel, *The Classic Tales: 4,000 Years of Jewish Lore* (Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson Inc., 1989), 214.

⁵ Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār, *The Conference of the Birds*, trans. Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth; New York: Penguin Books, 1984).

tidings and portents in Jewish and Hellenic augury, while in the Bible the Holy Spirit takes the form of a dove at Jesus's baptism (Luke 3:22) and is likewise depicted at the Annunciation in popular iconography. Birds are found in the liminal spaces at the ends of the earth: in the early Irish Voyages (*immrama*) of Bran (8th c.) and St. Brendan (10th c.), they sing the Canonical Hours in the Isles of Earthly Paradise and transform into angels."⁶ Similarly, Alexander travels to the edge of the Far East and speaks to the birds in his search for wisdom.⁷ Through a shared heritage of scriptural traditions and natural philosophy, an intimate relationship between birds and the spiritual realm is consistently evident in the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic literature of the medieval period.

Although this common background is an important factor within the literatures of both Latinate Europe and the Hellenic-Islamic Near East, it does not of course mean that writing on this theme was by any means uniform or consistent between different periods of time, religious contexts, or even individual writers. In addition, instances of seeming symmetry between two literatures may be explained through the concept of polygenesis—that similar ideas and tropes may arise independently of each other from unrelated traditions. Wendy Pfeffer takes this approach in her comparison of the nightingale (a beloved trope throughout European and Asian poetry) in European vernacular, Arabic, and Persian verse, concluding that whatever similarities we see are nothing more than “parallel developments” of the image in different environments: “Despite the decades of debate over possible Arabic influences on medieval European literature, with regard to courtly love, in particular, it seems clear that with reference to the figure of the nightingale there was no influence whatsoever.”⁸ Perhaps this outright rejection of any possible cross-pollination is due to the question of “influence,” an unfortunate term that especially preoccupies the fields of qur'anic studies and Andalusian literature. The credit or blame one can attribute to a particular group by showing how it “influenced” its neighbors, while somehow remaining unaffected by the exchange, means the stakes of this kind of language are very high. However, there is no reason in my mind why one could not consider the depiction of birds in these literatures, if not in direct dialogue with one another, then at least emerging from a set of values, ideas, and beliefs that are common to Europe and the Near East alike, in accordance with the recommendation of G. E. von Grunebaum, who writes, “The interaction between East and West in the Middle Ages will never be correctly diagnosed or correctly assessed and appraised unless their fundamental cultural unity is realized and taken into consideration.”⁹ In the realm of natural science, the adoption of Aristotelean organizational principles is apparent in the work of both Avicenna and Albertus Magnus; the divergent ways in which these physical concepts are recast in scriptural exegesis and literary metaphor are more indicative, I would say, of the particular motives and outlook of the individual author, rather than their religious or cultural biases. Beryl Rowland, in her excellent study *Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism*, remarks that “It is a rare bird that is

⁶ Edward A. Armstrong, *Saint Francis: Nature Mystic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 65–67, 95.

⁷ Dick Davis, trans., *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings* by Abolqasem Ferdowsi (New York: Viking, 2006), 513.

⁸ Wendy Pfeffer, “Spring, Love, Birdsong: The Nightingale in Two Cultures,” in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy*, ed. Willene B. Clark and Meredith T. McMunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 93.

⁹ G. E. von Grunebaum, “Avicenna's *Risāla fī 'l-'Iṣq* and Courtly Love,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11, no. 4 (1952): 238.

found in Hell. . . . Taken collectively, they most commonly represent the spirit with its capacity for joy, and they sing of the day of Grace.”¹⁰ Although birds are remarkably thick agents of symbol and metaphor in world literature, this tendency to associate them with the higher and godlier aspects of the human soul seems to be a common characteristic of speculative and allegorical literature of both Muslim and Christian thinkers, an observation that reminds us how deeply intertwined the two traditions are.

The Animal Soul

Let us, then, return to Albertus Magnus and ask: what is it about birds that makes them sing? As a student of Aristotle’s methods and an important figure of medieval Peripatetic, preceded in this line by Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 1037), Averroës (Ibn Rushd, d. 1198) and Maimonides (Musa ibn Maymun, d. 1204), Albertus (d. 1280) will seek to resolve this question through the established laws of physical science. It is literally an abundance of air, especially in the bodies of the smaller birds, that endows them with the property of *levitas*.¹¹ This is not necessarily a good thing to have; these birds of light spirit, such as sparrows, jays, magpies, finches, and wrens, are prone to lust and intemperance: “I would say that birds generally chirp or call only during the time when they seek intercourse”; “the excessive chattering of birds is caused by the many desires.”¹² Birds have little inherent substance of their own; light spirits are easily molded and imprinted by any form, which means that birds are apt to mimic the speech of others as much as they are to represent themselves. However, this capacity to learn, adopt, and imitate borne out of lightness gives birds a cleverness and subtlety unrivaled in the rest of the animal kingdom: swallows, for example, build nests that are so fine “they seem to exhibit some art and intellect in their design,” while the jay shows both “imagination and foresight” in its inventive minstrelsy and prudent gathering of acorns for the winter.¹³ Some birds, like the stork and the turtledove, even demonstrate acts of apparent piety and chastity, the former in caring for its parents in their old age, the latter in practicing life-long monogamy, even after the death of its mate.¹⁴

Some would say that Albertus is treading on treacherous ground with these descriptions of pious, intelligent birds, for they smack dangerously of anthropomorphism, which has been taboo in the sciences for many centuries. Even today, the false or misinformed attribution of supposedly uniquely human characteristics, such as feelings, emotions, and reason, to animal subjects is an issue of some concern within all contemporary fields of animal studies, be it behavioral science, psychology, or cognitive processes.¹⁵ This anxiety is present as well in the classical Aristotelian view

¹⁰ Beryl Rowland, *Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), xv.

¹¹ Albertus Magnus, 21.26, p. 1426.

¹² Albertus Magnus, 8.223, p. 765; 21.27, p. 1426.

¹³ Albertus Magnus, 8.52, p. 689; 8.74, p. 698.

¹⁴ Albertus Magnus, 8.68, p. 695; 8.56, p. 690.

¹⁵ Emanuela Cenami Spada, “Amorphism, Mechanomorphism, and Anthropomorphism,” in *Anthropomorphism, Anecdotes, and Animals*, ed. Robert W. Mitchell, Nicholas S. Thompson, and H. Lyn Miles (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 37–50.

and the later theories of Descartes and other philosophers of the Enlightenment, which both rely heavily on a necessary and fundamental divide between man and beast. In the *Historia Animalium*, Aristotle allows that animals have properties “akin” to knowledge, wisdom, and sagacity (*techne*, *sophia*, and *synesis*), but that they are purely accidental results of their physiology, such as whether the blood is hot or cold, thick or thin; animals fundamentally lack the inherent powers of sense and reason that exist in man.¹⁶ Thus, any displays of cleverness or sagacity on the part of animals are merely similar in appearance, and not in substance, to those in humans—a kind of polygenesis of the natural world: “Corresponding to art, wisdom and intelligence in man, certain animals possess another natural capability of a similar sort.”¹⁷ Descartes, of course, believes that animals are soulless automata devoid of language, thought, or self-consciousness, all factors that obviously separate them from humans.¹⁸ Although scholars such as Linda Kalof argue that a similar “preoccupation with maintaining the sharp distinction between humans and animals” exists as well in the medieval period, it must be noted that this delineation took shape in a very different ontological discourse and that the attribution of human properties to animals, either metaphorically or literally, does not seem to be so problematic.¹⁹ Albertus’s position is very nuanced in this regard, for although Aristotelian natural science lies at the root of his work, it is the contribution of Islamic philosophers to the tradition, most importantly by Avicenna, that informs the terms of his analysis.

The discussion on animal intelligence takes an interesting turn in the Islamic context, beginning with the startling attitude of the Qur’an on this topic. Although there are passages that assume a relationship of service and reward between humans and animals, animals are never explicitly defined as human property—all things turn directly to God. Thus, all animals are inherently Muslims; they have their own language and prophets, and even receive the revelation.²⁰ In comparison, almost all the references to people as a category (*insān*) occur in a negative light, criticizing them for their arrogance, short-sightedness, and denial of God’s bounty. Even the only apparent proof of a natural hierarchy of creatures in the Qur’an, the oft-cited “We created man in the best of forms” is immediately complicated in the following verse “Then we returned him to the lowest of the low,” emphasizing that it is only by virtue of their belief, and not their bodies, that humans are beloved of God (Qur’an 95:4–5). In *ḥadīth* literature, the Prophet’s kindness to animals is a recurring feature, and in the Shi’a tradition, the Prophet and his companions directly converse with them.²¹ Thus, from a scriptural standpoint, there is little evidence to suggest that human and animal souls are fundamentally different.

¹⁶ Peter G. Sobol, “The Shadow of Reason: Explanations of Intelligent Animal Behavior in the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Medieval World of Nature: A Book of Essays*, ed. Joyce E. Salisbury (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1993), 111.

¹⁷ Aristotle, *History of Animals, Books VII–X*, trans. D. M. Balme, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1991), 588a29–31, p. 61.

¹⁸ John Cottingham, “Descartes’ Treatment of the Animals,” in *Descartes*, ed. John Cottingham, Oxford Readings in Philosophy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 225–228.

¹⁹ Linda Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 45.

²⁰ Richard C. Foltz, *Animals in Islamic Tradition and Muslim Cultures* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006), 17.

²¹ Foltz, 20–24.

With the advent of the translation movement of the eighth to tenth centuries, Muslim philosophers and jurists began to absorb Neoplatonic and Aristotelian elements into their natural science and theology. Avicenna, who in the words of Dimitri Gutas, “represents the culmination of the tendencies that preceded him and constitutes the fountainhead of everything that came after him,”²² complicates Aristotle’s claim that animals only accidentally exhibit something akin to reason and intelligence, arguing that animals can perceive inherent qualities through their perceptive faculties and thus discern abstract universals, such as danger, harm, and benefit, in particular forms.²³ These ideas are found in his monumental *Book of Healing* (*Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*), which was widely translated and discussed throughout medieval Europe—Amos Bertolacci argues that not only Roger Bacon but his contemporary Albertus Magnus had direct experience with the work and its expository Prologue.²⁴ In another text, the *Treatise on Love* (*al-Risālah fī al-Ishq*), Avicenna explains how the movement of all forms, human and animal alike, is an imitation (*tashabbuh*) of the Absolute Good in accordance with their individual capacities for perception, contemplation, and action.²⁵ Thus, the actions of a donkey, a man, and an angel are essentially the same, being driven by the same fundamental force of desire for the Good. While there is an explicitly named hierarchy in terms of a being’s *capacity* to act, it is an accumulated span of potentialities over the same basic substance of the soul, rather than an either/or situation between two separate kinds of souls, one sensitive and the other rational. The human soul is, in fact, an animal soul, albeit with a more refined capacity to comprehend and imitate perfection. It is therefore not so difficult for Avicenna to consider animals as sensitive creatures endowed with the capacity for intelligent, prudent, and noble behavior to varying degrees, which is precisely what humans are, nor is there any theological necessity to sharply delineate where animal ends and human begins.

In response to Avicenna, Albertus concedes that that things like memory, imagination, estimation, appraisal, and instruction do indeed exist in animal species. However, he believes that they only learn through their sensual perception of immediate motion, which they compare with their memory and experience, rather than through a recognition of universal abstracts that exist throughout time.²⁶ This does not arise from a fundamental divergence of modes of perception, but rather from the mind’s quality and sophistication. There are, for example, two kinds of reason, a “reason of shadows” that is born of inferences and associations made through sensory perception, and a “reason of light,” which is only done through abstract reasoning.²⁷ All sensing creatures have access to the first mode, while only fully developed humans (excluding apes, pygmies, and perhaps

²² Dimitri Gutas, “The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000–ca. 1350,” in *Avicenna and his Heritage: Acts of the International Colloquium Leuven-Louvain-la-Neuve, September 8–September 11, 1999*, ed. Jules Janssens and Daniel De Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 81.

²³ Sobol, 112–13.

²⁴ Amos Bertolacci, “Albert the Great and the Preface of Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Šifāʾ*,” in *Avicenna and his Heritage: Acts of the International Colloquium Leuven-Louvain-la-Neuve, September 8–September 11, 1999*, ed. Jules Janssens and Daniel De Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 139, 151–152.

²⁵ Joseph Norment Bell, “Avicenna’s *Treatise on Love* and the Nonphilosophical Muslim Tradition,” *Der Islam* 63, no. 1 (1986): 77.

²⁶ Albertus Magnus, 21.15–18, p. 1419–21; Sobol, 118.

²⁷ Albertus Magnus, 21.12, p. 1417.

even children) can arrive to the second. Animals can perceive and demonstrate language, virtue, and piety, but do so without a full comprehension of their significance; thus, these behaviors can be understood as derivative: “Animals which participate in a lifestyle only participate in it through some sort of imitation, for the principle of their actions does not possess virtue but rather some natural inclination to a likeness of virtue. Thus the turtledove and ringdove *imitate* chastity.”²⁸ Albertus reiterates this stance in regards to the speech of birds: “When speaking they do not conceive the articulation of the voice, but they only chatter, bringing forth the configuration of a word by imitating it.”²⁹ Although Albertus reflects Aristotle’s contention that animals cannot think on the same level as humans, he does so through the Avicennan argument that the intellect does not constitute a wholly new faculty that clearly divides humans from animals, but is rather an additional dimension of thought that enriches and refines the sensitive capacities that are common to both humans and animals.

On both sides of the medieval Mediterranean, we can see a consensus building among the philosophers: while birds (and other animals) cannot enact the human condition to its fullest extent, they can approximate and imitate it within the limits of their individual capacity. This does not decrease the birds’ potency as models of moral, virtuous, and pious behavior—if anything, the natural sciences only justify their preeminent position in this role, for as Albertus says, the avian body is more or less purged of bodily contaminates, and the avian soul is naturally euphoric.³⁰ His contemporary Brunetto Latini (d. 1294) claims in his encyclopedic *Li Livres dou Tresor* that as creatures of air and fire, choler and blood, birds are joyful and active, free of the covetousness and lethargy that afflicts those of cold complexion; weightless, they ascend towards the outer spheres, where they approximate the eternal and incorruptible nature of God.³¹ It is important to note that Brunetto does not explicitly link this characteristic to individual birds, but rather speaks of them in the context of the cosmic order; while his section on individual birds is little more than a compendium of *mirabiles*, typical of many medieval bestiaries, the necessary background is there for birds to be the angels of the animal kingdom, inhabiting the heavenly spheres and joyfully offering their song to God’s glory.

Singers of Faith and Devotion

In the 960s and ‘70s, a group of thinkers and philosophers living in Basra, then the seat of the Abbasid Caliphate, began to issue epistles (*rasā’il*) under the collective name “the sincere brethren and loyal friends” (*ikhwān al-ṣafā’ wa-khillān al-wafā’*), often abbreviated to the “Brethren of Purity” in English scholarship. While there is some debate around the true identity of the Brethren and where their theological loyalties lie, it is clear that they are chiefly concerned with the art of

²⁸ Albertus Magnus, 1.54, p. 65. Emphasis mine.

²⁹ Albertus Magnus, 21.27, p. 1426.

³⁰ Albertus Magnus, 62.

³¹ Brunetto Latini, *The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1993), 61–65, 113.

discernment, that subtle process of extracting universal truth out of the temporal world we inhabit. Neoplatonists to the core, the Brethren consistently demonstrate how the underlying singularity of creation and essential being paradoxically manifests itself in the multiplicity and heterogeneity of the physical world. Their work can often be read on multiple levels, where the superficial ideas of a story are enriched and complicated through extended metaphor and polysemous idiom. One of these epistles, translated by Lenn Goodman as “The Case of the Animals Versus Man,” is a unique foray into the problem of animality, simultaneously questioning man’s assumed superiority at the top of the hierarchy while offering an alternative world-view from the perspective of the animals, who have had enough of man’s lording it over them and take their grievances to court, which is presided over by the king of the *jinn*. Each animal kingdom, that of the beasts, the birds, the swimmers, and the crawling creatures, is charged to send an ambassador to represent their kind in the upcoming contest. The simurgh, the Persian analogue to the phoenix and ruler of the birds, asks the peacock, his vizier, to list for him the potential candidates for the job.

There are the hoopoe who scouts, the cock who calls to prayer, the pigeon who finds the way, the calling partridge, the singing pheasant, the preaching lark, the mocking bird, the swallow who builds, the soothsaying raven, the watchful crane, the dusky sand grouse, the cheery sandpiper, the lusty sparrow, the green woodpecker, the mournful ringdove, the sandy wood pigeon, the Meccan turtledove, the mountain bullfinch, the Persian starling, the quail of the plains and the stork from its forts, the magpie of the garden, the duck of Kaskar, Abû Tîmâr the heron from the shore, the goose from the dell, the cormorant from the sea, the ostrich of the desert, and that melodious linguist the nightingale.³²

Saying this, the vizier takes the king around to interview each bird, one after another. As diverse a host as they are, they all have two things in common: first, they worship God, and second, they speak in poetry. The first attribute is consistent with and confirms the Islamic belief that as Muslims, all creatures love God and obey His word. The capacity for poetic speech, on the other hand, seems to be a distinct property of the bird kingdom (with some exceptions, such as the cricket who sings while he plays his fiddle). Although the physical description of each bird is rather brief, the poems they recite are most illustrative of their characters, running the stylistic gamut from the exhortations of an impassioned preacher to the polished literary language of the Qur’an and classical poetry. The cock, announcer of the new day, enjoins his brethren to piety and summons them to the morning prayer: “How long, neighbors, will you sleep! / Remember God, you mindless of death and decay!”³³ The partridge, “stooped from long prostration, genuflection, and kneeling in prayer,” thanks God for the blessings of the world and offers a personal supplication: “O Lord, shelter me from jackals, birds of prey, and human hunters, and protect me from human physicians’ describing the benefits that are in me as nourishment for the sick.”³⁴ The

³² Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, *The Case of the Animals Versus Man Before the King of the Jinn: A Tenth-century Ecological Fable of the Pure Brethren of Basra*, trans. Lenn Evan Goodman (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 90–91.

³³ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, 91.

³⁴ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, 91.

wise and watchful crane, standing awake throughout the night, intones, “Praised be He who yoked two lights in heaven. / Praised be He who loosed two seas on earth.”³⁵ The raven is a soothsayer, warning all the world of the inevitable Day of Judgment: “Haste! Haste! Away! Away! Watch out for ruin, Sinner! Lecher! Seeker of this world’s life!”³⁶ The mocking bird “speaks clearly and expressively and has many tunes”—he lives among men and reminds them in their dalliance to remember God: “Lord, Lord! Are you still playing! / The time to laugh is done. / Lord! Lord! You should be praying, / Not coveting what you’ve not won.”³⁷

As Goodman notes, this diversity of song belies a unicity of devotion; while humans claim to be superior to animals in that they all have the same approximate form, and thus more closely approximate God’s unity, they are in fact scattered and divided on the spiritual level, while the birds, possessed of different bodies and melodies, are of a single mind as they praise their Creator.³⁸ Moreover, the birds demonstrate a way of devotional living that would not be unfamiliar to the monks and theologians of Christian Europe: truly pious beings do not speak, they only sing. As the Brethren were writing their epistles in Basra, the monastery of Cluny was meanwhile adopting a bold policy that forbade its monks from making any vocalization except for songs of praise, gratitude, and supplication: “the avoidance of speech not only protected monks from sins of the tongue, but also directed and shaped their behavior to make it consonant with that of the angels, whose ranks they hoped to join in the life to come.”³⁹ Not all angels are equal, however, and neither are all birds. Although it is clear that all of the candidates are devout servants of God, the one who is ultimately chosen to be their ambassador is the nightingale, for it is he who is “the most eloquent and expressive of them all, the finest singer and the most melodious.”⁴⁰ In both secular and religious aspects, the power of persuasion is an undeniable asset, for it will bolster the animals’ defense before the judge while simultaneously exhorting the human opposition to consider their wicked ways and repent. Armed with such silver-tongued champions as the nightingale, the animal delegation easily presses its case against the humans, systematically destroying their claims of superiority *vis-à-vis* science, learning, agriculture, art, politics, or religion—all of these things, the animals prove, are either unimpressive next to the wonders of the natural world, or are the cause of more suffering and destruction than they are of joy and prosperity. The single arrow in the humans’ arsenal that finally wins them the day is the question of immortality, which no animal can dispute. It is not what humans *are* that secures them divine favor over animals, it is what they can *become*.⁴¹ In their mundane lives, humans are the brutes, rarely surpassing the example of their animal brethren, but it is their ability to choose and adopt

³⁵ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, 95.

³⁶ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, 94.

³⁷ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, 93.

³⁸ Lenn E. Goodman, “Reading The Case of the Animals Versus Man: Fable and Philosophy in the Essays of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā,” in *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and their Rasā’il*, ed. Nader El-Bizri (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 269–70.

³⁹ Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition c. 900–1200* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 14.

⁴⁰ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, 97.

⁴¹ Goodman, 273.

the angelic life that ultimately counts in their favor. In this way, the devotional songs of the nightingale and other birds are actually best read as reminders to men of their inherent potential as the best of worshippers.

A similar idea occurs in another mock-trial, this time written in Middle English in the early thirteenth century: *The Owl and The Nightingale*.⁴² This poem recounts a dispute that arises between its two namesakes, brought about by the owl's hideous screech and the nightingale's incessant twitter. Like the birds in the Brethren of Purity's epistle, there is no disagreement over fundamental truths—both birds are believing Christians, and both praise God in their song. The whole confrontation revolves around the question of speech; when is it appropriate to speak and when is it best to remain silent; whether lovely words are better than somber warnings; if the power of eloquence to incite sin outweighs its ability to inspire faith. While the owl lives by the motto *do not speak unless you can improve the silence*, the nightingale defends herself on the claim that her eloquent and beautiful song will fill the soul with joy and the desire to praise God—how could silence compete with such a voice?

Don't you know what man was born for? For the bliss of the kingdom of heaven, where there is perpetual song and rejoicing. Towards that place strives everyone who knows anything about virtue; and that's why there is singing in church and clerks set about performing their songs—so that people may realize by means of the song where they are going and where they will long remain; so that, rather than forgetting that bliss, they may meditate upon it and acquire it; and so that they may take notice from the voices in church how merry is the rejoicing in heaven. . . . And I help them as best I can. . . . I remind people of what is good for them, and that they should be cheerful in spirit; and I urge them that they should be seeking that song that is perpetual.⁴³

The owl retorts that such frivolous warbling will only incite lechery and carnal desire, a claim not unsubstantiated by the natural sciences. The nightingale is a bird of spring, and any sage worth his salt knows that this is the time of year when the blood quickens and passions are at their peak. The nightingale acknowledges that she always sings to girls in love, admitting that even “if women are bent on secret affairs, I can't withhold my singing,” but she insists that this does not directly inculcate her song: “There is nothing in this world so good that it can't do some evil if someone wants to turn it amiss.”⁴⁴ If the owl can attack her on the basis of Aristotelian science, the nightingale can defend herself with Platonic ideals. Her beautiful song—just like the beautiful form of a young man or woman—has the capacity to inspire sublime love of the highest order, by turning the lover's thoughts towards the perfect and eternal Creator of such beauty. If the lover fails to do this and succumbs to common desire, the fault is with the lover, not with beauty.

⁴² The actual date of authorship, and the author himself, is unknown; scholars estimate that the poem was written between 1189–1272. Cf. Neil Cartlidge, ed., *The Owl and the Nightingale: Text and Translation* (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 2001), xv.

⁴³ Cartlidge, 18–19.

⁴⁴ Cartlidge, 33.

Avicenna offers a similar argument in his *Treatise on Love*:

If a man loves a beautiful form with animal desire, he deserves reproof, even condemnation and the charge of sin. . . . But whenever he loves a pleasing form with an intellectual consideration, . . . then this is to be considered as an approximation to nobility and an increase in goodness.⁴⁵

In Plato's *Symposium*, Socrates describes Love "as an interpreter and means of communication between gods and men."⁴⁶ In the context of courtly love, the nightingale seems prepared to assume a similar role. Her voice is the vehicle that stirs the spirit, inspires joy, and necessitates devotion. Through the beauty of her words, people can realize their inner potential and assume their rightful place at the forefront of God's worshippers. Her work is the work of an itinerant friar, flitting from window to window, roaming from town to town, and constantly offering inspiration through a voice uplifted in song.

Such an image may help explain the special relationship between St. Francis of Assisi and the birds, who in the stories usually appear in the context of preaching, either as partners or competitors. This is not without precedent in Christian tradition; the book of Revelation has an angel preach to the birds (19:17), and the stories of saints like Brendan, Brigid and Guthlac and their rapport with birds were certainly known to Francis's hagiographers.⁴⁷ There are a number of stories in which Francis is about to begin preaching when he is distracted by the sound of a flock of birds chattering among themselves. At some times, he simply rebukes them for interrupting him and tells them to wait their turn,⁴⁸ while at others he is inspired by their example, saying: "Our bird sisters are praising their Creator. Let's go among them and also sing our regular Praises to the Lord."⁴⁹ Once, he is so moved by the nightingale's beautiful song he challenges it to see who can sing God's praise the longest, a contest he finally loses.⁵⁰ The birds occasionally assist Francis in his preaching, such as when he is giving a sermon on a particularly hot day, and a flight of swallows descend upon his audience and cool them with the beating of their wings.⁵¹ In another episode, Francis preaches to the birds themselves to censure the arrogant people of Rome that "intelligent and rational people should scorn to listen to the word of God, while birds not gifted with reason received it with great joy."⁵² The most famous story of all takes place in the Spoleto valley, where Francis comes across a great congregation of birds and preaches them this sermon:

My brothers, birds, you should praise your Creator very much and always love him; he gave you feathers to clothe you, wings so that you can fly, and whatever else was necessary for you. God made you noble among his creatures, and he gave you a

⁴⁵ Fackenheim, 221.

⁴⁶ Plato, *Symposium*, trans. Tom Griffith (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 202e2.

⁴⁷ Armstrong, 67, 69.

⁴⁸ Raphael Brown, *Fifty Animal Stories of Saint Francis* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1958), 36, 57.

⁴⁹ Brown, 35.

⁵⁰ Brown, 38.

⁵¹ Brown, 56.

⁵² Brown, 41.

home in the purity of the air; though you neither sow nor reap, he nevertheless protects and governs you without any solicitude on your part.⁵³

In one version of the story, from the *Fioretti* accounts, the birds rise up after the sermon in the shape of a cross, then split into four groups, each one flying in a cardinal direction as they joyfully sing.⁵⁴ In addition to the clearly miraculous nature of this event, there is a symbolic intensity embedded in its visual depiction that cannot be overlooked. It is as if Christ, the cross, has risen again through Francis's preaching, and his message will spread to the four corners through the singing-preaching of his disciples. The narrator explicitly links the Franciscan monks to birds, saying that they too "possess nothing of their own on earth and commit themselves entirely to the Providence of God."⁵⁵

The merging of human and avian bodies in religious devotion reaches a peak in Hugh of Fouillo's *Aviarium*, composed sometime between the late 1130s and 1140s, a contemplative and mystical work whose intricate reading of the physical world rivals the esoteric writings of the Brethren of Purity. Part of the *Aviarium*'s complexity lies in its intertextuality and harmonization of divergent sources into a unified, if multi-layered, discourse, combining the allegorical sermons of the Greek *Physiologus* and the bestiaries that are its descendants with the observations of a naturalist and a highly inscribed mystical narrative, girded by a strong foundation in Scripture and its exegesis. In addition, the work is accompanied by an elaborate and highly nuanced series of images in which the typical variety and idiosyncrasy exhibited in bestiary illustrations is stabilized into a visual corpus that is transmitted "with surprising fealty" throughout the book's history.⁵⁶ While there is an element of *mirabilia mundi* in the work that bespeaks a certain degree of kinship with the bestiaries, the general intention of the work resides undoubtedly in the realm of sacred literature, in which the engagement and reflection of the audience plays a vital role. Just as the reader is converted from passive onlooker to active believer through his encounter with the text, so too are the bodies of birds transmuted from representative symbols of the Church to becoming the Church itself.

In both text and image, Hugh seeks to "paint the dove" in a way that will impart the moral teaching of his work in registers both simple and subtle, offering benefit to both the "unlettered" and the "learned man" alike (i.e., laymen and the clergy).⁵⁷ The three doves of the Bible, who are associated with Noah, David, and Jesus, are symbols that represent the three virtues of a penitent heart, a brave spirit, and a tranquil mind that will guide all souls, unlettered and learned, down the road to salvation.⁵⁸ The body of the dove can be understood as an embodiment of the soul, silvered

⁵³ Thomas of Celano, *St. Francis of Assisi: First and Second Life of St. Francis, with selections from Treatise on the Miracles of Blessed Francis*, trans. Placid Hermann O.F.M. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1962), 54.

⁵⁴ Armstrong, 59.

⁵⁵ Brown, 45.

⁵⁶ Hugh of Fouillo, *The Medieval Book of Birds: Hugh of Fouillo's Aviarium*, Edition, translation, and commentary by Willene B. Clark (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), 22.

⁵⁷ Hugh of Fouillo, 119.

⁵⁸ Hugh of Fouillo, 123.

(*deargentata*) in its feathers and manifest (*declarata*) in its virtues (the fact that both the dove, *columba*, and the soul, *anima*, are feminine nouns allows these characteristics to be freely applied to both).⁵⁹ The dove's eyes remember the past and anticipate the future, its wings decline to its neighbor in humility and incline to God in reverence. Within this paradigm, the dove is not just portrayed *like* but the Church but actually *becomes* the Church, where each organ and every limb of its body serves a function and maintains its integrity as a whole: the red feet upon which it stands are the sacrifices of the martyrs; the silvered wings with which it flies are the divine eloquence of the preachers; the yellow eyes through which it sees are the mature judgment of a mind well versed in Scripture.⁶⁰

Against the dove of the church, Hugh juxtaposes the hawk of the nobility, which, in "spreading its wings to the south wind," opens its thoughts to the church in confession.⁶¹ The cords and fetters which bind it to its perch are the twin bonds of self-restraint and self-mortification, which similarly bind a lay "brother" who goes out in search of worldly gain, fortified by humility and moral resolve. Although the hawk is carried by the left hand, signaling the preoccupations and concerns of the material world, when it is loosed it flies to the spiritual world on the right, where it literally captures and consumes the dove, thus receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit through the reenacted sacrifice of the Messiah.⁶² Throughout this narrative, it is understood that what Hugh is writing about is not merely a metaphor, but rather the actual and miraculous embodiment of these spiritual conversions in the form of a bird, just as bread and wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ.

In this vein, the voices of Hugh's birds take on a highly symbolic resonance. The song of the dove is a sigh (*gemitum*), which is the sign of regret for past sins committed and the beginning of the road to redemption. The hawk emits a plaint (*questum*) as it refutes the sins of an "indolent past."⁶³ The voice of the turtledove and the sparrow is respectively a lament (*placitum*) and a cry (*clamorem*), through which the soul maintains its virtue and stays vigilant against evil. Hugh's discussion of these birds, mediated through scriptural references, is fundamentally linked to the hidden meaning of their utterances. We are the turtledove, crying its lament in a foreign land, Babylon, where "the mind [is] subjugated to the Devil's power"; therefore when our voices are heard "sin is recognized in a calm mind . . . while the inner ear is humbly inclined towards penitence."⁶⁴ The chastity of the turtledove, as we saw mentioned in the work of Albertus Magnus, is utterly transformed in this context; the turtledove is no longer just a bird who refuses to take a second mate, it is a soul who consecrates itself to Christ, the Bridegroom of the Church. The sparrow undergoes a similar transformation. Where the bestiaries hold it to be little more than a capricious and lecherous bird, it is now "feathered in virtues and rules."⁶⁵ Abandoning the forest, it

⁵⁹ Hugh of Fouilloy, 124–25.

⁶⁰ Hugh of Fouilloy, 129–33.

⁶¹ Hugh of Fouilloy, 141.

⁶² Hugh of Fouilloy, 145.

⁶³ Hugh of Fouilloy, 141, 147.

⁶⁴ Hugh of Fouilloy, 153–155.

⁶⁵ Rowland, 157; Hugh of Fouilloy, 163.

returns to the house of faith, where it avoids the Devil's snares with cunning and guards its nest with a clamorous voice. Like the hawk, the sparrow is a saved soul *in potentia*; its rejection of carnal desires is a manifestation of the miraculous power of God's grace.⁶⁶

To review, we see that birds were not only invoked allegorically, both as natural examples of virtue suitable for human contemplation and as vehicles of meaning and metaphor, but, as the *Aviary* demonstrates, their actual bodies could literally become a physical manifestation of the very virtues they were said to imitate. Another obvious work to indicate in which birds undergo a metaphysical transfiguration into saints, angels, or the Eternal Being itself is 'Aṭṭār's *Conference of the Birds*, alluded to at the beginning of this essay. Like Hugh of Fouillooy, 'Aṭṭār employs a language in which the hidden valences of every word must be taken into account for the full meaning of the text to become clear; just as Hugh juxtaposes the beak (*rostra*) of the dove to the site of its preaching (*rostrum*),⁶⁷ the mythical simurgh whom 'Aṭṭār's party of birds seek in their quest for enlightenment turns out to be themselves, thirty birds (*sī murgh*) reflected in a pool of water, and in this knowledge, they experience nothingness (*fanā*) and are spiritually reborn as the phoenix-simurgh they sought, a unity of being that far transcends the sum of its parts. Although this brief foray into the world of birds in Christian and Islamic literature may only raise more questions than provide answers, touching on far too many topics without providing the in-depth discussion that is their due, it is my hope that at least our appetites have been whetted to further explore these themes of language, lightness, and spiritual potentialities that seem to accompany the avian form throughout the medieval literature of Europe and the Near East. Whenever birds are around, there is magic to be found.

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⁶⁶ Hugh of Fouillooy, 167.

⁶⁷ Hugh of Fouillooy, 123.

“Wise Informaciouns and Techynges:” Prudential Reading in Chaucer’s Tale of Melibee

By Kate Fedewa

The pilgrim Chaucer introduces the *Tale of Melibee* with an apology and a request. At first, his assurance regarding the tale’s “sentence” and his plea that his listeners “let [him] tellen al [his] tale” seems like no more than the comical posturing of a storyteller after being interrupted and insulted.¹ About half way through my first reading of *Melibee*, however, Chaucer’s “al” took on a new, ominous tone. The story, I lamented, wouldn’t start. The plot was static: Melibee sought revenge for an attack on his wife and daughter; his wife, Prudence, counseled him against it. The story, I feared, wouldn’t end. The text was a pedantic, circling mess of often repeating and sometimes contradictory aphorisms. I was not alone in my assessment. Until very recently, critics and students alike have described Chaucer’s *Tale of Melibee* as “an enormous bore” and “a clear, dull, lengthy, and somewhat suffocating work.”² This boredom and suffocation associated with *Melibee* are tied to Prudence’s seemingly endless citation in an attempt to counsel her husband – providing advice, the modern reader asserts, that could have been given in about ten lines.

Melibee is clearly didactic, but the “sentence” it teaches is not so obvious. While Harry Bailly understands the tale as a lesson in patience for wives, modern critical opinion has been more varied.³ Gardiner Stillwell and Lynn Staley Johnson explain the tale as advice for English political leaders.⁴ Paul Strohm reads *Melibee* as an allegory applicable to all Christians and Lee Patterson believes the tale to be appropriate for the education of children.⁵ The *Tale of Melibee* is applicable to all the aforementioned students and many others, according to Stephen Moore, who asserts “the

¹ All citations from the *Tale of Melibee* are taken from Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), hereafter *CT*; this quotation from VII 966.

² Trevor Whittock, *A Reading of the “Canterbury Tales”* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 211–12 as cited in Edward E. Foster, “Has Anyone Here Read *Melibee*?” *The Chaucer Review* 34:4 (2000): 398; C. David Benson, *Chaucer’s Drama of Style: Poetic Variety and Contrast in the Canterbury Tales* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 39 as cited in Foster, “Has Anyone Here Read *Melibee*?”, 398.

³ *CT* VII 1894–6.

⁴ Gardiner Stillwell, “The Political Meaning of Chaucer’s Tale of Melibee,” *Speculum* 19:4 (Oct., 1944): 433–444; Lynn Staley Johnson, “Inverse Counsel: Contexts for the Melibee,” *Studies in Philology* 87:2 (Spring, 1990): 137–155.

⁵ Paul Strohm, “The Allegory of the *Tale of Melibee*,” *Chaucer Review* 2 (1967): 32–42; Lee Patterson, “‘What Man Artow?’ Authorial Self-Definition in *The Tale of Sir Thopas* and the *Tale of Melibee*,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 11 (1989): 117–75.

deliberative *Melibee* teaches deliberation."⁶ This paper builds upon Moore's claim by suggesting that Chaucer's tale does not teach simply "deliberation," but specifically a praxis of prudential reading. I argue that the *Tale of Melibee* employs a recursive, iterative structure as a pedagogical strategy; the tale allegorizes the development of the prudent individual while simultaneously habituating the reader to an ethical process of reading and action.

The arguments I will make in this paper require a complex picture of medieval notions of prudence, the cognitive development of the mind, and the intersection between language and ethics. For this, I turn to the work of Mary Carruthers. In addition to providing a full description of prudence as "the ability to make wise judgments" (a point I will return to below), Carruthers details the ethical, cognitive, and linguistic growth of the medieval reader.⁷ She writes:

One cannot think at all, at least about the world of process and matter..., except in commonplaces, which are, as it were, concentrated 'rich' schemata of the memory, to be used for making judgments and forming opinions and ideas.... This memorized chorus of voices, this everpresent florilegium built up plank by plank continuously through one's lifetime, formed not only one's opinions but one's moral character as well. Character indeed results from one's experience, but that includes the experiences of others, often epitomized in ethical commonplaces, and made one's own by constant recollection.⁸

As the medieval reader built his memory throughout his lifetime, he assumed the position of a student learning, translating, and then composing the "commonplaces" of biblical, classical, and patristic fathers. Reading (understood here by Carruthers as engaging with a text by both interpreting it and incorporating it into one's self) can be seen as a didactic conversation, "a 'hermeneutical dialogue' between two memories, that [memory] in the text being made very much present as it is familiarized [within the memory] of the reader."⁹ Although Carruthers' research deals primarily with religious and academic texts, the habit of prudential reading which is performed beneath the surface of Chaucer's tale invites an application of Carruthers' theory of individual development. In this paper I will use Chaucer's tale as a case study to test the applicability of Carruthers' assertions to secular, vernacular texts. I will also use Carruthers' ideas to illuminate the pedagogical assumptions and strategies present in *Melibee*. I will first identify Chaucer's Prudence as a model for prudential comprehension. From there, I will demonstrate Prudence's instructional strategies as she instills a literacy praxis and ethical action within her husband before turning to the ways in which the tale itself guides its reader toward a similar personal development.

⁶ Stephen G. Moore, "Apply Yourself: Learning While Reading the *Tale of Melibee*," *The Chaucer Review* 38:1 (2003): 83.

⁷ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Second Edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 86.

⁸ Carruthers, 222.

⁹ Carruthers, 211.

Modeling the Prudent Reader

Medieval rhetorical theory followed Cicero in dividing *prudentia* into three parts: “‘memory, intelligence, and foresight,’ [or] *memoria, intelligentia, providentia* (*De invent. 11. 53*).”¹⁰ *Memoria* provides a person with a treasure-hold of experience, both one’s own and others’, and a means of recalling that experience in order to understand the world.¹¹ *Intelligentia* recognizes each situation in which one finds one’s self and searches the *memoria* in order to find experiences and counsel appropriate for that situation. *Providentia* allows one to foresee what future effects a chosen action might have and so act in the most moral manner possible.¹² Within *Melibee* Prudence serves as a personification of *prudentia* and as a model for the reading praxis dependent on this three-part virtue: she has read authoritative texts and internalized them into her memory so that she may then select and act on aphorisms from texts appropriate to a given situation.

The medieval concept of *memoria* should not be understood here as simply the faulty faculty of recollection, but as a habit, which can be trained and which is necessary for moral character.¹³ Memory does not just concern a person’s own experience; memory is the process of making others’ experiences one’s own through the internalization of texts. As such, well-developed *memoria* is dependent on reading ability, and Chaucer’s Prudence exemplifies both the art of reading and *memoria*. Her florilegium is extensive: she provides Melibee with “sentences” from twenty-six *auctores*, as well as the law and common proverbs, and she admits to having “manye othere resons that I koude seye.”¹⁴ Such knowledge is indicative of a lifetime of reading and reveals the internalized life experiences of an abundance of *auctores*.

Intelligentia provides a two-fold knowledge of the present. An individual first “reads” the environment and discourses in which she is situated in order to gain a nuanced understanding of the social, political, literary, and linguistic factors at play in the current circumstance. She also selects the parts of *memoria* applicable as counsel toward her immediate situation. *Intelligentia* is essential to the medieval individual’s ability to make wise judgments, Carruthers argues, because prudence “can project into the future only because it also knows the present and remembers the past.”¹⁵ The difficulty of *intelligentia* in selecting counsel from *memoria* thus becomes an ethical dilemma: what counsel is truly wise and, as such, worth employing toward action?

Prudence models *intelligentia* through her explanation of “how ye shul governe yourself in chesyng of youre conseilours.”¹⁶ A good counselor, she explains to Melibee, must be “moost wise

¹⁰ Quoted in Carruthers, 191.

¹¹ Carruthers, 56.

¹² Carruthers, 82.

¹³ Carruthers, 87. I will return to this idea of habit below. For more on the connection between reading and “habit[s] of mind,” see Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) and Katharine Breen, *Imagining an English Reading Public, 1150-1400*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ *CT*, VII 1573.

¹⁵ Carruthers, 86.

¹⁶ *CT*, VII 1115.

and eldest and most approved in conseillyng."¹⁷ These criteria perfectly describe medieval *auctores*, the sources that Prudence herself uses.¹⁸ Prudence calls on the acknowledged wisdom of common proverbs, the famously wise Solomon, and other *auctores* – men famous for their wisdom of their craft. "Tullius" Cicero, for example, is evoked repeatedly during her discussion of rhetoric. Prudence's sources are also "approved in conseillyng"; they are institutionalized names and texts which have been "internalized within the language and pedagogy of a group."¹⁹ These sources, often found in educational texts, sermons, and other literary work, gained the descriptor *auctoritas* because their worth was acknowledged by the larger Christian community.

Perhaps most importantly, Prudence's counselors have the wisdom of age. The disassociation of these past authors from their present texts is not a problem to the medieval mind, for:

[*Memoria*] remains by its nature, of the past—a thing cannot be in memory until it is past.... Therefore, to say that memory is the matrix within which humans perceive present and future is also to say that both present and future, in human time, are mediated by the past. But the past, in this analysis, is not something itself, but rather a memory, a representing of what no longer exists as itself but only in its memorial traces.²⁰

Carruthers' explanation of *memoria* here suggests the unfamiliar temporality of medieval reading. *Memoria* is based on past experience, largely gained through reading the work of *auctores*. But medieval reading is not, as it is today, a process of referring in the present to a material text. Instead the medieval reader reads, withdraws the "sentence" from what she has read, and stores that "sentence" within her *memoria*. The medieval reader then selects, through *intelligentia*, the proper aged counsel, not by referring to a book but by searching her *memoria*. Thus "the present and the future, in human time, are mediated" by the past as it is represented through a presently-formed memory of a written text. In other words, the very age of that which is stored in *memoria*, although representing a past that "no longer exists as itself but only in its memorial traces," lends persuasive power to the counsel Prudence champions. The very immediacy through which the *sententiae* of *auctores* are recalled from memory and reinterpreted for any given situation, lends relevancy to past voices in present situations. The biblical, classical, and patristic writers that Prudence chooses to cite reveal through their ancient authority, continued persuasiveness, and present applicability – regardless of the topic toward which Prudence uses them – Prudence's perfect *intelligentia*.

¹⁷ *CT*, VII 1155.

¹⁸ Prudence's criteria for good sources are not the final criteria given for the position of *auctor* in the *Tale of Melibee*, however. As the reader develops in prudence, he—like Melibee—realizes that Prudence herself is the best source for counsel. This is emphasized in the tale's oft-glossed description of woman as better than gold, jasper, or wisdom (*CT*, VII 1107). The best woman, and the best source of counsel, is Dame Prudence herself—a fact picked up on by the fifteenth-century Pepys scribe: "*Modus quomodo divici[a]e adquirantur et adquisite expendantur secundum d[omi]nam prudenciam*" (Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2006, fol. 261r). My transcription.

¹⁹ Carruthers, 11. See also pages 235-237 for a larger discussion of the medieval *auctor*.

²⁰ Carruthers, 238-239.

Prudence's *providentia* is equally perfect. She consistently evaluates all available counsel according to the foresight her *memoria*'s experience provides. As she explains to Melibee, "Whan ye han examyned youre conseil.../ than shaltou consider if thou mayst parfourne it and maken of it a good ende./ For certes reson wol nat that any man sholde bigynne a thyng but if he myghte parfourne it as hym oghte;/ ne no wight sholde take upon hym so hevy a charge that he myghte nat bere it."²¹ This ability to "considere if thou mayst parfourne it and maken of it a good ende" is *providentia*. *Providentia* is pragmatic, evaluating counsel in terms of feasibility as well as morality. It is not enough, Prudence tells Melibee, to select moral counsel; he must also see that counsel as it would manifest itself in the future in order to determine if he might "parfourne [the counsel] as hym ought." Prudence speaks in the subjunctive here, emphasizing the hypothetical nature of *providentia*. She is not, however, uncertain in her action: if all counsel is considered prudently, the chosen counsel will come to "a good ende."

The opening lines of *Melibee* establish the praxis by which Prudence employs *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *providentia*. In the only of her citations which is not spoken aloud, Prudence appropriates an Ovidian quote toward her reading of Melibee's grief. She

remembred hire upon the sentence of Ovide, in his book the cleped is the Remedie of Love, where as he seith,/ "He is a fool that destourbeth the mooder to wepen in the deeth of hire child til she have wept hir fille as for a certain tyme,/ and thanne shal man doon his diligence with any able wordes hire to reconforte, and preyen hire of hir wepyng for to stynte."/ For which resoun this noble wyf Prudence suffred her housbonde for to wepe and crie as for a certain space.²²

Prudence's reading praxis begins prior to the excerpted text, when she reads the grief of her husband. In response, she "remembred hire upon the sentence of Ovide": she has either read or overheard the text and she has chosen from it the "sentence" quoted in the tale (both Middle English meanings of "sentence" apply – "truth" and "short utterance"). Prudence's use of an aphorism by Ovid exemplifies *memoria* as the process of appropriating another's recorded experience. The extent to which Ovid's "sentence" has become Prudence's own experience is stressed by the reflexive pronoun "hire." Prudence remembers "for herself," reinterpreting (a point I will return to below) Ovid's text in a way that allows his past words to serve as a matrix through which to perceive her own present situation.

This concern with her present situation reveals Prudence's *intelligentia*. Prudence reads her situation: she must somehow respond to her grieving husband, who cries all the more after her first attempt to console him. Her reading brings to her mind the Ovidian *auctoritas* and its present application. Through her ability to read her situation and select the best counsel for it, Prudence is supplied with a "resoun [to suffer] her housbonde for to wepe and crie." Further, Prudence's

²¹ CT, VII 1211-1214.

²² CT, VII 976-979.

intelligentia also provides her with a knowledge of the "certein space" during which she should sympathize with her husband before once again encouraging him to change his behavior.

Using *intelligentia*, Prudence reads the correct moment to speak and then, using *providentia*, applies Ovid's advice, attempting "with any able words... to reconforte" her husband.

And whan she saugh hir tyme, she seyde hym in this wise: 'Allas, my lord,'
quod she, 'why make ye yourself for to be lyk a fool?/ For sothe it aperteneth
nat to a wys man to maken swich a sorwe./ Youre doghter, with the grace of
God, shal warisshe and escape./ And, al were it so that she right now were deed,
ye ne oughte nat, as for hir deeth, youreself to destroye.'²³

Here Prudence's "able words" demonstrate her *providentia*. She urges Melibee to consider several hypothetical situations. First Prudence predicts that Melibee's current weeping will cause others to see him as foolish. Then Prudence imagines a future in which Melibee's daughter heals. In such a world, Prudence tells her husband, "it aperteneth nat to a wys man to maken swich a sorwe." Finally, Prudence claims that even if Sophie should die – if she were already dead! –, it would be wrong for Melibee to destroy himself in grief. Through her *providentia*, Prudence instructs her husband toward the best possible action for any and every outcome. This, the first of many moments in which Prudence employs prudential reading within the *Tale of Melibee*, models the internal praxis with which Prudence responds to every situation: Prudence recollects a textual experience from her *memoria*, employs it as counsel toward her (correct) reading of her current moment, and relies on both readings to reason hypothetical results to each potential course of action. As individuals "listening" to Prudence, we – like Melibee – recognize not only her model *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *providentia*, but also the reading practice that is inextricable from her prudential virtues.

This deliberative reading practice is also deliberative composition. Prudence is not only a reader but an author, because she can interpret and even re-write *auctoritates*. We return to our discussion of Ovid's "sentence" to reveal Prudence's ability to "author" sense. When Prudence "remembred hire upon the sentence of Ovide, in his book that cleped is the Remedie of Love," she remembers not Ovid's actual words but, as I mentioned above, his "sentence." She holds Ovid's sentence in her memory and has internalized it as her own.²⁴ As Amanda Walling suggests, "Prudence's allusion to Ovid literalizes his metaphor but treats gender as figurative, demonstrating how language and citation can unfix gender roles and use them to inform ways of reading."²⁵ By treating "gender as figurative" in the sentence she has memorized, Prudence can assume the role of Ovid's "he" and assign Melibee to "the mooder," in order to apply Ovid's truth to her own situation. This is a fine example of *prudencia*'s compositional aspects: Prudence reads a text, commits the text to memory,

²³ *CT*, VII 980-983.

²⁴ This reading praxis is explained in detail in Carruthers, 11.

²⁵ Amanda Walling, "'In Hir Tellyng Difference': Gender, Authority, and Interpretation in the *Tale of Melibee*," *The Chaucer Review* 40:2 (2005): 165.

and re-writes the text in a way that makes it applicable to her own life.²⁶ She is both author and reader, using the texts internalized into her *memoria* to act in prudence.

When reading a text, the medieval reader both remembers the original author and internalizes what is written until it becomes her own. This dual possession of a text is repeatedly modeled in *Melibee*, for while Prudence states her sources, she also claims their words as her own with rhetorical statements such as “as I have seyde biforn.”²⁷ This dual possession of a text is also directly stated by the pilgrim Chaucer as the tale’s narrator: “To thise forseide thynges answerde Melibeus unto his wyf Prudence: ‘All thy wordes,’ quod he, ‘been sothe and therto profitable.’”²⁸ Melibee labels Prudence’s citations as her own words, but the reader is made aware of the more complex nature of word-ownership through the phrase “to thise forseide thynges.” This phrase implies a previous author, one who has previously spoken the words, and the repeated use of the preposition “to” (“to thise forseide thynges” and “unto his wyf Prudence”) suggests that Melibee’s “thy” refers not only to Prudence but also to the original source of the “forseide thynges.” Melibee’s response largely ignores the words (mere “thynges”) themselves as it takes part in a dialogue between the present Prudence and her source authors, present by means of iterated traces in *memoria*.

Prudence gives advice to her audience through her original interpretation of the texts stored in her *memoria* and her position as author moves beyond this to original compilation of texts as well. Prudence acts as an author when she selects and orders the *sententie* of multiple *auctores* toward her own “sentence” or intent. This is a process Carruthers calls “memorative composition.”²⁹ The medieval reader becomes an author through memory’s creative power: “The result of bringing together the variously sorted bits in memory is new knowledge. It is one’s own composition and opinion, *familiaris intentio*. This is the point at which collation becomes authorship.”³⁰ Prudence models prudential writing because she has created her “own composition and opinion” through her dialectic.³¹ Although she does not write her composition on parchment, it is written in her *memoria* and uttered to an audience.

²⁶ Such rewriting is the result of medieval meditative reading, Mary Carruthers argues: “The student of the text, having digested it by re-experiencing it in memory, has become not its interpreter, but its new author, or re-author.”

Carruthers, 210.

²⁷ *CT*, VII 1222.

²⁸ *CT*, VII 1001.

²⁹ Carruthers, 244.

³⁰ Carruthers, 246.

³¹ A brief digression on the medieval understanding of a text is necessary to completely understand the role between author, text, and re-author in Prudence’s composition. “The idea that language, as a sign of something else, is always at a remove from reality is one of the cornerstones of ancient rhetoric,” Carruthers explains. “This idea gives to both books and language a subsidiary and derivative cultural role with respect to *memoria*, for they have no meaning except in relation to it” (Carruthers, 11). This is perhaps best illustrated with the medieval concept of the *liber vitae* of Christ, referred to by Prudence in her critique that Melibee “hast forgotten Jhesu Crist” (*CT*, VII 1412). The gospels were understood by the medieval reader as a “shorthand form” for the *liber vitae*, “the living book or book of life in the actual person of Christ” (Carruthers, 11). The medieval reader was concerned with the “actual person” and not the text, since the text, like all utterances, was incomplete. The *Tale of Melibee* illustrates this point as well; out of its 188 citations, only 14 refer in any way to the material text within which the author’s words were recorded. Within the

Training the Imprudent

Prudence's seemingly boundless *memoria* allows the reader to view her within the role of a teacher in the dialogic education of Melibee. The difference in the two characters' ability, if based upon their access to the various textual experiences acquired through *memoria* and – perhaps more importantly – their ability to creatively compose from that *memoria*, is revealed through their use of citation. While Prudence cites over twenty-six textual sources in 168 citations, Melibee can only provide thirteen citations, all the work of only four authors, common proverbs, and the law. For Prudence to educate her husband toward prudential reading and composition, she must first train him in the art of *memoria*.

But Prudence's role as teacher goes far beyond helping him attain a certain literacy; the development of Melibee's memory is the development of his moral character. As the foundation of prudence, it is *memoria* that will enable Melibee to judge and act ethically. As Carruthers suggests, "the ability of the memory to re-collect and re-present past perceptions is the foundation of all moral training and excellence of judgment."³² It is at this point that Prudence's citations, however "clear, dull, lengthy, and somewhat suffocating," become essential to *Melibee's* pedagogical structure. Prudence's rhetoric serves as a florilegium, allowing Melibee to read the texts of Prudence's *memoria*.³³ By providing Melibee with such textual experiences, Prudence trains Melibee to remember virtuously the "words of Ovide" and other *auctores*. Prudence's florilegium does more than simply expose Melibee to *auctoritates*; instead, she employs it strategically in order to engage her husband in the process of memorizing and composing read experience. She requires that Melibee actively participate in every aspect of *prudencia* – not once, but repeatedly – until this prudential reading and composition becomes an internal, habitual praxis for Melibee himself. In other words, he must not only know the "sentence" of a reading, but perform reading and authoring of "sentences" toward ethical action.

While Melibee, like Prudence, is a reader, he does not read correctly. He has read a limited number of authoritative texts and has internalized them poorly. He mis-selects aphorisms from his smaller textual store-house and mis-applies them to situations which he has mis-read through faulty *intelligentia*. Take, for example, Melibee's interpretation of Solomon's complaint against women:

I seye that alle wommen been wikke, and noon good of hem alle. For 'of a thousand men,' seith Salomon, 'I foond o good man, but certes, of alle wommen, good woman foond I nevere.'/ And also, certes, if I governed me by

rubrics used to label the *Tale of Melibee* within the manuscript tradition, the tale is sometimes described as the book of Melibee or the book of Prudence—both highly suggestive of the *liber vitae* tradition and indicative of a reader's possible interpretation of *Melibee* as a "shorthand form" for the life of the reader/auctor Prudence or her husband.

³² Carruthers, 87.

³³ Here "to overhear," an additional meaning of the Latin "legere" often found in memory texts, is helpful.

thy conseil, it sholde seme that I hadde yeve to thee over me the maistrie, and
God forbode that it so weere!³⁴

With these words, Melibee reveals his inability to employ his *memoria* toward a personalized understanding of Solomon's text, instead providing only a literal, common echo of Solomon's words. He misreads his own situation as well, worrying over the possible results of changing his mind or giving Prudence "maistrie." This worry suggests a misuse of *providentia*, which Melibee employs in order to predict the ridicule he would face if he should change his mind regarding a war against his adversaries. He states that, should he abandon his war plan and follow Prudence's counsel, "every wight wolde holde me thanne a fool." This claim reveals that Melibee does not have the memorial experience necessary to recall for himself Prudence's authoritative reply that "the book seith that 'the wise man maketh no lesyng whan he turneth his corage to the bettre.'"³⁵ Melibee lacks the expansive *memoria* necessary for successful selection by *intelligentia*, and his misreading of his present situation leads him to anxious misuse of his *providentia*. Melibee's status as a mis-reader is further evidenced by his inability to correctly compose. He cannot give advice, but only take advice and his attempts to use his *memoria* to form arguments consistently lead to poor responses.

Melibee is inundated with the counsel of his contemporaries though he is lacking the counsel of past *auctores*.³⁶ Members of "a great congregacion of folk" – "surgiens," "an advocat," an "olde man," and many others – address Melibee.³⁷ Faced with choosing the best counsel given by the "greet congregacion," Melibee acts in compliance with "the gretteste partie of his conseil" in deciding "that he sholde maken werre."³⁸ But Melibee has chosen poorly, selecting counsel that lacks age, wisdom, and institutional authority. "Youre conseil as in this caas ne sholde nat," Prudence tells him, "be called a conseillyng, but a mocion or a moevyng of folye,/ in which conseil ye han erred in many a sondry wise."³⁹ The aspect of prudence which Melibee lacks in this example is *intelligentia*: he cannot discern which counsel to follow.

A closer look at Melibee's and Prudence's divergent responses to the "phisiciens" reveals both Melibee's faulty *prudentia* and Prudence's methodology toward her husband's ethical development. Prudence states:

"I wolde fayn knowe hou ye understonde thilke [the "phisiciens"] text, and what is youre sentence."/ "Certes," quod Melibeus, "I understonde it in this wise:/ that right as they han doon me a contrarie, right so sholde I doon them another . . ."/"Certes," quote she, "the wordes of the phisiciens ne sholde nat han been understonden in thys wise./ For certes, wikkednesse is nat contrarie to

³⁴ CT, VII 1057-1058.

³⁵ CT, VII 1055; VII 1067.

³⁶ CT, VII 1004.

³⁷ CT, VII 1011-1015; VII 1021-1034; VII 1037-1042.

³⁸ CT, VII 1050. Note also that the gerundive used to gloss Melibee's process of choosing correct counsel (*intelligentia*) in the manuscript tradition is *eligendi*, from the Latin *legere*, which suggests both reading and choosing.

³⁹ CT, VII 1278.

wikkednesse, ne vengeance to vengeance, ne wrong to wrong, but they been semblable."⁴⁰

Prudence engages Melibee in memorative composition, asking him first to "understonde" the "phisiciens" counsel and then to author *his own* sentence. Melibee instead provides a "sentence" which he believes echoes the intent of the "phisiciens" and which, Walling argues, reveals a "perception of continuity with the tradition from which he cites, a continuity that makes intention seem knowable."⁴¹ Melibee, with his underdeveloped prudential reading skills, perceives the literal interpretation of the "phisiciens" advice to be authoritative. He does not seek to read and re-write their counsel within his specific context.

Prudence criticizes Melibee's response (all the while showing him that he can act prudently with whatever limited experience he does have within his *memoria*) by providing her own assessment of Melibee's "greet congregacion." Of key importance here is Prudence's reference to the words of the "phisiciens" as a *text*. If the words of the "phisiciens" can be read, just as the book of Ovid can be read, then they can be interpreted and re-written as well. Indeed, Prudence does both, arguing that "the wordes of the phisiciens *sholde been understonden* in this wise:/...certes, wikkednesse shal be warissed by goodnesse, discord by accord, were by pees."⁴² As a prudential reader, Prudence has read the phisiciens "text" and appropriated it toward her own "sentence." Here Chaucer's Prudence instructs Melibee in a method of reading in which all signification – whether the spoken words of phisiciens or Ovid's "Remedy of Love" – is considered a text to be stored in *memoria* as a "sentence" and reiterated with a difference through *intelligentia* at appropriate moments. As Prudence reveals to Melibee time and again, it is this second authoring that makes *sententiae* the matrix through which to respond to the present and future; it is the text's new *auctor* that brings the counsel of the ancients (and, with Chaucer's Prudence, the not-so-ancients) to bear on the present.

As Melibee develops as a prudential reader and composer through the tale, his position in regard to authoritative texts changes. After Prudence's last round of citations – in a moment parallel with Prudence's initial reflections on Ovid – we see Melibee's inner thoughts. Especially important are the meditative verbs used to describe Melibee's deliberation:

Whanne Melibee hadde herd the grete skiles and resouns of dame Prudence,
and hire wise informaciouns and techynges,/ his herte gan enclyne to the wil of
his wif, considerynge hir trewe entente,/ and conformed hym anon and assented
fully to werken after hir conseil,/ and thonked God, of whom procedeth al vertu
and alle goodnesse, that hym sente a wyf of so greet discrecioun.⁴³

Melibee has finally acquired prudence, with its "grete skiles and resouns." He acknowledges it as a "vertu" and recognizes its moral value by thanking God "of whom [it] procedeth." Now holding the

⁴⁰CT, VII 1278-1285, selections.

⁴¹Walling, "In Hir Tellying Difference," 169.

⁴²CT, VII 1288-1290; my emphasis.

⁴³CT, VII 1870-1873.

“wise informacions and techynges” of prudence in his *memoria*, he is able to read – through *intelligentia* – his wife’s counsel as the best counsel and to judge – through *providentia* – his best course of future action as assenting “fully to werken” in accordance with his wife’s advice. Melibee has become a reader. What’s more, Melibee has become an author. He not only reads his wife’s words as a text, but he “consider[s] hir trewe entente” and re-writes her counsel for his situation. He recognizes the texts read and composed by Prudence and he acknowledges them not only as Prudence’s but also as his own. Instead of blind obedience, it is prudential reading that leads Melibee to conform and assent to his wife’s counsel. Chaucer’s final representation of Melibee is as a reader and an author of his wife’s counsel, a moral character who has gained prudence.

Habituating the Reader

Prudence instills in Melibee a habituated process of prudential reading and composition. This “habituated process” in many ways aligns with Katharine Breen’s concept of “habitus,” an embodied, repeated practice. Breen argues that medieval theorists saw the systematic learning of Latin grammar as “a gateway to and a model for virtue,” a *habitus* that could serve as “a conscious tool for reforming or perfecting behavior.”⁴⁴ Prudence’s reading and composition praxis works in much the same way: it not only trains Melibee in literacy but also, in the systematic acquisition of this literacy praxis, constructs him as an ethical, prudent individual. But is it possible to apply prudential reading beyond the narrative of the tale? Before concluding my paper, I would like to suggest possible implications of Prudence’s literacy praxis to two other groups of readers: the pilgrims “reading” *Melibee* as an oral text while on their way to Canterbury and the fifteenth century readers who encountered the tale in written form.

Though Prudence’s florilegium is also the pilgrim Chaucer’s, his prologue to the tale makes his status as a potentially prudential reader and author more ambiguous. Indeed, at times the pilgrim Chaucer sounds more like Melibee than Prudence. He does not claim to have authored his own sentence, but merely to have echoed that of his source. “As in my sentence/,” he tells his audience, “Shul ye nowher fynden difference/ Fro the sentence of this tretys lyte/ After the which this murye tale I write.”⁴⁵ The pilgrim Chaucer’s pedagogy, whether intended or not, fell on deaf ears. The other pilgrims show no sign of having acquired a praxis of prudential reading; the Host, for example, misreads the tale entirely, wishing that his overly bold wife “hadde herd this tale!”⁴⁶ If the pilgrim Chaucer is a teacher, perhaps he offers *The Tale of Melibee* as a corrective to the Wife of Bath’s literacy praxis. Like Prudence, the Wife of Bath rewrites *auctoritates* within her own composition. While Prudence stresses the applicability of past texts to personal contexts, however,

⁴⁴ Breen, *Imagining the English Reading Public*, 5 and 8.

⁴⁵ *CT*, VII 961-964. Of course, the pilgrim Chaucer’s statement becomes even more complex when one considers that *The Tale of Melibee* is a translation of Renaud de Louens’ *Livre de Melibee et de Dame Prudence*, itself a translation of Albertanus of Brescia’s *Liber consolacionis et consilii*.

⁴⁶ *CT*, VII 1893-1894.

the Wife of Bath denies the relevance of *auctores* when compared with her own lived experiences.⁴⁷ Still, within the context of the *Canterbury Tales* itself, *Melibee* cannot be seen as successfully instilling literacy and moral virtue within its audience.

With this in mind, I believe the tale may have been more successful with historical readers. Mary Carruthers argues that the concepts of *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *providentia* were accessible to the larger public during the Middle Ages. Indeed, she suggests, every educated member of medieval society employed this concept of prudence in their own lives. Although the exact composition of Chaucer's audience is a matter of scholarly debate, it is safe to posit that its members had received (or were in the process of receiving, should Patterson's claim for *Melibee* as children's literature prove correct) training in *memoria*. Since florilegia were commonly used as beginning educational texts, Chaucer's fifteenth century readers would have found the ideal of prudence and the education of Melibee through the reading of *auctores* familiar.

Within this context, Prudence's commonplaces are a collection equally useful to the fictional Melibee and his historical reader. The *Tale of Melibee* does not merely exemplify the process of the development of prudence, its recursive structure actually teaches prudence. As Moore has argued, the story is "continually asking its reader to see the events of the reading 'present' in light of the reading 'past.'"⁴⁸ Moore argues that the tale's structure, with its parallel episodes and use of *sententiae* teaches the reader to reread particular moments as general lessons and then to apply those lessons to future moments. I believe, however, that *Melibee* trains the reader to respond to particular situations not with generalities drawn from the past, but with personalized and particular *sententiae*, prudentially composed by the reader in dialogue with past *auctores*. Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee* changes its readers, enlightening them in the *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *providentia* of prudence and habituating them to an ethical literacy praxis.

The "sentence" of the pilgrim Chaucer's original request must, I believe, be re-visited after one has experienced the *Tale of Melibee* and developed prudential reading and composition. The pilgrim Chaucer describes his "proverbs" as "comprehended" – both in the sense of "contained" or "compiled" (as in a florilegium) but also as "understood thoroughly" through his own prudential reading and composition in order "to enforce with th'effect of [his] mateere." Already complex, "comprehended" can be also be read as parallel to the verb "herd" or as a participle modifying "proverbs;" each reading suggests a different moment in the development of the reader's prudence. With these words, the Chaucer suggests that the reader, like an undeveloped Melibee, had first encountered the comments in the tale's prologue as "herd" but not yet "comprehended." Having read the *Tale of Melibee*, however, the reader can return to the words of the prologue, now "comprehended" through the "litel tretys" in a way that truly "enforce[s]" Chaucer's didactic tale.

⁴⁷ A good example of this occurs at *CT*, III 107-112, where the Wife of Bath claims, "Crist, that of perfeccion is welle,/Bad nat every wight he sholde go selle/Al that he hadde, and gyve it to the poore,/And in swich wise folwe hym and his fore./He spak to hem that wolde lyve parfityl;/And lordynges, by youre leve, that am nat I." Here Prudence identify's Christ's audience only as those that "wolde lyve parfityl." She then removes herself from this book, claiming that what the "sentence" of Christ's command does is irrelevant to her life.

⁴⁸ Moore, "Apply Yourself," 84.

Now developed in *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *providentia*, the reader also gains new appreciation for the pilgrim Chaucer's plea that his audience "let [him] tellen *al* [his] tale." The request is not a grumpy response to having been cut off in the midst of *Thopas* by the host, though *Thopas*'s abrupt end certainly highlights Chaucer's plea. The pilgrim Chaucer must tell *all* his tale, the prudential reader knows, because only through the experience of reading the entire tale, of building one's *memoria* "plank by plank continuously" does the reader acquire the riches of habitual prudence.

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A Fourteenth-Century Augustinian Approach to the Jews in Riccoldo da Monte Croce's Ad nationes orientales

By Lydia M. Walker

The common description of the Christian attitude towards the Jews in the high and later Middle Ages is one of eventual and steady deterioration. The progressive decline of Jewish liberties and the rise of anti-Semitism, coming into greater development after the Rhineland massacres of 1096 and brought to its zenith with the expulsions from England (1290) and France (1306), have been attributed to a “changing theological and anthropological understanding of the Jew.”¹ As Michael Frassetto points out “the *topos* of the Jew was something less than human and that this position of hostility gained further expression in texts of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.”² However, prior to these changes, the long-standing Christian theological interpretation of how the Jews fit into God’s plan, and consequently how they should be handled socially, was set in Late Antiquity by Augustine of Hippo (354-430). He developed what is now called the “doctrine of Jewish witness” which stated that the Jews’ continued presence in Christian society held a two-fold purpose for the divine economy of salvation: both their preservation of the prophecies of the Old Testament and their dispersion by the Romans verified the truth of the New Testament; therefore, they should not be annihilated.³ This “doctrine of Jewish witness” persisted in the Christian theological understanding of the Jews in the Middle Ages, but it has been argued that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mark the end of the Augustinian stance and the rise of the condemnation of Talmudic Judaism, consequently leading to the assessment that the Jews no longer deserved toleration or privilege.⁴ This paper employs the

¹ Michael Frassetto, “Introduction: Christian and Jews in the Middle Ages,” in *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (New York: Routledge, 2007), xiii.

² Frassetto, xiii, xvii.

³ Jeremy Cohen, “‘Slay them not’: Augustine and the Jews in Modern Scholarship,” *Medieval Encounters* 4/1 (1998): 78-92, at 79. Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: a Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 211. Fredriksen argues that in the face of those who assigned no value to the Jewish Scriptures, “[Augustine] reimagined the relationship of God and Israel, and thus he reimagined as well the relationship of his church, past and present, to the Jews,” 211.

⁴ One of the major contributions to this theory is Jeremy Cohen’s *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982). Recent works that combat the uniform idea of medieval intolerance include Mark D. Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton

Dominican Riccoldo da Monte Croce's missionary manual, *Ad nationes orientales* (*To the Eastern Nations*), as evidence for the continued presence of the Augustinian strain of thinking about the status of the Jews in the fourteenth century.⁵ I will focus specifically on Riccoldo's typical employment of Augustine and also how this pertains to Riccoldo's discussion of the Jews' role in killing Christ.

Riccoldo da Monte Croce (d.1320) was an educated Florentine Dominican preacher who traveled as a pilgrim and missionary in the Middle East between the years c.1288 to 1300. He traveled amidst a time of uncertainty in the East. The Mongols loomed on the horizon, inspiring fear, intrigue, and hope in the imaginations of the West. Their perceived roles in Christian eschatology vacillated between the anticipation of conversion and, therefore, hope that they could serve as an ally to the West, to apocalyptic fears of their conversion to Islam.⁶ Upon his arrival in Baghdad in 1288, Riccoldo was greeted by the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Yabhalaha III and was warmly welcomed by the Muslim community; it was at this location where he began a translation of the Qur'ān (abandoned in 1290).⁷ It was also from this location that Riccoldo later learned about the death of thirty of his fellow Dominican brothers and the Patriarch Nicholas by the hands of the Mamluks at the fall of Acre (1291) and about the Ilkhanate's leader, Ghazan Khan's conversion to Islam in 1294.⁸ It was the fall of Acre that served as the fatal blow to the western toehold in the Holy Land and this expulsion realistically ended both political and spiritual hopes for Jerusalem. The conversion of the Mongols also was not without surprise. As noted by Leopold, "The Ilkans appeared to have deliberately fostered the impression of their Christian conversion in hope of securing assistance . . . playing on the optimistic responses of the west."⁹ A few years later Riccoldo made his getaway disguised as a camel driver after being accosted by newly converted Mongolian Muslims.¹⁰ He returned around 1300 to Italy to face a papal inquiry regarding his identification of the Eastern Christians as heretics.¹¹ Riccoldo completed two works during his travels: the *Itinerarium* (Itinerary), in which we can read about his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and *Epistolae*

University Press, 2004); Jonathan M. Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); and Robert E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

⁵ Riccoldo da Monte Croce, *Libelli ad nationes orientales* (1300), ed. Kurt Villads Jensen, transcribed from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Manoscritti, Conventi Soppressi, MS C 8.1173, created Spring 1998, <http://www1.sdu.dk/Hum/kvj/Riccoldo/index.html>. All translations from this text are my own. *Ad nationes orientales* survives in its entirety in three Latin manuscripts which are housed in Oxford's Bodleian Library, the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, and the Cathedral Library in Oviedo.

⁶ See Felicitas Schmieder, "Cum hora undecima: The Incorporation of Asia into the *Orbis Christianus*," in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 259-65.

⁷ L. Michael Spath, "Riccoldo da Monte Croce: Medieval Pilgrim and Traveler to the Heart of Islam," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 1/1 (1999): 83-84; Marshall W. Baldwin, "Missions to the East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. 5 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 464.

⁸ René Kappler, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Texte Latin et Traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre: Traduction*, Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge, 4 (Paris: Champion, 1997), 9.

⁹ Anthony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2000), 117.

¹⁰ Reinhold Röhrich, ed. "Epistolae V de perditione Acconis 1291 Fratris Ricoldi de Monte Crucis," in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, vol. 2 (1884), 88-89.

¹¹ Stefano Orlandi, 'Necrologio' di S. Maria Novella, vol. 1 (Florence: Santa Maria Novella, 1955), 37-38.

ad ecclesiam triumphantem (Letters to the Church Triumphant), which reveals his emotional turmoil and retrospection on the Fall of Acre (1291). He produced two works after his return which includes his *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (Against the Law of the Saracens), a polemical disputation against Islam, and *Ad nationes orientales* (To the Eastern Nations), which endeavors to be a missionary handbook and is the focus of this paper.¹²

In his missionary manual, Riccoldo outlines the theological differences among the Eastern Christians, Jews, and Mongols; this text of 244 folia includes a unique patchwork of theology, practical guidance, and a small measure of personal observations. Each of the sections aims at educating missionaries about the core tenets of religion for each group and how they might be converted. In Riccoldo's travel narrative (*Itinerarium*), he claims that after leaving the city of Tabriz in modern day Iran, he journeyed to the city of Mosul in modern day Iraq, where he engaged the large Jewish community in public debates and also presented sermons in their synagogue.¹³ This experience may have informed the section on the Jews in his missionary manual. In this section, his combination of scripture, classical authorities like Augustine and Jerome, and selections of medieval authors like Petrus Comestor and Ramon Martí, creates a work that in many ways conforms to traditional ideology of the Jews as inferior to Christians and yet also departs from the aggressive content and style expected in the fourteenth century.¹⁴ He does not try to convince or warn Christians about the spiritual or temporal danger of the Jews; the work lacks a virulent tone or exempla which construct a monstrous image of the Jews and instead it focuses primarily on differences found in their theology. Riccoldo's perspective on the Jews by no means reflects a utopian attitude of tolerance; however, his approach appears more measured and evenhanded than those of his contemporaries and he retains hope for their present conversion.

Riccoldo starts the lengthy section (fourteen folios) on the Jews by calling attention to their supposed misunderstanding of the Law of the Old Testament and their rejection of the New Testament. He claims that the two points on which Jews remain separate from the Catholic faith are that "they say that Christ has not yet come, and the time of promise has not been fulfilled . . . [and] they say that in fact Christ is not actually God or the Son of God."¹⁵ Riccoldo states that the truth of Christ's advent can be proven to the Jews with three key pieces of evidence: Jacob's

¹² Kappler, 10. Riccoldo also completed a commentary on Aristotle prior to his journey that is entitled *Super peryhermenias*. Currently no edition of this exists. A recent French translation of both the *Littere* and *Liber peregrinationis* was completed in 1997 by Kappler. An Italian translation of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* was completed in 1992 by Giuseppe Rizzardi (Firenze: Nardini Editore, 1992). An online Italian translation of *Ad nationes orientales* was recently completed by Emilio Panella O.P., "Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, OP, *Libellus Ad nationes orientales*," last modified November 2008, <http://www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/riccoldo2/adno.htm>.

¹³ Marshall W. Baldwin, "Missions to the East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. 5 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 464.

¹⁴ Robert Ian Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 4.

¹⁵ Riccoldo, 227v. "*Sequitur de iudeis . . . quod nec intellectum legis Dei habent, nec legem plenam. Non enim recipiunt nouum testamentum. Causa uero est, quia expresse et manifestissime continet illa duo, in quibus discordant a nobis, immo a ueritate: Unum est quia dicunt, Christus nondum uenit, et non est completum tempus promissionis. Aliud est quia dicunt, quod non erit uere Deus uel Filius Dei.*"

prophecy, Daniel's revelation, and the Jews' experience of captivity.¹⁶ For each of these three proofs Riccoldo employs Augustine's *City of God*, but most representative of his Augustinian tendency are his interpretations of Jacob's prophecy and the Jews' captivity, the latter of which he believes is a result of their role in killing Christ.

The exposition of Jacob's prophecy in Genesis 49:10 was a stock component of the polemicist's arsenal.¹⁷ As Riccoldo cites it, it states: "The scepter will not be taken away from Judah, nor a ruler from his thigh until the one who is to be sent will come and he will be the expectation of the nations."¹⁸ Riccoldo argues that this prophecy was fulfilled because the Jews have had neither kingdom nor power since Jesus' coming.¹⁹ In order to build this argument, he relies heavily on Augustine's interpretation of the Jews' history in Book 18, Chapter 45 of the *City of God*. Specifically, Riccoldo employs Augustine's summary of the leadership of the Jews; this includes the patriarchs, judges, kings, leaders and rulers (both temporal and spiritual), and finally (up to the time of Herod) priests, whose authority, both Riccoldo and Augustine believe, was abolished with the coming of Christ.²⁰ One of Riccoldo's (and Augustine's) central proofs for the end of the "scepter of the Jews" is their dispersion throughout every kingdom; as Riccoldo says, "[F]rom India to Spain, they have been disseminated through every kingdom of the Gentiles."²¹ And again in the same vein he states:

And always there were, that is in the tribe of Judah, men worthy of supremacy and honor, just as David [who] even as a boy killed the giant Goliath; however, after the coming of Christ no remarkable or distinguished thing is found among the tribe of Judah, and especially after their captivity brought about by the Romans, the tribes are mixed, because they scattered and they sold them, that is thirty for one silver coin.²²

¹⁶ Riccoldo, 227v. "Circa primum sciendum est, quod Christus iam uenit, quod patet precipue ex tribus, que sunt in prophetia Iacob, reuelacio Daniel, et experientia captiuitatis."

¹⁷ Gilbert Dahan, *The Christian Polemic against the Jews in the Middle Ages*, trans. Jody Gladding (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 87, 114.

¹⁸ Riccoldo, 229r. "Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda et dux de femore eius donec ueniat qui mittendus est et ipse erit expectatio gentium."

¹⁹ Riccoldo, 229r. "Et utrumque iam factum et completum est. Nam et regnum iudeorum defecit et ad fidem gentes Deus uocauit . . . nam post aduentum Christi nec regna habuerunt nec regem."

²⁰ Riccoldo, 229r. "Nam iudei primo habuerunt patriarchas secundo iudices tertio reges quarto duces et rectores populi temporales et spirituales summos sacerdotes qui populum rexerunt usque ad Herodem Ascalonitam . . . Quo tempore natus est Christus. Postquam nec regem habuerunt nec ducem generalem nec iudicem." He directly quotes Augustine and the *Historica Scholastica* at the end of this discussion on 232u, "Et hec omnia habentur aperte in Historiis Scolasticis in principio noui testamenti; et Augustinus De ciuitate Dei libro 18 capitulo 45. Igitur Christus aut nondum est incarnatus, quod tenent iudei, aut oportuit eum uenire quingentis annis ante quam ueniret, quod nullus omnino dicit."

²¹ Riccoldo, 232r. "Nam ab India usque in Yspaniam, per omnia regna gentium disseminati sunt."

²² Riccoldo, 237r. "Et semper fuerunt ibi, id est in tribu Iudam, uiri digni principatu et honore, sicut Dauid [qui] etiam puer occidit Goliath gigantem, I Reg. 17[4ss] etc. Post aduentum autem Christi nulla notabilis excellentia inuenitur in tribu Iudam, et precipue in captiuitate facta per romanos commixte sunt tribus, quia disperserunt eos et uendiderunt, uidelicet 30 pro uno denario."

This quotation echoes the *The City of God* which states: “they were dispersed all over the world—for indeed there is no part of the earth where they are not to be found”²³ Riccoldo ties up this argument on the scepter with a brief mention of the textual traditions or corruptions that translate the “scepter” as the practice of Sabbath or circumcision. It is important to note that he does not attribute these or other textual differences to malicious falsification by the Jews.²⁴ He includes here Augustine’s famous claim for why God spared the Jews; namely he did so in order “to corroborate the faith so that the world would know about us that we did not invent those prophets which we say wrote about Christ.”²⁵ He admonishes his readers in the conclusion of the discussion about the scepter of the Jews, reminding them of the difficulty of this passage.²⁶ Riccoldo suggests that if this complicated argument is not intelligently grasped it could easily trip up a novice, and if it is mastered it could serve as one the more effective lines of argumentation; it would appear that for Riccoldo, understanding Augustine’s interpretation of this prophecy is key.

Riccoldo, also in agreement with Augustine, believes that the Jews’ dispersion and bondage are their penalty for denying and killing Christ. In his opinion, their punishment serves as clear proof of the advent of Christ and of his divinity rather than proof of any inherent evil in them. For example, Riccoldo claims that the intense bondage the Jews have suffered, and still suffer, can only be attributed to their extreme punishment for killing and denying Christ.²⁷

No other reason is able to be rendered, no other sin is able to be discovered among the Jews that could be the cause for this current bondage which is so humiliating, so dangerous, so universal, so tedious, which already has continued for almost 1300 years, than because they refused and killed Christ Truly the sin regarding the murder of Christ was infinitely more important than other prior sins. The state of bondage has not concluded for that failing generation, because their sons and daughters are still in the same faithlessness, nor will the bondage end, unless they would return to Christ.²⁸

²³ Augustine of Hippo, *City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 18:46.

²⁴ Irvn M. Resnick, “The Falsification of Scripture and Medieval Christian and Jewish Polemics,” *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996): 351. Resnick explains that the idea of a Jewish conspiracy to corrupt the Hebrew text took on “new life in the thirteenth century” under the influence of the “growing familiarity with talmudic sources,” 371, 373. Riccoldo does not reflect this idea of a Jewish conspiracy, but instead quotes Jerome: “*Nam sicut dicit Ieronimus in prologo Desiderii mei: ‘Ubicumque sacratum aliquid Scriptura testatur de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, aut aliter interpretati sunt, aut omnino tacuerunt,’*” Riccoldo, 230u.

²⁵ Riccoldo, 237u. “*Dominus enim eos reseruat ad confirmationem fidei ut sciat mundus quod nos de nostro non confinximus ea que dicimus prophetas de Christo scripsisse Augustinus De ciuitate Dei libro XVIII capitulo XLV.*” This is actually from 18:46.

²⁶ Riccoldo, 237u. “*Enumeratis igitur pluribus opinionibus super auctoritatem difficilem prudens et pius lector eligat illam que uideatur magis catholica et intellectum suum conformet Sacre Scripture. Numquam uero Sacram Scripturam trahat ad suam imaginationem. Non enim est magnum quod Sacra Scriptura nostrum intellectum excedat.*”

²⁷ Riccoldo, 229u. “*In aduentu enim Christi ablatum est regnum translutum sacerdotium, mutatum est sacrificium et uocate sunt gentes ad fidem.*”

²⁸ Riccoldo, 229u-30r. “*Nulla enim alia causa potest reddi nullum aliud peccatum potest inueniri in iudeis quod sit causa presentis captiuitatis que fuit tam contumeliosa tam periculosa tam uniuersalis tam longa que iam durauit fere Mccctis annis quam quia negauerunt Christum et occiderunt Peccatum uero de occisione Christi in infinitum fuit grauius aliis peccatis*

Riccoldo focuses on describing the perils of the Jews' lives, its harshness and danger, rather than relating the details of the treachery of their presumed sin. He chooses instead to expose the enormity of their sin by emphasizing the tragedy of their bondage. Riccoldo's use of Augustine's "doctrine of witness" concentrates less on the Jews' preservation of the Old Testament and more on the witness that their bondage offers.²⁹

Again addressing the captivity of the Jews, Riccoldo rejects their claim that this bondage is only a result of habitual sin, stating, "But they have not committed a sin more serious or equal . . . except that they killed Christ."³⁰ He then interprets the promise of God for the Jews found in Deuteronomy as hope that their sufferings will end if they would repent and turn to Christ:

They repented from all other sin, but this sin they do not repent from nor acknowledge. But if they would repent God would faithfully release them just as he promised them in Deut. 30, "When . . . you will turn back to your Lord; the Lord God will restore you from your bondage and will have mercy on you, and in turn will gather you from all the nations in which previously you were scattered."³¹

Riccoldo takes the common theme of repentance and restoration found in the Hebrew Bible and refashions it as the impetus of the Jews' conversion to Christianity.

Although Riccoldo blames the Jews for deicide, their foreknowledge about his divinity is a trickier matter. He states that God wanted the divine mystery of Christ's identity to be kept a secret from the Jews, because if they knew they would not have wanted to crucify the Lord; he suggests, however, that this does not acquit them of their crime because their ignorance was owing to their hatred and envy of Christ.³² Previous authors, such as Augustine, also believed Christ's crucifixion was committed in ignorance, but it has been argued that in the thirteenth century "Christian theologians began to argue that the Jewish leadership knew exactly who Jesus was and killed him nonetheless—or, more precisely, for that very reason!"³³ Riccoldo does not include these details; nor does he dwell on this quandary. His cursory glance delicately balances between acceptance of a death that God ordained and ascribing guilt for the crime to the Jews. He spends more time discussing the captivity and dispersal of the Jews as evidence of their punishment than

prioribus. Nec deficiente illa etate terminatus est reatus captiuitatis quia filii et nepotes eorum adhuc sunt in eadem perfidia nec terminabitur captiuitas nisi reuertantur ad Christum."

²⁹ It has been suggested that when Augustine's twin functions of preservation of the Hebrew Bible and witnessing to the truth of New Testament prophecies by their own bondage were reduced to the latter, the Augustinian model of toleration for the Jews was weakened. Resnick, 380.

³⁰ Riccoldo, 238u. "*Sed grauiora non commiserunt nec equalia sicut supra patuit nisi quia occiderunt Christum et propter hoc acerrime incomparabiliter affliguntur quia occiderunt Christum.*"

³¹ Riccoldo, 238u. "*Secundo quia de omni alio peccato penitent sed de isto nec penitent nec recognoscunt. Quod si facerent Deus eis pie remitteret sicut promisit eis Deut. XXX Cum . . . reducet te Dominus Deus tuus de captiuitate tua ac miserebitur tui et rursum congregabit te de cunctis populis in quos te ante dispersit,*" (paraphrased from Deut. 30:1-3).

³² Riccoldo, 230u. "*Uoluit etiam Deus quod celaretur mysterium diuinum in Christo donec passio compleretur. Si enim cognouissent numquam Dominum glorie crucifixissent. Nec tamen iudei totaliter excusantur propter ignorantiam quia fuit ignorantia ex odio et inuidia quam habuerunt ad Christum.*"

³³ Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 339.

on their supposed crime. He accepts the foundation set by Augustine's interpretation of the blindness of the Jews, but adds to this that God blinded them because of their own misbehavior.

Augustine is not the only authority that Riccoldo relies on, but it is worth noting that his attitude is more congruent to that fourth century bishop than to many other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Dominicans. For example, Riccoldo's tone stands in stark contrast to one of the key authors he relies for his interpretations of Jewish scripture and history, the Catalan Dominican theologian Ramon Martí (d. 1285) who stated in his *Capistrum Iudaeorum* (The Muzzle of the Jews):

[W]hat do you think the devil can accomplish through the Jews, who are so numerous, almost all educated and most adept at trickery, so well-endowed from the good life and usuries allowed them by Christians, so loved by princes on account of the services they provide and the flatteries they spew forth, so scattered and dispersed throughout the world, so secretive in their deceptions that they display a remarkable appearance of being truthful?!³⁴

Martí composed his *Capistrum Iudaeorum* in 1267 shortly after the Disputation of Barcelona (1263). The forced debate between Friar Pablo Christiani and Rabbi Moses ben Nahman of Gerona, in Barcelona under the aegis of King James I of Aragon, served as an arena to test the new missionizing strategy that employed Talmudic sources to convert the Jews.³⁵ In 1264, James I assigned Martí as one of the Dominicans in charge of expunging the offensive passages from the Talmud.³⁶ Unique to Martí's work was the exploitation of rabbinical literature to prove Christian truths.³⁷ The *Capistrum* has been identified as "a handbook for Christian disputants and missionaries."³⁸ This is the very work that Riccoldo repeatedly uses for this section (especially for exegesis of the Hebrew Bible) and yet the descriptions of the Jews are very different. There are no references to their undeserved and power hungry "good life," or apocalyptic fears of the Jews' attempts to undermine the world as vessels of the devil; on the contrary Riccoldo refers to their state as *captiuitas*. Riccoldo restricts his application of Martí's work to its comprehensive knowledge of rabbinic literature; while leaving behind the vitriolic tone. Compare Riccoldo's previous treatment of Gen. 49:10, which focused on the captivity of the Jews, with Martí's, "From these things which we have adduced from the Talmud it is clear that the messiah must have come for all those whom sin or stupidity or malice does not blind. And thus, by the grace of God, the perfidy of the Jews is struck down by its own arrows and strangled by its own noose."³⁹ It is curious that the *Capistrum* has been identified as a handbook for missionaries to persuade Jews, rather than simply a shrewd, thorough, and methodical rejection of Judaism. The close chronology of its

³⁴ Ramon Martí, *Capistrum Iudaeorum*, 2:24-27, trans. Jeremy Cohen in *Living Letters*, 348-349.

³⁵ Robert Chazan, "From Friar Paul to Friar Raymond: The Development of Innovative Missionizing Argumentation," *Harvard Theological Review*, 76/3 (1983): 294; Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 55; Sholomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1991), 309-313.

³⁶ Simonsohn, 313.

³⁷ Cohen, 343.

³⁸ Cohen, 346.

³⁹ Martí 1:88, trans. Cohen, 348.

composition to the passions roused by the public Disputation of Barcelona (1263) could account for the aggressive attitude in Martí's work, whereas Riccoldo's experiences left him less threatened by the Jews. The public nature of the Disputation and especially the reality of an uncertain victor required both sides to compose and disseminate their version of the debate. It was also imperative for the Christians to prove the usefulness of the new polemical strategies aimed at the Talmud. Martí was operating under these directives, whereas Riccoldo's debates with the Jews were neither recorded, nor under the same public scrutiny.

Robert Chazan describes the evolution in the treatment of the Jews by the Church in the fourth century, characterized by both their protection and social restriction, to the thirteenth century, which he characterizes as exhibiting a "heightened concern over the potential for harmful behavior (of the Jews)."⁴⁰ This heightened concern is apparent in *Capistrum* but not *Ad nationes orientales*. The disparity of these two works, both identified as handbooks for missionaries, invites the question: how should we characterize missionary handbooks? It appears Riccoldo extracted specific selections of Martí's systematic arguments, together with their theological evidence, but left behind the apocalyptic and virulent tone of anti-Judaism. While Riccoldo employed thirteenth-century works to construct his arguments, his tone is more aligned with the Augustinian tradition, which he may have valued as a more persuasive approach based on his missionary experience.

Riccoldo's section on the Jews is not only similar to Augustine in its tone, but also in what it leaves out—namely a discussion of the Talmud. In Riccoldo's treatment of the prophecy of Daniel 9:23-4 we see one of only two direct yet brief references to the Talmud.

Therefore, they say that Christ had been born, when the Temple was destroyed by the Romans or after the fire, but thus far he remains hidden or at an earthly paradise or at a remote island. Also certain people say he is hidden in Rome among the lepers, but that he will appear at the end of the world. This is also clearly considered in the Talmud.⁴¹

This passage is a paraphrase of part of Ramon Martí's *Capistrum* (2:11); however, Riccoldo does not condemn the rabbis of the Talmud for their insanity as Martí does.⁴² The paucity of references to the Talmud in Riccoldo's work is interesting because it is reported to have been at the forefront of the polemic against the Jews in the 1230s and the 1240s, but finds its roots in the twelfth century; as Resnick states: "[W]ith increasing frequency, attacks on the Talmud would become an integral part of polemical literature from this point on."⁴³ For Riccoldo's interpretation of the prophecy in Daniel 9:23-24 he also cites Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogus Contra Iudeos* (Dialogue against the Jews). This complicated negotiation of arithmetic breaks down the predicted years before the

⁴⁰ Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond*, 20-22.

⁴¹ Riccoldo, 233r. "Dicunt igitur Christum natum fuisse quando destructum fuisse templum a romanis uel post a caldeis sed adhuc latitat uel in paradiso terrestri uel in insulis remotis. Et quidam dicunt eum latitare Rome inter leprosos, sed apparebit in fine mundi. Et hoc habetur expresse in Talmud."

⁴² Martí, 2:58, 2:84, 2:116, 2:156-159, trans. Cohen, 349.

⁴³ Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond*, 83; see also Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*, trans. Irvn Michael Resnick, *Fathers of the Church*, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 33; Cohen, 317-319.

advent of the Messiah and involves the theory that the prophecy was not referring to the years from Daniel to the time of Christ, but rather from Daniel to Cyrus who rebuilt Jerusalem.⁴⁴ When interpreting Hebrew Bible prophecies like this one, Riccoldo often relies on the works of Ramon Martí, Petrus Alfonsi, and also on Petrus Comestor's *Scholastice Historia* (Scholastic History). These may be sources that he relied on during his own journey and from which he could extract specific evidence to graft into his own work. However, as seen with Martí, he employs Petrus Alfonsi selectively.

Petrus Alfonsi, who served as court physician to King Alfonso I, converted from Judaism and was baptized in 1106 in Huesca; soon after he wrote his *Dialogi Contra Iudeos* (1109) which has been called the "single most important anti-Jewish text of the Latin Middle Ages."⁴⁵ As John Tolan states: "The number of surviving manuscripts (seventy-nine), their wide distribution across Latin Europe, and the frequent citation of the *Dialogi* by medieval writers—all make the work the preeminent anti-Jewish text of the Latin Middle Ages."⁴⁶ A central feature of Alfonsi's *Dialogi* was its criticism of the Talmud, and the text played a key role in the increasingly aggressive Christian stance against it. As Cohen states "Alfonsi was the first medieval Christian writer to employ rabbinic texts in his anti-Jewish polemic in any extensive or systematic fashion."⁴⁷ The doctrines of the Talmud are one of the three main errors that Petrus lists for his dissatisfaction with Judaism; especially the anthropomorphisms applied to God.⁴⁸

There are similarities between Alfonsi's famous work and Riccoldo's section on the Jews. Both have a civil tone and both blame the Jews' diaspora on their having killed Christ; however, Petrus claims that the Jews committed this deicide aware of Jesus' divinity, whereas Riccoldo retains a more Augustinian view that the Jews were blinded by God.⁴⁹ Most importantly, Riccoldo does not incorporate Alfonsi's heightened focus on the erroneous nature of Jewish texts. It is difficult to determine the degree of Riccoldo's familiarity with Alfonsi's work. This text could have been part of Riccoldo's Dominican training. Humbert of Romans recommended this work for preachers in his *De praedicatione sanctae crucis contra Saracenos* (Regarding preaching of the holy cross against the Saracens) (ca. 1266-68); however, other authors, like Martí, employed the *Dialogi* and therefore

⁴⁴ Riccoldo, 229u. "non dicit de eodem Christo sed de Cyro quem Deus appellat christum Is. 45. Cuius scilicet precepto cepit reedificari Ierusalem." This argument is seen in Martí's *Capistrum* 4:14-15 and 4:28.

⁴⁵ John V. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 9-11. See also Alfonsi; and Cohen, 202. Alfonsi continued to England where he translated Arabic works of science into Latin and possibly served as a court physician to King Henry I.

⁴⁶ Tolan, 95, 116-123. A selection of the authors that employed this text for their own works include Peter the Venerable of Cluny in his *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem* (1143), Theobald of Saxony's *Pharetra fidei contra Iudaeos*, and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (1246-53).

⁴⁷ Cohen, 207-10. Cohen admits, "I have usually had to suffice with a rather hurried review, intended more to downplay his [Petrus's] significance in the medieval history of the Jewish-Christian debate, especially when compared with Christian polemicists of the thirteenth century."

⁴⁸ Cohen, 203.

⁴⁹ Tolan, 12, 17; Cohen 212-217. While acknowledging Alfonsi's distinction between "the praiseworthy Jewish sages who preceded Jesus and the deceitful ones who followed him," Cohen disagrees with Tolan's interpretation of Alfonsi. Cohen suggests that Alfonsi does not plainly state that the Jews knew Christ's identity and therefore were heretics, but rather emphasizes their ignorance in this act. He concludes that Alfonsi exposed "absurdities of rabbinic literature," but retained the Pauline and Augustinian attitude towards the Jews.

Riccoldo could have obtained knowledge of this work through a secondary source.⁵⁰ The incorporation of the *Dialogi* in *Ad nationes orientales* is limited, but provides insight into the continued employment of Alfonsi's work; as Tolan states, "each scribe or author who used the text in turn transformed it into something different, something that suited his own interests and prejudices."⁵¹ For Riccoldo the *Dialogi*, like Martí's *Capistrum*, was a reference to be used for Hebrew Bible exegesis, but he chooses to leave out the animosity towards the Talmud. It has also been noted, however, that "after the middle of the thirteenth century, most medieval popes displayed little or no interest in rabbinic Judaism and its post-biblical literature."⁵² Riccoldo perhaps reflects this abated interest by including only two citations of the Talmud, both of which make their way into his work through secondary sources. He neither expounds on these citations nor makes them an integral part of his argument. Therefore, Riccoldo's limited attack against the Talmud as heretical questions the longevity, and more importantly, the uniform use of this strategy.

While this paper has revealed only a small fraction of the overall content of the section on the Jews in *Ad nationes orientales*, Riccoldo's repeated use of Augustine, specifically his focus on the Jews' dispersion as a witness of Christ's advent and divinity, provides an interesting viewpoint on the Jews in the early fourteenth century. More importantly, however, it questions the idea of a homogeneous mendicant stance regarding the Jews; if we question the fixity of the "victim," we should equally challenge the supposed uniformity of the mendicant "persecutor."⁵³ His selective use of Augustine and Ramon Martí show his familiarity with both the longstanding and contemporaneous issues against the Jews, but also reveals his preference for a more Augustinian stance. Salient to further research is the issue of genre. For example, is Riccoldo's attitude about the Jews found in this missionary manual congruent with his travel narrative or does it widely differ as does his treatment of the Muslims? Also, if we accept, as Riccoldo claims, that he interacted with Jewish communities, are the Jews of his text to be regarded as a reflection of his experience or merely constructions that continue in the vein of classical rhetorical strategy?⁵⁴ Considerations of Riccoldo's treatment of the Jews enriches the field of research regarding the use of Augustine's "doctrine of witness" in the later Middle Ages and adds to the complexity of what modern scholarship suggests is the steady and uniform progression of religious intolerance.

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⁵⁰ Tolan, 108, 114. In *Pugio Fidei* Ramon Martí uses Alfonsi's Trinitarian argument and cites him specifically. See also Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 167-175.

⁵¹ Tolan, 131.

⁵² Cohen, 333.

⁵³ Jonathan M. Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2007), 9. Elukin challenges the interpretation of the Jewish experience as one of uninterrupted victimization, but still displays generalizations of the mendicants as persecutors, if not the very source of persecution.

⁵⁴ Fredriksen, 227.

Didactic Messages in Cassone Panels of the Contenance of Scipio

By Rachael L. Mundie

A *cassone*, or *forziero*, is a chest that was used during the Renaissance in Italy. They were commissioned in pairs during the negotiations of a marriage and acted as a part of the dowry or counter dowry. During the stage of the wedding ceremony when the bride was moved from the house of her father to that of her new husband, these *cassoni* were carried through the streets in a lavish parade. When they reached the house, they would come to rest inside the man's *camera*, the room where the husband and wife would consummate their marriage. Inside a *cassone*, one would find the bride's trousseau—the fine linens, silverware, and clothing that the bride brought to the union. On the outside, one would find a variety of decorations. At the peak of *cassoni*'s popularity, these decorations consisted of painted panels that depicted didactic messages for the new bride and groom.

There are relatively few surviving painted *cassone* panels.¹ In the nineteenth century, as a whole the chests were dismantled and the painted panels were spread to disparate collections around the world. Sometimes chests were also reconstructed from mismatched pieces. This destruction/reconstruction has become a major hindrance to our understanding of how these panels functioned in their original context. We know that these chests were made as pairs and displayed as pairs in the groom's *camera*, or bed chamber.² So, since they were paired, these dismantled front panels from pendant chests would have once acted in tandem with one another; their narratives would have somehow completed or complemented each other. Because the *camera* was a place where the bride and groom would consummate their marriage and conceive the children who would ultimately continue the legitimate family line,³ one can assume that the narratives depicted on these panels would have addressed issues pertinent to such activities and perhaps have provided didactic messages for those who would have been in front of the images on a daily basis—the bride and groom.

¹Of the one hundred seventy *cassone* pairs commissioned from the workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni, the most prolific of *cassoni* painters, only fifty single panels have been identified: Ellen Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 4-6, 25-26, 76-81.

²Ellen Callmann, *The Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996), s.v. "Cassone: Painted," 15-16.

³Ellen Callmann, *Beyond Nobility, Art for the Private Citizen in the Early Renaissance: Allentown Art Museum, September 18, 1980, through January 4, 1981* (Allentown, PA: Allentown Art Museum, 1980), 15-16.; Caroline Campbell, *Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence: The Courtauld Wedding Chests* (London: Courtauld Gallery, 2009), 31.

Because of the wholesale dismantling of *cassoni*, there are only a few known pendant *cassone* panels. These pendants give us a clue as to how some of these panels must have functioned—how their narratives worked with one another and provided lessons to the bride and groom. By analyzing some of these known pendants, I have deduced that there is a pattern as to how these panels operate with one another. In the case of paired panels, either of the panels can offer exemplars of virtue for the bride. However, the message to the male is slightly more complex. On one of the panels, we find a behavior that a man should avoid in his relations with women, and on its pair we see a model that the man should follow.

I have found three examples of *cassone* panel pairs that follow this pattern: pendant panels that detail the story of Ginevra and Ambrogiuolo,⁴ *Susanna and the Elders* (figures 1 and 2) and Marcus Furius Camillus.⁵ The pendant panels that depict the story of Ginevra and Ambrogiuolo find their source in the ninth novella of day two of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.⁶ On one panel we see the first part of this story. Ginevra's husband, Bernabò, makes a bet with Ambrogiuolo that his wife's virtue is incorruptible and he would be unable to seduce her. In order to win this bet, Ambrogiuolo hides in a chest that is brought into the woman's chamber. When she is asleep, he sneaks out and examines her, finding a mole under her left breast. When Ambrogiuolo gives this information to Bernabò as proof of her infidelity, he orders her assassination.

On the other panel, we find the rest of the story. Ginevra, who has fled to Alexandria in order to avoid execution, is disguised as Sicurano, a man under the service of the Sultan. Six years after the incident with Ambrogiuolo, she happens upon him there. She forces him to reveal the truth, and the Sultan orders him to be tied to a stake, nude and covered in honey. There Ambrogiuolo is bitten and stung to death as a traitor. Not shown on the panel is the story's end when Ginevra calls Bernabò to Alexandria, and he forgives her.⁷ Art historian Ellen Callmann has suggested that the clear message to the viewing audience is that Ginevra is the heroine, the model of fidelity and virtue, and the exemplar for the wife to follow. So, the only message is one for the woman. However, I believe the message of these panels is much more complex.

While Ginevra does act as an exemplar of behavior for the bride on both panels (on the first she is passively constant and on the second she actively defends both her and her husband's honor), behaviors are also presented on both panels for men. On the first panel, Ambrogiuolo presents a behavior for the groom to avoid. He is deceitful and lascivious. Such behavior would compromise the legitimacy of heirs, especially those of Bernabò had Ambrogiuolo actually succeeded in seducing Ginevra. The Sultan, who assisted Ginevra in bringing Ambrogiuolo to justice, presents a behavior the groom should follow, as he is the just decision-maker taking pride of place at the

⁴ These panels were painted by Giovanni Toscani in 1420 – 1425. The panel depicting the first part of the story of Ginevra, Bernabò, and Ambrogiuolo can be found in the National Gallery of Scotland. The second panel is in a private collection. For reproductions of these panels, see Campbell, cat. #3 and #4.

⁵ These panels were painted by Biagio di Antonio and Jacopo del Sellaio. Both can be found in the Courtauld Gallery, London. For reproductions, see Campbell, cat. #1 and #2.

⁶ Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio*, trans. Richard Aldington (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Company, 1949), 115-123.

⁷ Campbell, 36.

center of the scene set inside his palace. So, when read together one panel illustrates a behavior for the groom to avoid and the other panel one for him to follow.

Boccaccio states in the foreword of the *Decameron* that the stories contained in the novellas are meant to provide “useful advice, since they [the readers] may learn what things to avoid and what to seek.”⁸ Therefore, even the source of this *cassone* imagery intended to supply its readers with models to follow and others to avoid. Although Boccaccio proposed in his foreword that these models of behavior should be for female readers,⁹ in the novella from which the Ginevra story is taken, the lesson can also address men. As Caroline S. Cook points out, Boccaccio states that this story proves true the proverb that the deceiver will be bested by the deceived, and in the case of this story, Bernabò is deceived by Ambrogiuolo: Therefore, since it is the male characters that deceive and are deceived, the didactic message is also one for men.¹⁰ So, much like the *cassone* panels that depict this tale, the literature can offer models of behavior to avoid and to follow for both women and men.

Cassone images of *Susanna and the Elders*, an Old Testament story in which the wife of a prosperous Jewish man was seduced by two elders, can offer a similar juxtaposition of models of behavior. In the story, Susanna would often go to her garden to bathe. This is where two elders hid in order to attack Susanna after her maids had left. The elders told her that if she did not submit to them, they would accuse her of adultery with a young man—a story very similar to that of Ginevra. Adultery was a crime punishable by death. She denied them, and they accused her of adultery. She was found guilty and sentenced to death. At the last moment, Daniel steps in and proves her innocence by separating the two men and confirming that their stories are fictional, as they do not match up with one another.¹¹



Figure 1. Domenico di Michelino, *Story of Susanna and the Elders*, Pt. 1, Fifteenth century. Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, Collection Campana. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY; used by permission.

⁸ Boccaccio, vi.

⁹ Boccaccio, vi.

¹⁰ “A Cassone in II.9 (the novella of Bernabò and Ambrogiuolo),” Caroline S. Cook,

http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/arts/cassoni/ii-9.php; Boccaccio, 115.

¹¹ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, revised ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), s.v. “Susanna,” 294.

In the first *cassone* panel (figure 1), we see the elders relaxing in Susanna's husband's loggia as they watch her unlock the garden gate. Then we see the virtuous wife, Susanna, being accosted by the two elders while bathing, and finally, the soldiers lead Susanna away. In the second panel (figure 2), the first scene as read left to right shows the two elders condemning Susanna before the tribunal. Then Daniel rides into town, sees Susanna, takes up her case, and exposes the elders. In the final scene, the elders are stoned to death. In her examination of fragments of *cassone* panels featuring Susanna, Ellen Callmann has pointed out that Susanna was a model of virtue and chastity that a young bride could imitate as she does not give in to the desires of the elders.¹² Callmann also suggests that the interest in Daniel in panels similar to this one may be a reference to patriotism and justice.¹³ Because country was often equated with family, it may also refer to the man's role in the family as protector and seeker of justice.¹⁴ It is in contrasting this positive role model of Daniel with the negative behaviors of the elders in the first panel that the overarching message to the male can be seen.



Figure 2. Domenico di Michelino, *Story of Susanna and the Elders*, Pt. 2, Fifteenth century. Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY; used by permission.

When the story is complete, we see one narrative about a chaste, married woman who is assaulted by two men, whose behaviors are to be avoided. In the second narrative, we see that it takes a wise and just man to intervene, save her good name, and punish those who libeled her and attempted to commit the violent rape. Daniel's behavior contrasts with that of the elders. Thus, when viewed together, the panels offer a model of behavior for the groom to avoid (the adulterous deeds of the elders) and one to follow (the righteous behavior of Daniel).

The stories illustrated on the Courtauld *cassoni* and *spalliera* offer similar models. The narratives are derived from Livy and Valerius Maximus' *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, which details the virtuous deeds of the ancient heroes.¹⁵ Both *cassoni* depict the same hero, Marcus Furius Camillus. In one of the panels, he is shown chasing the Gauls out of Rome. The Gauls had sacked Rome, and the Roman citizens were forced to ransom themselves for food. Just as the Roman Lucius Sulpicius was about to pay the Gallic chieftain Brennus, Camillus and his men rush in from

¹² Callmann, *Beyond Nobility*, 3.

¹³ Ellen Callmann, "The Growing Threat to Marital Bliss as Seen in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Paintings," *Studies in Iconography* 5 (1979): 86-87.

¹⁴ Callmann, *Beyond Nobility*, 3.

¹⁵ Callmann, *Beyond Nobility*, 69.

the upper right and save the city and its inhabitants. This *cassone* is referred to as the *Morelli Chest* because it is believed to be the one meant to provide entertainment for Lorenzo Morelli.¹⁶ According to Caroline Campbell, Lorenzo Morelli could “enjoy the martial exploits of Camillus defeating the Gauls.”¹⁷ While this is true, it is also possible that the military scenes in this *cassone* could provide a model for the young groom. As the city was often seen as a macrocosm of the family, by the artist or patron choosing an image of a hero protecting a city, I believe the message being projected was for the new husband and father-to-be to protect his family.

This is a virtue fitting for a nuptial chamber and presented in a way similar to the previously discussed *cassoni* with Daniel and the Sultan as exemplars of civic and moral responsibility. Daniel and the Sultan act as judges who saved the woman’s reputation, and Camillus is the warrior who saves the city. Because the city represents family and the woman’s reputation hinges upon her chastity/fidelity (a characteristic that ensures that the family is a stable one), then I believe all three narratives seem to address the same general theme—the importance of fidelity and the resulting legitimate heirs.

The companion chest of the *Morelli Chest* is, of course, known as the *Nerli Chest*: Lorenzo Morelli’s wife was Vaggia di Tanai di Francesco Nerli. The front panel of this chest depicts Camillus’ attempt to protect Rome from the Gauls by refusing the offer of the schoolmaster of Falerii. The school master offers up his students as hostages so that Rome could capture the town. However, Marcus Furius Camillus recognizes this as an unacceptable behavior and orders the students to beat the schoolmaster with rods. As a result, the townspeople recognize that Camillus is a virtuous man and give him the keys to the city. Caroline Campbell suggests that this chest was meant for the new bride. The lesson that she could glean from this narrative is to not act as the evil schoolmaster did, but to protect her children.¹⁸ While this may be the case when read singly, when read in tandem with its pendant panel, again there seems to be a model to follow and one to avoid (follow that of Camillus and protect your country/family; do not follow the behavior of the schoolmaster and abandon your children). Then when put together, the narratives of the *cassoni* offer the complete message of the importance of protecting one’s family/heirs.

Based on my observations, all of these *cassone* pendant panels appear to have a number of different messages within them. When read singly, they can offer up a model for the bride. However, when read together, a new message can be discerned—an overarching didactic message that can teach the groom a lesson on proper marriage/civic behaviors. This is done by juxtaposing behaviors to be followed with those to be avoided, in much the same way that aforementioned humanist literature utilized the rhetorical device of praise and blame. If followed, the proper behaviors depicted on these nuptial panels could prevent unwanted consequences, especially illegitimate heirs. Jacqueline Musacchio has stated that Renaissance Italy was a “demographically depressed and lineage-obsessed society.”¹⁹ Children were wanted and encouraged, but they had to be produced within the confines of a socially-accepted marriage to be of any value. So, because the

¹⁶ Callmann, *Beyond Nobility*, 33.

¹⁷ Callmann, *Beyond Nobility*, 33.

¹⁸ Campbell, 33.

¹⁹ Jacqueline Musacchio, “The Rape of the Sabine Women on Quattrocento Marriage-Panels,” in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, ed. Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 82.

importance of marriage as a way to continue the patriline was a major concern in Renaissance Italy, it is logical that images addressing this issue were prevalent. If we compare panels of the *Continence of Scipio* and their assumed pendant panels, the *Rape of the Sabines*, with these other known pendant panels, one can see that the didactic messages on the *Continence* and the *Rape* act in much the same way.

Scipio Africanus was a Roman general most notable for his defeat of Hannibal at Zama in 202 B.C.E., which concluded the Second Punic War. Scipio was the victorious general, the logical strategist, and the continent male. As such, rhetoricians and wedding orators often praised him in their writing during the Medieval and Renaissance periods in Italy.²⁰ He was also included in the imagery that decorated domestic interiors, such as that found on majolica objects, tapestries, frescoes, *cassoni*, and *spalliere*. The latter two forms of decoration were associated specifically with marriage. It was on these nuptial objects that Scipio made an appearance in a number of different contexts, all of which represent aspects of marriage or the wedding ceremony itself. He could be seen in triumphant procession (similar to the parade-like movement of the bride to her new home), in battle during the height of a siege (a metaphor for the taking of the bride from her father's home), as a personification of Temperance (a virtue important in all aspects of life, especially marriage), or in perhaps the most intriguing episode of his life—commonly known as the *Continence of Scipio*—where he denies himself a betrothed princess as a spoil of war.

The continence episode occurred after Scipio Africanus had conquered New Carthage, Spain, an important part of his eventual defeat of Hannibal. While figuring out the details of the money seized from the Carthaginians and the awards to be presented to his troops, a group of his soldiers brought a beautiful young Celtiberian female captive to Scipio for his carnal pleasure.²¹ After learning that she was betrothed, however, Scipio did not accept the young girl.²² Instead, he had the girl's father and fiancé brought to him and returned her to them. The girl's parents offered a large ransom of gold to Scipio in gratitude for his continence. He accepted the money, but then called her fiancé, Allucius, before him and presented the gold as a wedding gift. Scipio had returned the young woman inviolate and even gave his gifted gold to the new couple as a wedding present, only asking that Allucius be his ally in the war against Carthage in return. Connections between this story and a Renaissance marriage are obvious: Scipio presents the young girl with a dowry of sorts and he gains an important ally through her marriage to Allucius, much in the same way the father-of-the-bride or marriage-broker would have in Italy at the time.²³ However, by

²⁰ References to Scipio's virtue and triumphs can be found in Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Men* (1361), Petrarch's *Africa* (1340) and *I Trionfi* (1356-1374), Dante's *The Divine Comedy* (1310-1314), Machiavelli's *Prince* (1513/1532), wedding orations by Ludovico Carbone (1430-1485), and rhetoric that compared Scipio Africanus to Julius Caesar. Cristelle L. Baskins, "(In)Famous Men: The Continence of Scipio and Formations of Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Domestic Paintings," *Studies in Iconography* 23 (2002), 113. Baskins points out that fifteenth-century humanists often contrasted the villainous deeds of Hannibal with the virtuous deeds of Scipio, and it became a popular praise and blame trope. Baskins also gives a number of examples where Scipio's good deeds were contrasted with the poor behavior of Caesar; note 15.

²¹ Alexander Acimovic, *Scipio Africanus* (New York: Universe, Inc., 2007), 20-21; Baskins, "(In)Famous Men," 120-121.

²² James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art: Revised Edition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), s.v. "Scipio (1)."

²³ Baskins, "(In)Famous Men," 117.

examining *cassone* panels of the *Continence of Scipio* with their pendants, we see that another connection to marriage—a didactic message to men—can be discerned.

Examples of these depictions of the *Continence of Scipio* usually show Scipio presenting the ransom of gold to the young couple²⁴ or he is shown bringing their hands together much as the notary or father-of-the-bride would have done on the ring day of the wedding ceremony.²⁵ It is believed that most of these instances of the *Continence of Scipio* were not spread across two panels as a continuous narrative, as was the case with the stories of Ginevra and Susanna. Instead, the *Continence of Scipio* was paired with a complementary story. This is a perfectly reasonable possibility since the only known intact pair of *cassoni*, The Morelli-Nerli chests, has two different narratives on its front panels. While the Morelli-Nerli chests pair together two different stories from the life of Marcus Furius Camillus, the *Continence of Scipio* seems to have been paired with the *Rape of the Sabines*. There are at least three examples of this pairing—a *Continence of Scipio* in the Harewood Collection is paired with a *Rape of the Sabines* also in the Harewood, a *Continence* formerly in the Cook Collection in Richmond, England, is paired with a *Rape* in Malahide Castle in Dublin, and the Museo del Prado has a slightly later pair from 1496 (figure 3).²⁶



Figure 3. Guido and Amico Aspertini, *Rape of the Sabines*, c. 1500. Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Scala/Art Resource, NY; used by permission.

²⁴ Examples of panels of the *Continence of Scipio* that show Scipio Africanus in such a manner are Amico Aspertini's version from 1496, now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, and Apollonio di Giovanni's panel from 1460, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

²⁵ Examples of panels of the *Continence of Scipio* that show Scipio Africanus in such a manner are the Master of Marradi's version in the Harewood House, Yorkshire and a Florentine artist's panel from the 1480s formerly located in the Cook Collection, Richmond, England.

²⁶ Paul Schubring, *Cassoni: Truben und Trubendbilder der Italienischen Frührenaissance* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1915), 15. For a color reproduction of Guido and Amico Aspertini's *Continence of Scipio*, see the Museo del Prado's Online Gallery, cat. # P00525, <http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/la-continencia-de-escipion/>.

The legend depicted on these pendants, the *Rape of the Sabines*, tells of the early Romans who were in need of women in order to perpetuate their dying population. In order to repopulate, the Romans, under the guidance of Romulus, tricked the neighboring Sabines by inviting them to a feast and, at the prearranged signal, abducted their women. When viewed on their own, these images of the *Rape of the Sabines* have been interpreted as clear exemplars for women to follow. Jacqueline Musacchio suggests that because “ancient stories were considered ideal models for Renaissance life,” the “Sabine women would have been extolled for their submissiveness to the needs of husbands and city.” She admits that a number of other marriage-panels served the same purpose, but the Sabine story offers up a more specific and reductive message: brides should “obey their husbands and bear their children.”²⁷

While the encouragement of bearing children is a valid didactic message, it is also important to remember that the *Rape of the Sabines* depicts a rape. The term “rape” had an ambiguous meaning during the Renaissance. It encompassed a number of ideas, including abduction (whether or not intercourse occurred) and was also closely related to adultery, the deflowering of a virgin, and clandestine marriages.²⁸ These would have all been considered deviant behaviors to be avoided by a man when entering into a relationship with a woman. As Cristelle L. Baskins points out, while some Renaissance authors, such as Marc Antonio Altieri, praised the actions of the Romans in this episode, other Renaissance moralists, such as Peter Martyr Vermigli, saw this abduction as a violent crime.²⁹ So, in the eyes of an Italian Renaissance viewer, this scene could be read as a model to avoid. Therefore, when placed next to the *Continence of Scipio*, the behavior to avoid (the rape and abduction of the Sabines) is contrasted with that of Scipio, the proper behavior for a man when dealing with a young woman, especially if she is already married or betrothed to another man. Scipio does not have the consent of the young woman or her parents to take her as his own. So he is not committing a rape in any sense of the word and he is not entering into a clandestine marriage. Since she has already started the legal process that bonds her to another man, he is also not taking part in an adulterous or bigamous relationship. Because of these facts, Scipio steps aside and allows for the proper marriage between Allucius and the Celtiberian maiden to take place. So, again, just as with the pendant panels of the stories of Ginevra, Susanna, and Marcus Furius Camillus, the first panel presents a behavior for the man to avoid when dealing with marriage and the second a behavior a virtuous man should follow.

The overarching message of these two panels instructs the groom not to force himself upon a woman, as it is not proper etiquette in marriage. Instead, if the woman is not rightfully his, he must act with prudence and, with Scipio as the perfect model, continence. This message would have been an especially pertinent one to Quattrocento and Cinquecento men. With the numerous bouts of the bubonic plague that struck the peninsula from 1348 onward, repopulation was a major concern in Quattrocento and Cinquecento Italy because without children, property and the family

²⁷ Musacchio, 77.

²⁸ Nicholas Davidson, “Theology, Nature and the Law: Sexual Sin and Sexual Crime in Italy from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century,” in *Crime, Society, and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Trevor Dean and K. P. J. Lowe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 83–84.

²⁹ Cristelle L. Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 108.

name would be lost.³⁰ So, producing children, especially male offspring, was very important. In fact, producing male heirs to ensure that the family lineage continued was the primary reason for marrying.³¹ The deviant behaviors illustrated by these pendant panels, such as rape, clandestine marriage, infidelity, and bigamy, upset the line of power and inheritance with illegitimate children and controversies over property. Based on the laws that were being introduced and punishments that were increasing around the mid-fifteenth century, these issues seem to be especially important to Renaissance society at the same time that images of the *Continence of Scipio* and the *Rape of the Sabines* first appeared on *cassoni*.

One can see evidence of the problems caused by these deviant behaviors all over Northern Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In fifteenth-century Florence (one of the centers of *cassoni* production and place of production of a number of the *cassoni* panels discussed in this essay), a statute established penalties for men who were found guilty of abduction, rape, and adultery—crimes very closely related to clandestine marriage.³² In addition to secular laws, in 1517 Florence, the Church created a synodal law against forms of wedlock that did not follow the necessary steps of marriage (often times such marriage was seen as clandestine).³³ In Bologna (the origin of the *Sabines/Continence* pairing now in the Prado) a number of abduction and rape crimes were also increasing in prosecution around 1450.³⁴ It was at this time that images of the *Continence of Scipio* and the *Rape of the Sabines* first appeared on *cassoni* panels. An obvious connection can be made between these crimes and the *Rape of the Sabines* (these women were abducted and raped). Instances where men and young women were married without the consent of their parents were also increasing in prosecution.³⁵ Such crimes were prosecuted under the same law as violent rapes and abductions, as parents considered them to be one and the same.³⁶ So, in the eyes of Renaissance Italians, rape (the subject of the *Rape of the Sabines* panels) and clandestine marriage, or taking a woman without the consent of her father (the behavior that is being avoided in the *Continence of Scipio* panels), are equal. Thus, such a pairing of pendant panels would make absolute sense for Renaissance society at this time. One panel, the *Rape of the Sabines*, offers an instance where men force themselves upon women and ultimately marry them without the consent of their fathers—behaviors to avoid. In the other, the *Continence of Scipio*, Scipio, the model of virtue, does not rape the maiden and take her without the consent of her parents. This juxtaposition presents a behavior to avoid and one to follow that seem to be especially relevant to the marriage of Quattrocento and Cinquecento Italians.

In the Veneto (another center of *cassoni* production) and surrounding areas, we see the institution of laws and a change in punishments for these clandestine marriage-related crimes. In

³⁰ Musacchio, 77.

³¹ Musacchio, 78.

³² Daniela Lombardi, "Intervention by Church and State in Marriage Disputes in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Florence," in *Crime, Society, and the Law*, 152, note 21.

³³ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Zacharius, or the Ousted Father: Nuptial Rites in Tuscany between Giotto and the Council of Trent," in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 211.

³⁴ Trevor Dean, "Criminal Justice in Mid Fifteenth-Century Bologna," in *Crime, Society, and the Law*, 33.

³⁵ Dean, "Criminal Justice," 33.

³⁶ Dean, "Criminal Justice," 33.

fifteenth-century Padua, a woman could lose her dowry and face thirty days in jail, while a man could face a year in prison, if caught marrying without consent.³⁷ In Verona, Ferrara, and Venice, laws against clandestine marriage were changed, making the punishments more severe, and in some cases, these laws expanded who could make accusations of improper marriage (not just the father of the bride, but also the public through denunciation).³⁸ In 1454, the city of Bologna revised the statutes extending the definitions of and penalties for sex crimes. One of the 1454 statutes states, “we know from experience that under the pretext of ample dowry or hoped-for inheritance or succession, marriages are contracted in great number by young men without the consent of their kinsmen, from which it often happens that grave disorders are raised up, and even enmities and homicides follow.”³⁹ Because of these problems, women under the age of twenty-two were required to have the consent of their father or of another kinsman, if the father were not alive. The punishments for a marriage that did not follow the rules dictated by law were loss of dowry for the bride, a fine of 500 Lire for the marriage broker, a fine of 100 Lire for the witnesses, and if the marriage was done with force, death for the groom.⁴⁰ Scipio acted as a model of proper behavior to follow in such instances, as he does not take the Celtiberian maiden whose parents have not consented to that union. The Roman men in the *Rape* panels would present a model to avoid, as they entered into a marriage with force.

Earlier analysis of *Rape of the Sabines cassone* panels focus on the Sabine women as models for the new bride.⁴¹ Previous examinations of *Continence of Scipio* panels emphasize Scipio’s possible connection to the Renaissance marriage-broker.⁴² While these interpretations are valid, this paper shows that, when the two panels are placed together and put into the context of Renaissance marriage, overarching lessons that address the groom materialize. By presenting positive and negative behaviors, pendant *cassoni* would have provided their intended viewers with both examples of what to do, as well as what not to do. These models of behavior illustrated in the *Continence of Scipio* and the *Rape of the Sabines* were especially pertinent to mid-fifteenth-century marriage, as can be discerned by the marriage-related crimes and laws introduced in precisely the same places and time at which these images were first seen in *cassone* painted panels. Therefore, when interpreted alongside marriage practices of the period, the *Continence of Scipio* proposes Scipio Africanus as a model of virtue for the groom to follow in his own marriage, as well as in respect to the marriages of others.

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³⁷ Trevor Dean, “Fathers and Daughters: Marriage Laws and Marriage Disputes in Bologna and Italy, 1200 – 1500,” in *Marriage in Italy, 1300 – 1650*, eds. Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 91.

³⁸ Dean, “Fathers and Daughters,” 91.

³⁹ Dean, “Fathers and Daughters,” 91.

⁴⁰ Dean, “Fathers and Daughters,” 91.

⁴¹ Musacchio, 77.

⁴² Baskins, “(In)Famous Men,” 117.

Bearing the Cross: Syphilis and the Founding of the Holy Cross Hospital in Fifteenth-Century Nuremberg

By Amy Newhouse

*"In recent times I have seen scourges, horrible sicknesses and many infirmities afflict mankind from all corners of the earth. Amongst them has crept in, from the western shores of Gaul, a disease which is so cruel, so distressing, so appalling that until now nothing so horrifying nothing more terrible or disgusting, has ever been known to the earth."*¹

These were the words of Joseph Grünpeck, a scholar blighted by syphilis, at the close of the fifteenth century. In 1494 the troops of King Charles of France besieged the city of Naples. At that siege the scourge of syphilis made international renown.² Accounts of intense pain and bodily disfigurement preceded the French soldiers as they marched home, proliferating this French

¹ Claude Quétel, *History of Syphilis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 27. Debate continues about the use of the term *syphilis* in early modern research. First coined by Girolamo Fracastoro in the 1530s, it was not in general use until a much later period. Early modern Europeans referred to it as the French disease, *Malafraanzoß*, the French pox, Italian pox, the great pox, *morbus gallicus*, or *lues venerea*. Jon Arrizabalaga refuses to use the term syphilis because it connotes a radically different "ontology of infectious disease" than was understood in the period. Current perceptions of disease, and therefore diagnosis, are based on microscopic bacterial organisms, something utterly unknown in the early modern period. For Arrizabalaga, "In earlier periods, before the laboratory and the germ theory, the relationship between cause, disease, symptom and sign had to be different in different systems of medicine." Kevin Siena employs the term *venereal disease* in order to acknowledge diseases, such as gonorrhea, which were often misdiagnosed as the French disease. The term also carries the sexual connotation finally linked to syphilis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Siena explores the relationship between the moral reform that society considered was needed for those with venereal disease and public health in early modern England. I will use both French disease and syphilis. French disease was the most common term utilized in my sources. I believe the term syphilis, despite its inexactitude and anachronistic problems, is important to the translation of the phenomenon to non-specialized readers. Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and R. K. French. *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1. Kevin Patrick Siena, *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 12.

² Many different theories exist on the origins of syphilis by both early modern and current scholars. Some scholars maintain that it came from contact with the New World. Others suggest that it mutated from another bacterial infection that had been present for centuries in Europe; they argue that the infection merely took a virulent form at the end of the fifteenth century. See Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, 30th anniversary ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003), 122-164.

disease in their wake. These accounts sent waves of anxiety across Europe as local leaders feared the affliction's reach. Correspondence raced between scholars and city magistrates as they attempted to learn anything about this ailment that spread at the pace of plague and left people as horrifically disfigured as leprosy. At this point, even the connection between syphilis and sexual relations was unknown.

As syphilis crept up from southern Italy the Nuremberg city council, like many leaders elsewhere, prepared for the impending onslaught of this mysterious new disease. As the highest political authority in the city, the council considered the health of its citizens its responsibility. Members solicited the opinions of doctors for news of the latest treatments and studied reports from other cities' attempts to stave off the disease. They did everything in their power to eliminate the contagion and care for the city's sick.³

The most tangible monument to these protective endeavors was the establishment of the Holy Cross Hospital. Standing immediately outside the city walls, it served both as a way of removing syphilitic people from the heart of the city and as a house of much coveted care at public expense. However, the more extensive the care provided by public funds in the hospital, the smaller the number of patients the city could afford. This paper focuses on the years 1496 and 1497, the first years of the syphilis outbreak in Nuremberg. In less than two years, the physical and financial limitations of the hospital forced the council to choose who was worthy of the city's care. Worth in this case was determined by belonging, specifically belonging to the city. While standing outside the city walls in apparent quarantine, the hospital became the singular physical space reserved for inhabitants of the city and the syphilis care provided there—a privilege. It demonstrated the council's desire to care for its city and its corresponding need to demarcate who belonged within it.

The Holy Cross Hospital

The Holy Cross Hospital was created from the pilgrim's house of Nuremberg, sometimes called the miserable or *Elend* house. The Hallers, a leading merchant family in the city, had founded it in the mid-fourteenth century to provide housing for pilgrims, traveling priests, students, and the destitute. The complex consisted of a hostel, the small Holy Cross chapel, and a living area for the priest who carried out spiritual duties. Financial problems caused the Haller family to yield control of the charitable house to the city council, while still performing day-to-day management.⁴

The Haller family originally may have admitted syphilis sufferers because the overseer of the pilgrim's house at the time, Wilhelm Haller, suffered from the "evil pox."⁵ For the council, it proved an opportune building to house those afflicted by the newly emerging syphilis. The facilities could host more than thirty individuals and was auspiciously located outside the city walls in the

³ Karl Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maßnahmen der Stadt Nürnberg gegen die Syphilis in den Jahren 1496 und 1497. Aktenstudien," *Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis* 116 (1911): 2-6.

⁴ Michael Diefenbacher and Rudolf Endres, "Heilig-Kreuz-Pilgerspital" and "Haller von Hallerstein, Patrizierfamilie," in *Stadtlexikon Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: W. Tümmels Verlag, 2000), 396, 431-432.

⁵ Helmut Haller von Hallerstein and Ernst Eichhorn, *Das Pilgrimspital zum Heiligen Kreuz vor Nürnberg: Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler* (Nuremberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1969), 13.

St. Johannes district, where other contagious disease hospitals housed leprosy and plague patients.⁶ While the council's desire to remove syphilis sufferers from the general population reflected the only way they knew to control contagious disease, the Holy Cross Hospital was not merely a storehouse where infected people were sent and forgotten. The council believed that the space performed a central function for the city in treating syphilis.

While records reveal little about the hospital's daily functioning in its first couple of years of syphilis treatment, evidence suggests that the council spared no expense seeking remedies. It ordered city doctors to explore the latest in Italian medicine and guarded the city vigorously against charlatans who promised grand solutions.⁷ According to Nuremberg historian Emil Reicke, syphilis was the first health crisis for which the council made a concerted effort to bring in an educated doctor.⁸ At the end of 1496 council members invited Meister Micheln, a city doctor from Ingolstadt, to administer a new treatment to patients at Holy Cross. They so valued the doctor's service that they granted him citizenship.⁹ Presumably he offered a therapy of herbs or mercury. While these treatments seem questionable by modern medical standards, the naturally intermittent symptoms of syphilis often created the appearance of therapeutic success.

In the first years of the syphilis epidemic, the disease was believed to be curable for most individuals. Medical authorities in early modern London so strongly believed in a cure that when people returned to hospitals for further treatment, authorities chided them for being reinfected with the disease.¹⁰ In Claudia Stein's study of sixteenth-century Augsburg, the question was not one of reinfection, but of severity of the infection. Only patients deemed curable were accepted into the syphilis hospital. Those who attempted to enter the hospital more than four or five times were considered "incurable." They were told they had been too thoroughly penetrated by the poisonous disease and therefore were past the doctor's ability to treat.¹¹ Both London and Augsburg authorities had great optimism that those entering the hospital would be cured by the time they left.

While converting the pilgrim's house into a syphilis hospital may have been foremost an act of quarantine, the council demonstrated firm commitment to bring to it the best medical care available. The council could have chosen merely to banish syphilis sufferers and quarantine the city; instead it decided to treat those infected so they ultimately could return and contribute to the city. In entering the Holy Cross Hospital outside the city walls syphilis sufferers were in no way exiled

⁶ Although my source states there were thirty beds, this number does not necessarily reflect the number of patients. Bed-sharing was very common in the early modern period.

⁷ Karl Sudhoff, *Aus der Frühgeschichte der Syphilis: Handschriften- und Inkunabelstudien, epidemiologische Untersuchung und kritische Gänge* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1912), 20-32.

⁸ Emil Reicke, and Johann Priem. *Geschichte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg: Von dem ersten urkundlichen Nachweis ihres Bestehens bis zu ihrem Übergang an das Königreich Bayern 1806* (Nuremberg: J. P. Raw, 1896), 593.

⁹ Sudhoff, *Aus der Frühgeschichte der Syphilis*, 32. *Ratsverlässe* "Secunda post Mauricij 97," quoted in Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maßnahmen," 12. *Ratsbuch* Nr. 6, Bl. 221, quoted in Karl Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maßnahmen," 12. "Den artzt, der ettlich lewt für die malafranzoß geertzneyet vnnd gebeylet hat, zu Burger auffzunemen."

¹⁰ Kevin Patrick Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals, and the Urban Poor; London's "Foul Wards," 1600 – 1800* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 81.

¹¹ Claudia Stein, *Negotiating the French Pox in Early Modern Germany* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), 78. A good example of this situation is found on 129.

from the city; they temporarily lived in a spaced demarcated for their care, a space which was fastidiously overseen and entrance into which was a privilege.

Examination and Admittance

In true micromanagerial fashion, the council decided the fate of each individual petitioning for admission. Not surprisingly, one of the first examples concerned a young woman from the city's brothel. The decree read: "A poor daughter burdened by the French malady, who comes from the brothel, has confessed and started her penance, [and is] to be taken to the Holy Cross."¹² Petitions generally were based on an examination confirming the illness. Sick individuals sought the services of a city barber-surgeon to perform this task, but city servants, bathhouse attendants, and guards at the city gates who suspected infection could also prompt an examination.¹³

The council remained very concerned that illnesses were treated in the correct hospitals. The main hospital in Nuremberg was the Holy Ghost Hospital, located in the heart of the city, which accepted the elderly, the poor, and sick people with non-contagious conditions. The process of diagnosis was often sloppy or just wrong, much to the vexation of the council and the detriment of its attempts to determine who was accepted to which hospital. In April 1497 the council seemed quite concerned when three syphilitic patients were found at the Holy Ghost Hospital instead of the Holy Cross Hospital. It immediately ordered the patients transferred and demanded better examinations to ensure that misdiagnoses of syphilis did not continue.¹⁴

While the council for obvious reasons did not want to treat contagious syphilitic patients in the "clean" hospital in the middle of the city, it also did not want people without syphilis being treated at Holy Cross. On one occasion a servant who lived in the city's brothel fell sick. Even though the sexual transmission of syphilis remained unknown, certain assumptions were made about people who frequented brothels, where diseases were known to fester. Thus the servant was assumed to have syphilis and was immediately transferred to Holy Cross. It was later determined that "the servant in the brothel . . . [did] not have the French disease," and that he should be transferred from the syphilis hospital to the Holy Ghost.¹⁵

¹² *Ratsverlässe* "Sabato Silverstri 1497," quoted in Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maßnahmen," 13. "Ein arme tochter, die auß dem tochter haws komen, gepeicht hat vnd ir puß angetreten vnd mit der kranckenheyt mala franza beschwerdt ist, zum heyligen crewtz einzenemen." According to Robert Jütte, by the mid-sixteenth century Jacob Wimpfeling asked Emperor Maximilian to shut down the brothels, saying, "Whoever sets one foot into a brothel, sets the other in the hospital." Robert Jütte, "Syphilis and Confinement: Hospitals in Early Modern Germany," in *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500 – 1950*, eds. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 100.

¹³ Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maßnahmen," 14-15.

¹⁴ Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maßnahmen," 18.

¹⁵ *Ratsverlässe* "Tercia decollacionis S. Johannis baptiste," quoted in Sudhoff, "Die ersten Maßnahmen," 20. "Den knecht im Frawen haws, der kranck ist, wo er nit die Franzosen hat, ine inn spital zunemen."

Limitations and Restrictions

The Holy Cross Hospital was not designed to admit the onslaught of patients it received in less than two years. The council transferred two caretakers from the Holy Ghost Hospital to the Holy Cross to care for the overabundance of patients, but this did not resolve the problem of space.¹⁶ The council sought alternative spaces into which to expand the hospital, combining two leper houses to quarter those in the later stages of treatment, for instance.¹⁷ As they approached the limit of their physical and fiscal resources, council members began imposing restrictions, such as limiting the duration of stay, particularly for those unable to defray the cost of food.¹⁸ Such regulations were meant to ensure Holy Cross as a place for intensive treatment of the French disease and not merely a charitable hostel.¹⁹ This first limitation only applied to duration of treatment, but the next limitation the council imposed concerned which potential patients were admitted.

Both rich and poor inhabitants of Nuremberg were considered worthy of public funds and space in Holy Cross, at least for a time. Foreigners were not so lucky. Early modern leaders diligently combated newcomers who came to the city for “handouts from the civic grain stores, the hospital, the orphanage, and the poorhouse.”²⁰ This fear of outsiders and the hospital’s limited resources led to the council’s October 22, 1496, decree, stating that only those “who are citizens and inhabitants here, who were stricken with the French disease shall be taken into the Holy Cross Hospital.”²¹ The Council’s decree was put into effect in the case of Frau Wagner, a citizen of Nuremberg, who petitioned for aid for herself and her two children, all suffering from the French disease. The council ordered that they be taken to Holy Cross, even though it was already at maximum capacity. The council’s solution was that “if there [were] people there who are not citizens or inhabitants and can move about, [they] should be pushed out.”²² The council later reaffirmed this decision. They deemed it absolutely necessary to expel foreigners, in order to provide for “those citizens and inhabitants . . . who are burdened here with such a disease and are

¹⁶ Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 18.

¹⁷ Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 15.

¹⁸ *Ratsverlässe* “Quinta post Galli,” quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 6. “Item die krancken person mit der Malafrançoß, die hie Burger oder Inwoner sind, sollen zum heiligen Creutz, die armen unvermögenden vmb gottes willen eingenomen, aber die etwas haben, mit denselben sol es, wie mit den kranken in dem nechstuergangen sterben der zerung halben beschehen ist, gehalten werden, vnd so pald ein Krancker auß dem petleger kompt vnd wider vnd fur gen vnd wander mag, sol er furderlich von dieser Stat gewisen werden, vor seiner gesundhait nit herein zukomen.”

¹⁹ Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 7.

²⁰ Jason Philip Coy, *Strangers and Misfits: Bsnishment, Social Control, and Authority in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 60. A myriad of legal and illegal residential statuses existed in early modern cities, the definitions of which are beyond the scope of this paper. Migrant workers, generally people who had been displaced from rural areas, worked as day laborers and contract workers within the city. Other wanderers entered the city to beg. Some people achieved residency status through serving a citizen of the city for a few years. If these resident aliens proved respectable economic assets to the city, they could be included in hospitals under the auspices of their citizen employers.

²¹ *Ratsverlässe* “Quinta post Galli,” quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 6. “Item die krancken person mit der Malafrançoß, die hie Burger oder Inwoner sind, sollen zum heiligen Creutz.”

²² *Ratsverlässe* “Sabatho post Erhardj,” quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 14. “Es ist ertheylt, die wagnerin, ein burgerin mit sampt iren sunlein vnd tochterlin, die alle die elende kranckhayt haben, zum heyligen Creutz einzunemen, vnd ob person, die do weren, die nit burger oder inwoner seint vnd wabern mogen, hinwegkschieben.”

so poor that they cannot live off their own assets.”²³ This rejection of infected foreigners occurred even in the case of children. A group of boys contracted syphilis while studying at the city’s prestigious poet’s school. The infected boys, whose parents lived in different cities, were merely sent home to be cared for by their parents and their respective civic institutions.²⁴ As demand overpowered resources, it became imperative that Nuremberg’s inhabitants were not denied limited public funds. Only local, extremely sick people were qualified to received care.

“Walking” Exceptions

Two exceptions to this restriction, for both inhabitants and foreigners, revolve around the phrases “to walk” *gehen*, or “to wander” *wandern*. The hospital had to accept completely destitute foreigners who could not walk and had no one to physically carry them out of the city. Diseased and dying bodies were common occurrences on early modern streets. Whole charitable confraternities existed to either take these bodies to hospitals or give them holy burials. The city’s Christian duty required care for people under imminent threat of death; these foreigners must be accepted according to the “will of God.” The council made this exception for one woman found “lying in the alley near the New Gate, with her small child.” It decreed that “through God, [she shall be] accepted into the Holy Cross Hospital, even though she is not a citizen.”²⁵ The goal was that when she was well, she would walk out of the city, but the phrase “to walk” or “to wander about” also carried a dangerous connotation in the early modern city.

At the same time the council desired to push out foreigners to make room for the local poor, it remained greatly concerned about the danger of contagion the extremely poor represented. As Juan Luis Vives later wrote, it was thought that the infected breath of the poor brought disease.²⁶ The poor who did “not have an occupation” were not able pay the cost of food in the hospital; therefore, they were discharged when they were on the mend and not “cured.” Poor people were a threat, because they would most likely use their walking in order to beg, displaying scars to elicit sympathy.²⁷ Early modern leaders saw begging as a central means of the spread of disease. Begging

²³ *Ratsverlässe*, “Sabatho post xj M virginum,” quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 7. “Die elenden frembden person, die iczo im spital vnd an der kranckhayt mala francoß kranck sein, sollen ein zeyt lang, biß sie geen mögen, dar Innen enthaltnen vnd furder weg gewisen, dar nach sol nymant, der mit diser kranckhayt besuerdt vnd frembd ist, darinn aufgenommen, es werde dann, das ymant daher käme, der so gar kranck wer vnd nymantz bet, der solle als in der hobsten not des, biß es besser vmb in wirdt, nit vertriben werden, doch mit wissen eins erbern rats.

²⁴ Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 28-29. Needless to say, the angry Nuremberger parents called for the Council to reassess care of syphilis in the city. I hope to research this reassessment in my further research.

²⁵ *Ratsverlässe*, “Sabato ante Silvestri 98,” quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 29. “Die armen Kranken Frawen an den Franzosen, pey dem Newenthor an der gassen liegend, mit dem kleynen kindlein zum heyligen Creutz einzunemen durch got, wiewol sie nit burgerin ist.”

²⁶ Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 8.

²⁷ *Ratsbuches*, quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 6. “Es ist erteylt die armen vnvermögenden burger vnd burgerin, inwoner vnd inwonerin, die mit der kranckhayt der Malafrancoß beladen sein, vnd nit narung halben, zun heyligen Crewtz einzunemen, doselbst mit zymlicher notturfft essens, drinkenß, vnd legers zu uersehen, vnd so der krancken sachen also gestalt werden, das sie wannndern mugen, sollen sie hinwegck von der stat gewisen werden vnd ine gesagt, vor vnd ee sie wider gesundt warden nit wider herein zukomen.”

by locals or foreigners combined with syphilis was a ticket out of the city.²⁸ The council advised that if these needy people came to the hospital, they should be provided “with relative urgency, food, drink and a place to lie down,” but only until they were well enough to be expelled from the city.²⁹ Beggars in the city who showed any signs of syphilis were immediately expelled with a little money for their journey.³⁰

The case of a Franciscan friar provides a harsh example of the council’s policy of expulsion. The friary in Nuremberg had secretly taken care of one of its own struck by syphilis. When his care became onerous, the brothers petitioned for his admittance into Holy Cross. The petition was denied. The friar embodied two elements of the city’s expulsion policies. First, monks and friars, subject only to their religious order, did not qualify for citizenship.³¹ Second, Franciscan monks earned their bread as mendicants; that is, through begging. In rejecting the Franciscan the council used the same phrase it did for everyday foreigners and beggars; he was denied entrance literally because he “could walk,” and therefore needed to walk out of the city.³²

Conclusion

According to Robert Jütte the establishment of syphilis houses “signaled a change in the perception of public health.” He calls these early syphilis houses forerunners of a “public, universal health care system, one that provided medical care through hospitalization, rather than as sites of disease control.”³³ Elements of the Holy Cross Hospital reflect proto-universal health care tendencies, in that it accepted people from all strata of society for genuine medical care. In this period, a city using public funds to secure not only its physical walls but also the physical bodies of its citizenry is revolutionary. As in the case of city walls, the council had to decide where to draw border lines. The council’s responsibility to secure public health met the limited resources of the hospital, producing the need to firmly define who belonged in the city and who was worthy of its care.

Syphilis treatment reflects two complementary forces occurring in major cities of the period. The first force was city leaders’ acceptance of primary responsibility for the physical well-being of their people. The church and local confraternities had previously monopolized charity. Economic limitations and lack of organization called for more centralized and organized relief. Civic authorities’ appropriation of charitable responsibilities is seen most clearly in poor relief. During a famine in 1491 the city of Nuremberg provided bread, butter, salt, meat, fish, vegetables, and wine to the local poor. In the closing decade of the fifteenth century the most prestigious patrician family in Nuremberg, the Tachers, also endowed a centralized public poor-relief program for the

²⁸ Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 18.

²⁹ *Ratsbuches*, quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 6.

³⁰ Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 16.

³¹ A city could perceive of members of religious orders as citizens of the city if those members came from families who had established citizenship. That seems unlikely here because the name of the monk was not included in the council decree and because of his summary expulsion. I will investigate this situation more in further research.

³² *Ratsverlässe* “Sabato post Jacobi 1497,” quoted in Sudhoff, “Die ersten Maßnahmen,” 19. “*noch wandern mag.*”

³³ Jütte, “Syphilis and Confinement,” 114.

city.³⁴ As public funds provided exclusive aid to the sick and poor, the boundaries of the city strengthened.

The centralization of public funds for charitable purposes provided city authorities the power to weed out freeloaders, criminals, and vagrants who might take advantage of privileges granted by contributing members of society. This second complementary force, the exclusion of needy foreigners, was seen as essential for city leaders to protect their cities from throngs of poor and sick. In 1522 the council passed the first major poor law reform in Europe. This watershed law eliminated all begging and ousted all foreign poor who attempted to litter the streets of Nuremberg.³⁵ Citizens and inhabitants who could not support themselves through honest work due to infirmity or circumstance were provided for through public funds. Able-bodied beggars who refused to work were considered criminals and expelled. Periods of diseases provided special impetus for council members to demarcate who belonged in their city. They established a new guard at the city gates to survey “foreigners” with increasingly suspicious eyes. When a guard found open signs of disease, he sent locals to the hospital and foreigners simply away. Paradoxically, being considered worthy of treatment in the Holy Cross, outside the city walls, became the ultimate statement of belonging to the city.

In just two years of treating syphilitic patients, the Holy Cross Hospital hit maximum capacity. The rapid spread and the long-lasting and gruesome nature of syphilis brought a new set of challenges to the imperial city and stretched the council’s ability to care for its legal inhabitants, much less others who fell ill in their city. The Holy Cross Hospital was not merely a building outside the city to hold infectious people apart. Multiple petitions to the council to enter Holy Cross show that patients fervently desired to receive care there. The council’s efforts to ensure the best treatment demonstrate that it hoped patients would only need a limited stay, and that the hospital would prove pivotal to the healthy return of its inhabitants to the city. The conversion of the pilgrim’s house was emblematic of Nuremberg’s growing exclusion of needy foreigners, particularly when it came to health care and poor relief. With limited resources and space, the council had to prioritize the city’s own over foreigners, whom God had placed in the charge of other princes and councils. While the Holy Cross Hospital was only one part of much larger movements in the early modern period, it reflects how physical space interacted with the concept of public health to create the boundaries of belonging in early modern Nuremberg.

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³⁴ Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*. New approaches to European history, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 75.

³⁵ Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, 105.

Architecture, Insignia, and the Cult of Personality: The Château d'Anet of Diane de Poitiers

By Kristen Decker-Ali

Situated fifty miles west of Paris, France, the Château d'Anet served as the hunting lodge and primary residence of Diane de Poitiers, Duchesse de Valentinois and Grande Sénéchale de Normandie. The project was under construction for the five years from 1547 to 1552, just as the French architects of the time began to treat the architectural principles of the Italian Renaissance seriously and thoughtfully. Anet is a complex and unique architectural site, which is due in part to its female patroness and owner, Diane de Poitiers, and partly to the circumstances surrounding its construction, which blended the desires and practices of French court culture, French reception of architectural ideas from antiquity and the Renaissance, and the political and personal relationship Diane had with King Henri II. Though Henri was married to Catherine de Medicis, Diane was his recognized “favorite,” creating a rather complicated situation with several important artistic and architectural ramifications. The design of the château was a strong reflection of the personalities, interests, and relationships between the persons involved in its conception and execution, particularly Diane and court architect Philibert De l'Orme. Together they produced an elegant theater where Diane presided, which served to display her power over the king, her beauty and mystique, and her love and enthusiastic pursuit of the hunt. Parts of the château are still extant, and though much altered, still communicate something of the majesty and beauty of the construction and organization of the original design.

Diane de Poitiers was, by all accounts, a strong character who knew her own mind and was unafraid of expressing her opinions, talents, or preferences.¹ She was well known for her humanist tendencies, which were attested to in accounts by court poets Brantôme and Pierre de Ronsard, Cardinal du Bellay, Italian ambassadors, and other members of the court.² She could read Latin and Greek, and had a library of over three hundred books, amongst which were copies of Vitruvius

¹ As might be expected, accounts differ and historians take a mixed view. See Françoise Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers et le Mythe de Diane*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963); Mark Strange, *Women of Power* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); and Ivan Cloulas, *Diane de Poitiers*, (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

² Helen Henderson, *Dianne de Poytiers* (London: Methuen & Co., 1928): 4.

and Leon Battista Alberti.³ As the wife of nobleman Louis de Brézé, she had known the King since his boyhood and appeared at court, but did not rise to prominence until after her husband's death, when she was thirty-one years old. Although the exact date of the start of Henri and Diane's relationship is not certain, she was firmly established at court as Henri's mistress by the late 1530s. The institution of "favorite" at this point was relatively well-established, and the woman who held the position could wield a significant amount of power, according to her ambition and ability.⁴ The measure of influence she possessed extended openly to appointing administrative offices, while the extent to which she affected Henri's decisions is more difficult to gauge; it was also very advantageous monetarily to be in this position, as the king diverted several tax revenue streams into Diane's coffers.⁵

After the death of her husband and her rapid ascent to court fame through her position as Henri's favorite, Diane deliberately fostered a public image of herself, using recognizable emblems, to extend her influence and cultivate power. Other historical figures, including the pioneer of the practice Alexander the Great, often deliberately cultivated artistic idiosyncrasies that were distinctive enough to cause immediate recognition on the part of the viewer. In Diane's case, it is important to remember that her power lay in the force of her personality, attractions, and image, and ultimately derived from the king; as such, her authority was subject to his approval. Therefore, it was critical for her to keep in the good offices of the king, while her own concerted efforts, artistic and otherwise, enabled her to extend her ascendancy. In the humanist court of François I, poets enthusiastically compared prominent beauties to goddesses of the Classical pantheon such as Venus, Juno and Diana; the qualities possessed by these deities were a dramatic departure from those of Judeo-Christian female icons, and better suited to more secular praises. For Diane, the characteristics of the Roman goddess of the Hunt, Diana, aligned nicely with the coincidence of her own name and her enthusiastic predilection for hunting; even the Roman deity's chastity was utilized, and skillfully manipulated to convey a much-needed air of virtue to Diane's extra-marital, though monogamous, relationship with the King. To reinforce her association with the goddess, Diane had herself allegorically depicted as Diana in many of her commissioned artworks, but advanced the affiliation further by also cultivating several symbols which became nearly synonymous with her person. These were the bow and arrow, the crescent moon, the Greek letter "Delta" representing the Roman letter "D", and the letter "D" intertwined with the letter "H," which represented the name of the King, Henri. The bow and arrow and crescent moon were attributes associated with Diana, goddess of the hunt and the moon; the intertwined initials served

³ Diane caused many books in her library, as well as Henri II's royal library, to be bound with her personal insignia, oftentimes her intertwined initials or three crescent moons. This habit of hers has allowed many of the books of her library to be traced back to her, though the library itself was scattered and sold in the eighteenth century. For Vitruvius' treatise, see George Herbert Bushnell, "Diane de Poitiers and her Books," *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 4th series, vol. 7 (1927): 286. For Alberti's treatise, see Ernest Quentin-Bauchart, *La Bibliothèque de Fontainebleau et les Livres des Derniers Valois à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: E. Paul, Guard, et Guillemen, 1891), 118.

⁴ Kathryn Norberg, "Incorporating Women/Gender into French History Courses, 1429-1789: Did Women of the Old Regime Have a Political History?" *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004): 246.

⁵ Strange, 76.

to emphasize her close relationship with Henri; while the D represented alone or doubled illustrated her pride in her own name and personality apart from the king.

Some discussion of the proper term for these visual symbols may be necessary—can they be classified as “devices”? Daniel Russell, scholar of emblems and devices, examines the idea of the device in his book, *Emblem and Device in France*. He states “...devices were identifying marks like heraldic arms, but unlike armorial markings, they were personal signs which distinguished their owners not only from other families, but also from other members of their own family...more specifically, the device seems to have been a personal mark chosen to distinguish the individual through the expression of some idealized element of his character, condition, or aspirations.”⁶ The survival of examples of the usages of such devices is a chancy business; Russell notes that most devices in circulation during the sixteenth century survive only in occasional archaeological artifacts, pieces of jewelry, and other personal possessions in inventories drawn up in connection with inheritances.⁷ Diane took the practice a step further, persistently utilizing these symbols in diverse artworks she personally commissioned, which ranged from decorative enamels to tapestries and book bindings; her devices were recognized and accepted as an evocation of her personality by members of the court. So frequent were the associations and comparisons with the roman goddess that Ronsard, in an effort to distinguish himself from other poets, includes a line in an ode to Diane to the effect that he will sing the praises of her château at Anet, and not the fables of her name, like many others do.⁸ She was so successful in associating herself with the goddess that almost all depictions of the Diana from this period were assumed to be inspired by Diane, and caused much confusion in the nineteenth-century world of Art History.⁹

Though by no means alone as a female patron of artistic works, Diane is a member of a very exclusive set of female patrons of architecture during the early modern period. Upon the death in 1531 of her husband, Louis de Brézé, Diane inherited the family seat at Anet, which was a typical defensible and solid medieval fortress in varying states of repair. Sometime in the mid- 1540s, an exciting period during which the architectural principles of the Italian Renaissance were beginning to appear in French architecture, she resolved to demolish some of the inconvenient parts of the old castle that still remained and construct a new suite of buildings more to her taste. There are indications that some construction took place in the years before 1547, but did not begin in earnest until the accession of Henri to the throne, when court architect Philibert de l’Orme was employed

⁶ Daniel Russell, *Emblem and Device in France* (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1985), 24.

⁷ Russell, 25.

⁸ The line in question is: “Je chanteroy d’Annet les edifices, / Termes, Piliers, Chapiteaux, Frontispices, / Voutes, lambris, canelures: & non, / Comme plusieurs, les fables de ton nom.” From *Les Odes de P. de Ronsard, gentil-homme vandomois, au roy Henry II. de ce nom. Tome deuxiesme* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1571), 265, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k70085m/f265>.

⁹ Strange, 78. There has been much debate about the nature of these attributions. Generally, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarship was content to award authorship of paintings of Diana to well-known artists such as Jean Clouet or Jean Goujon and to state that their subject matter was Diane de Poitiers herself; more recent twentieth-century scholarship disagrees with both suppositions and claims that the paintings and works in question were not modeled on Diane.

to design and execute her new palace.¹⁰ Originally from Lyons, de l'Orme spent three years in Rome observing and recording Roman architecture; he is considered by many scholars to be the first French national to deserve the title of "architect" rather than "builder" or "master mason," and is also often called the Father of the French architectural Renaissance.¹¹ These accolades are due to his superior travel experience and repertoire of humanistic learning, as well as his efforts to apply the principles of the Italian Renaissance to the construction of architecture within France, rather than just the ornament.¹² His antique and Italian architectural sensibility had an enormous impact on the eventual design and layout of the Château d'Anet and later works such as the Tuileries; he was chiefly noted for his ability to adapt the ideas he had learned in his travels to local materials, climate, living conditions, and architectural traditions.¹³ His design at Anet is considered by many to be the best of his career.

As a work of architecture, Anet has many interesting and unique qualities that render it worthy of study, one of the most remarkable of which is the thoughtful and persistent integration of the personal insignia, or devices, used by Diane in the architectural detailing of the château. The presence of these symbols in the architectural fabric of the building are the strongest evidence that Diane may have participated in the design of the château, and in turn argue a much greater involvement on Diane's part in the design process than has been credited by scholars of Philibert de l'Orme's work, such as Anthony Blunt, who generally attribute the design of the site solely to de l'Orme and do not discuss Diane's involvement. Such scholarship has overlooked de l'Orme's own testimony that Diane directed him to keep parts of the existing fortress intact, which seems to indicate that Diane was an active patron interested in the design process and the architectural outcome.¹⁴ What little written testimony exists with regard to the relationship between de l'Orme and his clients—the authorship of specific design elements in particular—comes from the architectural treatise he published in 1567, *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, in which he complains about the interfering ways of patrons. He states that the patron's activity ought to be confined to the preliminary stage of a project, when he [the patron] was free to request designs from a number of architects and, having selected one, to demand alternatives and revisions. He might go over the smallest details of the project but, once the plans were settled, he ought to withdraw and leave the architect alone.¹⁵ This plaint seems to imply that patrons were in the habit of doing no such thing, and reinforces the idea generally held by scholars on the complicated and

¹⁰ Daniel LeLoup, *Le Château d'Anet: L'Amour de Diane de Poitiers et d'Henri II* (Paris: Belin-Herscher, 2001), 15. The state of construction at this point can only be surmised from de l'Orme's treatise; he declares that the trompe he erected for Henri's cabinet was limited by the inadequacy of the earlier architect. See also Jean-Pierre Perouse de Montclos, *Philibert de l'Orme: Architecte du Roi* (Paris: Menges, 2000), 254.

¹¹ Anthony Blunt, *Philibert De L'Orme* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1958), 1-3.

¹² Blunt, 1-3.

¹³ Blunt, 19.

¹⁴ Perouse de Montclos, 254. De l'Orme says: "En conduisant le bastiment neuf, je luy [à Diane] ai proprement accommode la maison vielle."

¹⁵ Catherine Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of a Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 127.

reciprocal nature of the architect/patron relationship during the Renaissance; alas, he does not give a detailed account of the nature of his artistic relationship with Diane.¹⁶

As a woman during this period, it required quite a lot of planning and force of personality to successfully assemble a personal mythos and execute it in an architectural setting. Other examples of the utilization of devices or motifs in architectural masonry did exist in France at this time, though it was not a common practice: for example, the porcupine motif of Louis XII, and that of the salamander of François I, both of which were integrated by their respective rulers into separate wings at the Château of Blois. Most of these architectural efforts were planned and built solely by men; the imagery was usually derived from extant symbols in coats of arms or associated with membership in various Orders.¹⁷ Diane, however, invented her own imagery based on ancient mythology and her relationship with Henri; having no true precedent, her situation as the king's favorite necessitated an original approach to her self-expression. In his devotion, Henri was an active and enthusiastic supporter of Diane's symbols; for example, the crescent moons—either singly or in groups of three—appeared so frequently on many diverse objects of his, including book bindings, horse blankets, and the Lescot façade of the Louvre, that they came to be associated with Henri as well as Diane.¹⁸ Since there are the earlier and contemporaneous examples of Blois and the Henri II wing of the Louvre, respectively, Anet was not a pioneer in the incorporation of devices into masonry; its extraordinary nature does not derive from never-before-seen techniques but rather from that it is one of the most exquisitely cohesive and thorough demonstrations of the practice.

As Anet was Diane's primary place of residence, the king visited often; there was also excellent hunting in the cultivated *bosquets* around the château and the greater woods beyond, and was a popular place for the court to repair. As Daniel Russell explains, there existed a general understanding during this time of the power and importance of devices and emblems, and there was a high level of awareness and understanding at the French court of the communicative potential of images without accompanying words. Anet's ample visitors made for a captive audience for Diane's agenda of self-promotion through these types of images. Her iconography was embedded into the very stonework of the building so ubiquitously that although less than half the original architecture remains, there are many examples of her insignia still extant in key areas, particularly points of visual focus such as the entryway, skyline, and keystones. The clearest examples of these design elements appear in several prominent places: the stonework of the balustrades delineating the garden terraces atop the fortifications, the mosaic and doorway of the chapel, and the finials and window surrounds of the rooftop gables.

¹⁶ See Wilkinson, 124-160.

¹⁷ Russell, 26.

¹⁸ One clear association of the three crescent moons with Henri appears in Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques*, (Lyons: Jean de Tournes, 1557), 20, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FPAb010>.



Figure 1. Château d'Anet, montage of architectural detailing. Photo by Kristen Decker-Ali. Permission for use granted by Jean de Yturbe, owner of the Château d'Anet.

The first of these examples, the balustrades, manifests in two forms. The first adorns and accentuates the entry pavilion, while the second extends from the pavilion outward to the rightmost guard house. The balustrades on the entry are subtle; following the rounded corners from the front to the back of the pavilion, they consist of a repeated crescent moon motif embedded in a delicate geometric tracery (see figure 1). This element continued into the courtyard side of the entry pavilion, and extended outwards on either side to delineate the second story of the architecture of the entry sequence. The forms of the architecture surrounding the entryway are difficult to describe; they were rarely employed in the design of French château, and were without precedent at the time of construction. They consist of plantings situated atop limestone and brick revetted earthwork; perhaps “garden terraces” is the most appropriate term. Atop these terraces is the location of the second form of device-featuring balustrade present at Anet.



Figure 2. Château d'Anet, balustrade. Photo by Kristen Decker-Ali. Permission for use granted by Jean de Yturbe, owner of the Château d'Anet.

The other form of balustrade is embedded in a brick and limestone wall that extends from the right edge of the entry pavilion to the rightmost gatehouse of the grounds. The individual balusters are composed of carvings, and take forms much bolder in scale and message than those of the entry pavilion (see figure 2) Large Ds and delta symbols are intertwined with bows and arrows, with no extraneous tracery or other decorative elements to detract from the visual impact of these devices. The balustrades enclose the aforementioned garden terraces, the exact usage of which has been difficult to determine. A cartoon drawn by court artist Antoine Caron may cast light on this question; the illustration depicts male and female figures strolling within the garden, an image which helps to clarify the presence of the iconography in the balustrades. Rather than simply sitting atop a fortification that would only have been seen from a distance and across a moat, they also served as the transparent walls of a garden, where visitors would have had easy visual and physical access to the forms. The iconography of the bow and arrow, initials, and deltas serve as the individual balusters; they are carved out of stone and have the palindromic virtue of retaining their visual coherence from either side of the balustrade. There was intentionality behind the use of these forms; they were conceived of as part of the design and employed in areas where they would receive ample attention. Unlike a tapestry or even a sculpture, an iconographic program in a

balustrade would have been part of the construction process; provision needed to be made for the space it would occupy and the materials of which it was constructed, while the proportion of its design would have to agree with the surrounding architectural elements. An exterior balustrade such as this is built into a wall, rather than added afterwards, and is usually executed at the same time as the wall itself. Whether this imperative came from Diane, or was a creative fancy of de l'Orme's, Diane's mythos was built into, and became an integral part of, the architecture of the exterior walls.



Figure 3. Château d'Anet, detail of chapel threshold. Photo by Kristen Decker-Ali. Permission for use granted by Jean de Yturbe, owner of the Château d'Anet.

The excellent state of preservation of the chapel provides additional examples of Diane's devotion to her stable of devices. Though it suffered through renovations in the nineteenth century that altered the character of the exterior, the interior survived relatively intact through both the Revolution and interfering later owners. The crescent moon motif manifests again in the stonework of the chapel's threshold, along with the interlaced Ds; this composition is in black, white, and beige marble (see figure 3). The colors black and white were also part of Diane's persona, though she had a much less exclusive claim on them; these colors were often associated with widowhood, which is why Diane chose to wear them. That they set off her fairness was an added bonus.¹⁹ The choice to create a composition with these colors rather than any others adds another

¹⁹ John Goldsmith Phillips, "Diane de Poitiers and Jean Cousin," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1943): 109-117.

layer of encoded meaning to the arrangement of marble on the threshold, and the use of beige marble serves to highlight the whiteness of the full moon created by the enveloping shape of the black crescent. These same motifs were also elaborately figured into the wooden doors of the chapel.²⁰ Given the ubiquity of her symbols elsewhere, it is somewhat surprising that within the chapel proper her personalization is confined to four discreetly placed crescent moons in the archways above the niches, while the exquisite geometries of de l'Orme's design dominate the space. It is possible that her symbols were not considered appropriate material for the interior of the church; however, it is significant that the crescent moons were placed on the keystones of the arches, as this is a visual focal point, and has both architectural and symbolic significance.



Figure 4. Château d'Anet, window surrounds. Photo by Kristen Decker-Ali. Permission for use granted by Jean de Yturbe, owner of the Château d'Anet.

The crescent moons which decorate the finials atop the steeples of the chapel are a third type of architectural iconography present at the château; this motif also graced the window surrounds on the three wings of the main building (see figure 4). Originally, each of the ten gabled windows facing the interior court was surmounted with a crescent moon flanked by the D and H motif; today, four of the original windows remain as evidence of this practice. They are also testified to in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's architectural drawings of the château, published in 1576 and 1579; and a theoretical design for the window surrounds can also be found in de l'Orme's own personal treatise, *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*.²¹ These window surrounds were the most persistent application of iconography around the château; in addition to the three wings of the main building,

²⁰ These doors may be reproductions of the originals (though this has not been definitively proved) and their faithfulness to the original is not certain; however, it is more than likely the original doors of the chapel featured some forms of Diane's canon of devices.

²¹ For the most recent catalog of Du Cerceau's drawings, see Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les Plus Excellents Batiments de France*, ed. Françoise Boudon and Claude Mignot (Paris: Picard, 2010). For a readily available copy of De l'Orme's treatise, see Philibert De l'Orme, *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, ed. Pierre Mardaga (Paris: Bruxelles, 1981).

the crescent moon and initials are also found atop the sculpture niche on the side of the entry pavilion that fronted onto the center courtyard. According to du Cerceau, the roofs of the wings originally had a lower profile, and the crescent moons would have formed part of the skyline as viewed from the ground. From within this courtyard, the visitor would be surrounded with diminutive reminders of Diane's powerful personality and her intimacy with the king, his very gaze towards the sky framed by these iconographic elements.



Figure 5. Château d'Anet, dining room. Photo by Kristen Decker-Ali. Permission for use granted by Jean de Yturbe, owner of the Château d'Anet.

I suggest that the ways in which the symbols of Diane's cult of personality were integrated into the decorative program of the château are due to the active interest she took in the design process. The furnishing of the interior is also a testimony to Diane's obsession with the notion, as her symbols appear in every conceivable medium, including chandeliers, doorframes, fireplace mantles, wainscoting, tapestries, and windows. (See Fig. 5) Methodologically, without a definitive statement in Diane's own hand, it is impossible to say with certainty who should be credited with the authorship of the iconography. However, at the Château de St. Maur, designed before Anet, de l'Orme did not show any tendency to personalize the masonry in his design; and the one du Cerceau drawing of the château at St. Leger-en-Yvelines, built for Henri II at exactly the same time as Anet and with an identical layout, massing, and symmetry, does not show any evidence of

personalized iconography either. While it can be said with relative certainty that Diane was responsible for the invention of her canon of devices, her direct involvement in the design of the iconography at Anet is more difficult to prove; however, the persona she cultivated was so pervasive that she left her mark on almost all the artistic endeavors with which she was involved—with Anet her crowning glory.

Given de l'Orme's own statements regarding the client/architect relationship, and Diane's strong desire to express the power of her personality and position, it is likely that the design of the château was in some way collaborative. Could the architect have decided the overall layout and appearance of the architecture, while Diane directed the application and positioning of architectural iconography? As a female architectural patron, Diane de Poitiers was one of the few women of the nobility in a position to commission a building herself, to her own ends and specifications. That she most likely involved herself in the design process is an intriguing window into her high level of education, the tolerant environment at the royal court, and the amount of sheer monetary, political, and personal power she must have wielded. She and de l'Orme recognized the potential implicit in architecture for communicating more about its owner than a bland statement of possession of wealth and means, and enabled the architecture to have a voice, one which spoke of the owner's personality and desires.

Anet certainly set a vogue for the French Renaissance in the matter of architectural decoration, as the practice of applying the initials of the patron saw an enormous contemporary success that continued into the Baroque period, and interestingly enough was a particular favorite practice of Henri's queen, Catherine de Medicis, once Henri had died and she gained control over the court. She is a key figure that continues the story of female architectural patronage in the Early Modern Period, though no subsequent example could match the forceful cohesion of the patronage of Diane de Poitiers.

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Maries False and Real: How Music Enabled Mary Carmichael and Mary Hamilton to Posthumously Join the Court of Mary, Queen of Scots

by Karen M. Woodworth

Singers use ballads to engage audiences in stories of humor, valor, and tragedy. As members of the audience, we are intrigued enough by a particular story and by the music to keep listening. Albert B. Friedman has observed that ballads can reveal the public reaction to political events and help reconstruct the political and social atmosphere.¹ I believe that the reverse is also true: a turbulent political and social atmosphere can aid in the creation of ballads, as people look for ways to communicate their feelings about conflicts.

Edward Alexander Hancock and Edward D. Ives have examined ballad connections to Scottish events. Hancock clearly demonstrates the links between two or three popular Border Ballads and actual happenings.² Ives traces the history of the two ballads titled “The Bonny Earl of Murray” and the way they relate to documented events of the murder of James Stewart, second Earl of Moray, in 1592.³ His instructive book points out the difficulty of tying these ballads to a specific date of origin; however, one of his main points is that both ballads convey the outrage felt by the people of Edinburgh over this crime, a reaction corroborated by contemporary prose descriptions.

In my study of music at the court of Mary Stewart, popularly known as Mary, Queen of Scots, I concentrate on how music served as a communicative medium in 1560s Edinburgh. The Scottish court during this time was the center of two major overlapping conflicts: Roman Catholicism versus Calvinist Protestantism, and French influence versus English influence. Mary, a Catholic, ruled for fifteen months as queen of France before returning in 1561 following her husband’s death

¹ Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 75.

² Edward Alexander Hancock, “The Ballad as History: The English and Scottish Popular Ballads as Historical Records of the Past” (master’s thesis, University of Virginia, 1948).

³ Edward D. Ives, *The Bonny Earl of Murray: The Man, The Murder, The Ballad* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

to Scotland, a country that had converted to Calvinism and had bitterly resented the presence of French troops during her mother's regency. Members of the nobility solicited and sometimes received secret financial support from the administration of England's Elizabeth I.⁴ In these tumultuous times people almost certainly sang ballads for or against the queen. This paper will focus on one ballad still associated with Mary Stewart's court, four hundred and fifty years later.

Two Scottish singers introduced me to the ballad "Mary Hamilton" or "The Queen's Four Maries."⁵ The song tells the sad, haunting story of one of the queen's four Maries (or Marys), facing execution for murdering her child, who had been fathered by the king. The text includes the verse, "Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,/the nicht she'll hae but three./There was Mary Seaton, and Mary Beaton/and Mary Carmichael and me"⁶ (see figure 1).

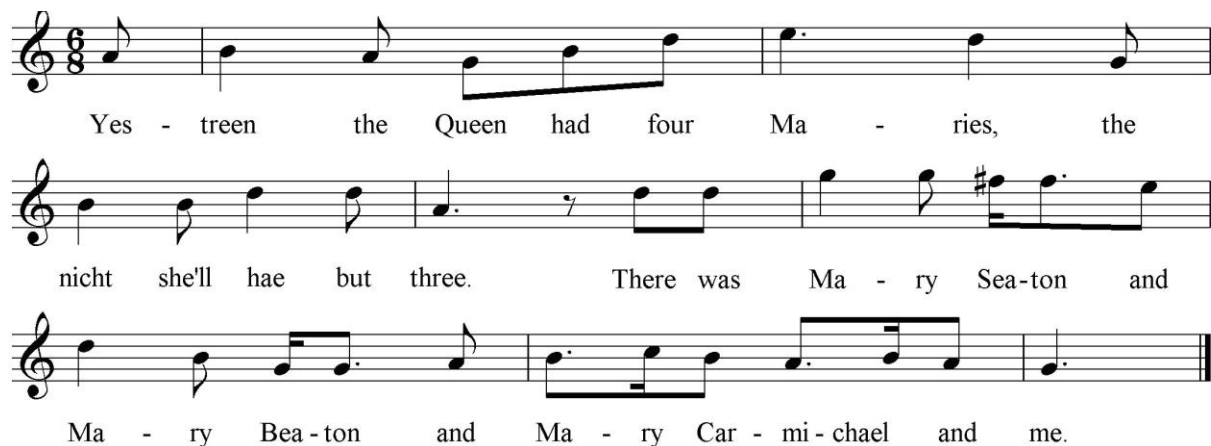


Figure 1. "Mary Hamilton"

The lilting music no doubt helped an employee at the Edinburgh City Chambers in 2001 to remember the names of the queen's companions. I had asked him to show me the history paintings by William Hole that adorn one of the Chambers' meeting rooms. As we came to the painting of five little girls heading for the boat to France, he identified them as Queen Mary, Mary Seaton,

⁴ For more information regarding Mary Stewart's position in Scotland, I recommend Kristen Post Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots and the Politics of Gender and Religion* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) and John Guy, *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004). I follow other recent historians in using the spelling of Stewart as a way to differentiate the Scottish monarchs from their later descendants in England. The queen herself seems to have used a surname only in anagrams, as she always signed her name "Marie R."

⁵ I thank them for their generosity in singing it for me at a 1998 presentation on balladry at Western Michigan University.

⁶ Katherine Campbell and Ewan McVicar, *Traditional Scottish Songs and Music* (St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland: Leckie and Leckie, 2001), 29.

Mary Beaton, Mary Carmichael, and Mary Hamilton.⁷ But these names, and the ballad, have got their history “wrong.”

Queen Mary’s four companions were Mary Seton, Mary Beaton, Mary Fleming, and Mary Livingston. None of these ladies ever bore a child fathered by Lord Darnley/King Henry. And none of them even came close to facing execution. Mary Seton stayed with Queen Mary during much of her captivity before retiring to France owing to ill health. Mary Beaton became the lover of the English ambassador, Thomas Randolph.⁸ Mary Fleming married William Maitland of Lethington, an advisor to the queen. And Mary Livingston married John Sempill, the younger son of the Catholic Lord Sempill.⁹ These facts lead to certain questions: Does this ballad have a connection to historical events at Mary’s court? Why are the names in this song the ones that come to mind on the spur of the moment, rather than the accurate historical names that play a prominent part in every account written of Mary’s life and circumstances? And why is the story within the ballad seemingly accepted as truth, when it does not match historical records? The issue here is not whether a ballad should be expected to transmit names and details of events accurately—ballads belong to the domains of narrative and emotion, not history. Rather, what intrigues me about “Mary Hamilton” is the widespread popular belief that the title character was one of Queen Mary’s ladies in waiting, since no basis exists for this notion other than the ballad. Each time a person tells me that Mary Hamilton served Mary Queen of Scots, the power of this ballad to insert its story into history is reinforced. These questions lead to a better understanding of how text and music work together in a ballad to make a story believable and memorable.

“Mary Hamilton” is ballad no. 173 in F. J. Child’s monumental collection *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.¹⁰ Child recorded twenty-eight textual variants of this song, ranging from a single verse to twenty-four stanzas. Like many Scots ballads, the story seems to reflect an actual incident. In the case of “Mary Hamilton,” the mystery is where and when the event took place. Child explored this mystery in depth. The text of the ballad clearly implies that it recounts a murder and execution at the court of Mary Stewart. As Child searched for a contemporary account to match the story, he found the following tale written by John Knox:

In the very time of the General Assembly, there comes to public knowledge a heinous murder committed in the court, yea, not far from the queen’s own lap; for a French woman that served in the queen’s chamber had played the whore with the queen’s own apothecary. The woman conceived and bare a child, whome, with common consent, the father and the mother murdered. Yet were the cries of a new-born bairn heard; search was made, the child and mothere was both depre-

⁷ I thank him for his generosity in taking time out of his schedule to give me this impromptu tour.

⁸ Guy, 199.

⁹ Guy, 354.

¹⁰ Francis James Child, ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882–1898) 3:379–399, 5:421.

hended, and so were both the man and the woman damned to be hanged upon the public street of Edinburgh.¹¹

Knox had every reason to spread scandalous rumors about Mary's court in order to undermine the its Catholicism as an immoral religion. But a similar account appears in the letters of Thomas Randolph, an ambassador of Elizabeth's court residing in Edinburgh who provided information to Elizabeth's advisor William Cecil regarding events in Scotland. We have no reason to think that Randolph saw Knox's manuscript history in preparation or that Knox read Randolph's letters. On December 21, 1563, Randolph wrote, "The Queen's apothecary got one of her maidens, a Frenchwoman, with child. Thinking to have covered his fault with medicine, the child was slain. They are both in prison, and she [Queen Mary] is so much offended that it is thought they shall both die."¹² Ten days later he noted that "The apothecary and the woman he got with child were both hanged this Friday."¹³

One of Child's concerns in his collection was the relative age of ballads. Although Child assigned an early date for this ballad after seeing the letters from Randolph to Cecil, he had originally noted that the song may actually refer to an incident in Russia. A woman named Mary Hamilton had served as a maid of honor to Empress Catherine I of Russia, wife of Peter the Great. That Mary Hamilton became pregnant and murdered the newborn child. The father of the baby and Mary Hamilton were both arrested and imprisoned in the Petropaulovsk Fortress. The father, an aide-de-camp to the Czar, was eventually released, but Mary Hamilton was executed on March 14, 1719, in the presence of the Czar. Child relates that the Czar picked up the severed head, kissed it, "made a little discourse on the anatomy of it to the spectators, kissed it again, and threw it down." The head "is said to have been kept in spirits for some sixty years at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg."¹⁴ Many details of this story as printed in Russia are directly reflected in the ballad texts that Child was sent by field researchers during his study of the song.¹⁵

Of course, it is impossible at this date to resolve the mystery of the origins of "Mary Hamilton," although it is tempting to speculate that later events and names were incorporated into an earlier ballad. I remain neutral on this question, neither believing nor disbelieving that the ballad dates from the mid-1560s. Instead, I will examine the question of why the story has left the realm of song to become embedded in Mary Stewart's history. Perhaps the ballad has been accepted at face value simply because the story is so plausible. Every history of Mary, Queen of Scots, mentions the four girls named Mary who became her playmates and ladies-in-waiting. Beaton and Seton are by far the easiest names of the four to remember because they rhyme. The other two names—Fleming and Livingston—are longer and have no such relationship. Execution was a

¹¹ Knox, *History of the Reformation*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1846–1848) 2:415.

¹² Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, December 21, 1563. Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London: HMSO, 1863–1950) 6:637.

¹³ Randolph to Cecil, December 31, 1563. Stevenson, 6:650.

¹⁴ Child, 3:383–384.

¹⁵ Child relied on ballad collectors from Scotland to supply him with material to which he did not have firsthand access.

common punishment during the sixteenth century, as Queen Mary's own death demonstrates. Illicit sexual desires were just as prevalent in other centuries as in ours, and were more likely to lead to unwanted pregnancies.

However, mere plausibility cannot explain why the ballad has survived so long. Considering only the text without the music misses the real experience of the ballad. Turning this easily-accepted lurid story of sex, murder, and punishment into a song added the impact of melody to help the storyteller remember the words and enabled the tale to pass to future generations more vividly. The music for the ballad gives the text an extra emotional force that the words alone do not possess, just as the words intensify the music. The singer involves the listeners in the story through both text and music by evoking a mood and place, thus enabling listeners to draw on their own experiences while hearing the story unfold.

The ballad "Mary Hamilton" has several different tunes—and titles. Child included one melody in the appendix to his collection; Bertrand Harris Bronson collected twelve distinct, albeit related, tunes for "Mary Hamilton" in *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*.¹⁶ To these tunes I have added the melody published by Katherine Campbell and Ewan McVicar in 2001 as an example of the ballad given in a current book of Scottish traditional music for a general audience.¹⁷ I first examined the tunes for similarities, particularly in their final phrases. My analysis shows that the melodies used for "Mary Hamilton" form seven distinct melodic categories, with the first category predominant. In table 1, I have classified the melodies by categories A through G.¹⁸ These categories may be grouped into two larger sets by meter. Figures 2a and 2b compare the tunes notated in $\frac{6}{8}$, and figure 3 compares the tunes in $\frac{4}{4}$.¹⁹ My objectives are to determine whether the ballad's melody can evoke a time or place through its tonal or modal features, and to examine how the melodic line relates to the words of the story, intensifying them and making them more memorable.

¹⁶ Bertrand Harris Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads with Their Texts, According to the Extant Records of Great Britain and America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966) 3:150-155. Bronson's fifth tune is taken from the same source as the one tune that appears in Child, but Bronson has transposed the melody up a fifth.

¹⁷ Campbell and McVicar, 29.

¹⁸ Note that my labels are distinct from those given in Bronson's work, as his labels relate to the verse families.

¹⁹ I have transposed the melodies when necessary so that all end on the same final in order to facilitate modal comparison. For the text, I have used the stanza that is common to all versions, but have also included other stanzas—in Bronson 8 to show why the rhythm is so different, and in Bronson 9 because Bronson's source notated the melody for the verse and chorus separately. The chorus is the common stanza.

Table 1. Melodic categories for “Mary Hamilton.”

Melody Designation	Category
Campbell & McVicar	A
Bronson 6	A
Bronson 7	A
Bronson 8	A
Bronson 9	A ¹
Bronson 12	A ²
Bronson 1	B
Bronson 2	B ¹
Bronson 5	C
Child 173 J	C
Bronson 4	D
Bronson 3	E
Bronson 11	F
Bronson 10	G

Melody sources: Katherine Campbell and Ewan McVicar, *Traditional Scottish Songs and Music* (St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland: Leckie and Leckie, 2001); Bertrand Harris Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads with Their Texts, According to the Extant Records of Great Britain and America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); and Francis James Child, ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882–1898)

The figure displays a musical score for the tune "Mary Hamilton" in 6/8 time. It consists of ten staves, each representing a different version of the tune. The lyrics are written below the notes. The staves are labeled as follows:

- Campbell & McVicar (transposed up a P5): Yest - reen the Queen had four Ma - ries, the nicht she'll hae but
- Bronson 6: Last night there were four Ma - ries, The nicht they'll be but
- Bronson 7: Yest - re'en the Queen had four Ma - ries, This nicht she'll hae but
- Bronson 8 note values halved: Last Word has come from the kit - chen, And word has come to but
night there were four Ma - ries, To - night there'll be to but
- Bronson 9 verse (tr up a P5): Oh, lit - tle did my mo - ther think When first she cra - dled
- Bronson 9 chorus (tr up a P5): Last night there were four Ma - rys, To - night there'll be but
- Bronson 1: Yest - reen the Queen had four Ma - ries, This night she'll hae but
- Bronson 2: Yest - reen the Queen had four Ma - ries, This night she'll hae but
- Bronson 4 (transposed down a P5): Yest - reen the Queen had four Ma - ries, This night she'll hae but
- Bronson 10 (transposed down a M2): Yes - treen the Queen had four Ma - ries To - night she'll hae but

Figure 2a. "Mary Hamilton" tunes in $\frac{6}{8}$

C & McV
three. There was Ma - ry Sea-ton, and Ma - ry Bea-ton and Ma-ry Car - mi - chael and me.

B 6
three There was Ma - ry Sea-ton, an' Ma - ry Bea-ton, An' Ma - ry Car - mi-chael, an' me.

B 7
three; There was Ma - ry Bea - ton, an' Ma - ry Sea - ton, An' Ma-ry Car - mi-chael an' me.

B 8
n.v.h.
me. That Ma - ry Ha - mil-ton's slain her babe And thrown him in the sea.
three; There was Ma - ry Sea - ton and Ma - ry Beaton And Ma-ry Car - mi-chael and me.

B 9
verse
me. That I should die so far from home Or hang from a gal - lows tree.

B 9
chorus
three; There was Ma - ry Se - ton and Ma - ry Dea - ton and Ma - ry Car - mi - chael and me.

B 1
three, O; There was Ma - ry Beaton, and Ma - ry Seaton, And Mary Car-michael and me, O.

B 2
three, O; There was Ma - ry Beaton, and Ma - ry Seaton, And Mary Car-michael and me, O.

B 4
three, There was Ma - ry Bea - ton and Ma - ry Sea - ton, And Ma-ry Car - mi-chael and me.

B 10
three. There was Ma - ry Beaton and Ma - ry Seaton and Ma - ry Car - mi-chael and me.

Figure 2b. "Mary Hamilton" tunes in $\frac{6}{8}$ (continued)

Figure 3 displays ten musical staves, each representing a different melody for the song "Mary Hamilton" in 4/4 time. The staves are labeled on the left with their respective sources: Bronson 12, Bronson 5 (tr down a M2), Child 173 J (tr up a P4), Bronson 3, Bronson 11, B 12, B 5, C 173 J, B 3, and B 11. The lyrics are written below the notes, showing significant variation in wording and rhythm across the different versions. The lyrics include phrases such as "Last night there were four Ma-ries, This night there'll be but three; There was", "Yes-treen the queen had four Ma-ries, The night she'll hae but three; There was", "There is Ma-ry Bea-ton, an' Mary Seaton, An' there's Mary Car-michael an' me; This", "Ma-ry Bea-ton and Ma-ry Sea-ton And Ma-ry Car-mi-chael and me.", "Ma-rie Bethune an Ma-rie Seaton, An Marie Car-mi-chael and me.", "Ma-rie Bethune, an Ma-rie Seaton, An Marie Car-mi-chael and me.", "Ma-ry Bea-ton, and Ma-ry Seaton, And Ma-ry Car-mi-chael and me, O.", and "nicht there is four Ma-ries o's, But the morn there'll be but three."

Figure 3. "Mary Hamilton" tunes in 4/4

In comparing the fourteen melodies above, differences stand out in texts, rhythms, meters, and modes. The text of "Mary Hamilton" was passed through²⁰ oral tradition for centuries, accounting for changes in wording as each singer recreated the story. The rhythmic variations are caused by the often uneven poetic structure of the ballad: stanzas vary in numbers of syllables per line, and the singer shortened note values to add extra syllables. In the most extreme example, Bronson 11 (lowest line of figure 3), the first line of the opening stanza contains seven syllables while the first lines of stanzas four and five contain eleven.

Following Child's example, Bronson was also interested in determining the relative ages of the melodies. He gives dates between the 1830s and 1870s for many of the tunes in simple meter (notated in 4/4 in my examples), while many of the tunes in compound meter were collected in the twentieth century. Bronson suggests that the 6/8 melodies may have taken hold later and supplanted the simple meter melodies. However, putting text to simple meter tunes proves more difficult than fitting words to compound meter tunes. Conventions followed by the transcriber or printer may have influenced which meter was used to notate the melody; for example, a text sung as compound

²⁰ For more on the singer as creator of text see David Buchan, "Balladry and Oral Poetry," in *The Ballad and the Folk* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 51-61.

meter may have been notated in simple meter. Therefore, I find that meter does not provide meaningful information about these particular melodies.

Of all the differences between the melodies, the variation in mode—the hierarchical organizing system of notes used—is most striking because some of the melodies are set in the major mode, associated with strength and happiness, while others tend toward the minor mode, associated with sadness or introspection. Since the story of Mary Hamilton is a tragedy—notwithstanding the few ballad versions with happy endings—the use of the major mode in melodic categories A, B, E, and F may be surprising, as it cannot be prompted by the mood of the story.²¹ It could, however, reflect the moralizing mood of the singer as narrator, who recounts a dreadful deed punished in an unhappy ending. In other words, the execution is a positive event because it expunges a negative deed, thus warranting the strong affect of the major mode. The singer may express the tragic aspects of the story in other ways, such as a slower tempo or appropriate facial expressions.

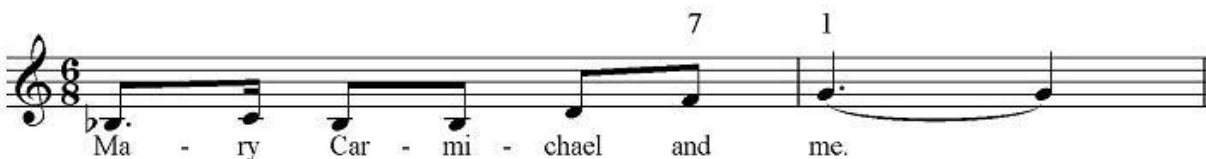


Figure 4. 7-1 cadence

The melodies in categories C, D, and G end with a 7-1 cadence in which the lowered seventh leads to the final tonic, thus exaggerating the lack of a raised seventh²² (see figure 4.) Bronson 4, category D, is the only one of these that includes all the notes of the natural minor scale. Bronson 5 and Child 173 J, category C, lack the sixth degree of the scale, and Bronson 10, category G, lacks both the second and the sixth. Annie Gilchrist wrestled with the modal scales of Scottish folksong in her article “Note on the Modal System of Gaelic Tunes.”²³ According to her system of classifications, melodic category C falls into the six-note mode 2 scale. Melodic category G uses the notes of the pentatonic form of mode 2. I have no real quarrel with Gilchrist and her sources, who theorize that modal forms of these melodies are likely to be older than “filled in” (major or minor scale) forms, but neither do I wish to argue about dating the melodies based on mode. Instead, I suggest that modern Western listeners, attuned to major and minor scales, perceive modal scales as different. In the context of a ballad telling a story from the past, this musical difference becomes

²¹ Versions E and F of Child’s collection end happily with her rescue by the father of the baby (identified respectively as Warenston or Willie). The stanzas in these two versions and others in which she begs various people to pay to save her life are borrowed from the ballad “The Maid Freed from the Gallows.” Child also notes stanzas borrowed from “Lord Thomas and Fair Annet,” “The Laird of Waristoun,” and perhaps “Fair Janet.” Bronson adds “Geordie” and “The Cruel Mother” to this list.

²² The seventh tone in a major scale is a half step below the tonic. The seventh tone in a natural minor scale is a whole step below the tonic but is frequently raised at cadence points to provide a greater sense of resolution.

²³ Annie G. Gilchrist, “Note on the Modal System of Gaelic Tunes,” *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 4/16 (1911): 150-153.

interpreted as signifying music of the past.²⁴ By itself, the melody cannot create a particular sense of time or place, but the use of traditional Scottish modal qualities reinforces the text's creation of the ballad's location.

How the words fit the melody, especially in melodic category A, has a great deal to do with the persistence of the text in listeners' memories. The words "Mary Carmichael and me" end all but one of the stanzas that include them, thus they are set to the final cadential motives. In melodic category A this motive is a decorated 3-2-1 cadence with a lilting rhythm²⁵ (see figure 5.) This setting is most likely responsible for identifications of Mary Carmichael as one of the four girls who accompanied the queen to France. The catchiness of the cadential motive works to make the text memorable.

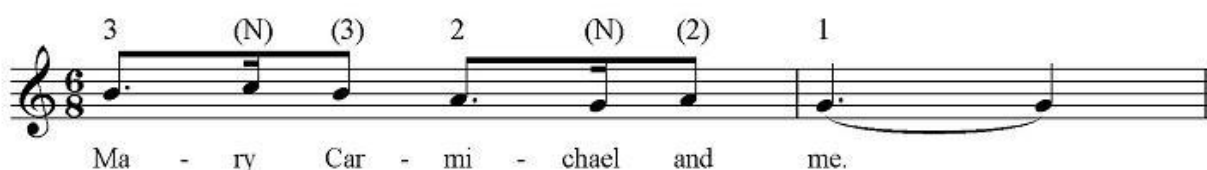


Figure 5. Decorated 3-2-1 cadence

The text of the ballad contributes to the credibility of Mary Hamilton's story. The twenty-eight variants of the text recorded by Child testify to the ballad's popularity, as different singers augmented the story or mixed in elements from other ballads. Campbell and McVicar give only one stanza: "Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,/the nicht she'll hae but three,/There was Mary Seaton, and Mary Beaton/and Mary Carmichael and me." They explain that the ballad "as widely sung has only a few verses, set in Edinburgh, in which Mary Hamilton laments that she is to die, without explaining why."²⁶ This single stanza, sung from the perspective of the title character just before her execution, remains the most characteristic and persistent stanza of the ballad, appearing in virtually all of Child's variants. Only three of the fourteen complete texts Child included in his original compilation lack this stanza. Many variants place it at the end, some in the middle, and one at the beginning. (See the appendix for Child's variant B compared with stanzas from other versions. Note the locations mentioned in the ballad texts as well as the points of view from which the story is told.²⁷)

²⁴ The usage of non-major and non-minor modes is not confined to older music. In the context of jazz, for example, the same mode might be used but would have a different interpretation.

²⁵ In a decorated 3-2-1 cadence, the tonic is preceded by the second and third steps of the scale with added neighboring notes (notes that are either a step higher or lower than the main note).

²⁶ Campbell and McVicar, 29.

²⁷ The text of variant B is in the left column. The stanzas in the right column are identified by the letter of the variant in Child and the number of the stanza from that variant.

The variants of the text to “Mary Hamilton” raise many questions about dialect, culture, ballad intermingling, and so on, that deserve separate study.²⁸ I would like to draw attention to just three points. The first is the length of the ballad as recorded by Child. Although twentieth-century versions of “Mary Hamilton” may include only a half dozen or fewer verses, Child’s collection makes clear that versions as long as twenty-four stanzas existed, particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The length of the ballad depended on the singer and the audience, as a singer could pick and choose among different stanzas to influence or to reflect the mood of the listeners. Interpolations from other ballads show that borrowing from related stories could extend the ballad being sung and provide for a particular emotional effect selected by the singer. Clearly, the telling of the story and the reasons for telling it matter more to the singer than recounting accurate historical details—history “as it really was” is not the main purpose of a ballad.

The second point concerns the geographical position of the story. The ballad provides precise locations for the actions described. We are taken to the Queen’s court for the beginning of the story, then Mary Hamilton is paraded through the streets of Edinburgh to be hanged at the place of execution. Different texts specifically mention the Netherbow, the Netherbow Port, the Tolbooth, the Canongate, the Parliament Stair, the Parliament Close, and the Cowgate Head, real locations that resonate for listeners familiar with Edinburgh.²⁹ They give the ballad’s story an authentic historical flavor—which is not the same as verifiable historical fact—and add to its credibility.

The final textual aspect of the ballad for consideration here is the point of view from which it is told. Variant B begins with a dispassionate narration before using dialogue to tell its story. The lead character gets the chance to speak to listeners directly in a lengthy lament within the ballad (stanzas 15-20). A few versions, especially the shorter and incomplete ones, are told entirely from Mary Hamilton’s point of view. But the great majority use omniscient narration interspersed with dialogue and lament, a combination that subtly reinforces the authority of the narrator while allowing the singer to take on the personalities of the characters.

The alternation between omniscient and first-person narration of the ballad, the specificity of its details, and its particular geographic location in Edinburgh combine to convince the listener that a true story is being told. The lilting final phrase of melodic category A, decorating a 3-2-1 cadence with upper neighboring notes, helps keep the names “Mary Carmichael and me” in memory, particularly in versions where this stanza is used at the end to highlight Mary Hamilton’s extreme fall from grace. These relevant features of the ballad work to replace the real names of Mary Stewart’s Maries with the characters of the song. Although we cannot determine whether the ballad originated in the time of Queen Mary’s court, it has succeeded in keeping alive one of the most scandalous rumors circulated about her courtiers during the 1560s. In a compact format, the complete ballad transmits all the criticisms Knox made of the court’s perceived licentious behavior.

²⁸ For example, Deborah Symonds uses the textual and dialectal variations to investigate infanticide in the eighteenth century. Deborah A. Symonds, *Weep Not For Me: Women, Ballads, and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

²⁹ Child attempted to use the reference to the Netherbow Port to establish a *terminus ad quem* for the ballad, noting that the gate was demolished in 1764.

In the form described by Campbell and McVicar, which lacks any reason for Mary Hamilton's execution, the ballad presents an image of a capricious queen who executes one of her closest friends, perhaps mirroring or justifying a similar critical image of Elizabeth I as a capricious queen who executed her closest relative, Mary Stewart. In these ways, the ballad itself has contributed to perpetuating the legendary rather than historical "Queen of Scots" and has allowed the fictitious characters of Mary Carmichael and Mary Hamilton to join Queen Mary's court years after the queen's death.

Appendix

A Complete Ballad Text for "Mary Hamilton"

Text of variant B	Corresponding stanzas from other variants
1. There were ladies, they lived in a bower, And oh but they were fair! The youngest o them is to the king's court, To learn some unco lair.	C 1. There lived a lord into the west, And he had dochters three, And the youngest o them is to the king's court To learn some courtesie.
2. She hadna been in the king's court A twelve month and a day, Till of her they could get na wark, For wantonness and play.	E 4. 'I was not in the queen's service A twelvemonth but barely ane, Ere I grew as big wi bairn As ae woman could gang.'
3. Word is to the kitchen gane, And word is to the ha, And word is up to Madame the Queen, And that is warst of a', That Mary Hamilton has born a bairn, To the hichest Stewart of a'.	A 1. Word's gane to the kitchen, And word's gane to the ha, That Marie Hamilton gangs wi bairn To the hichest Stewart of a'.
4. 'O rise, O rise, Mary Hamilton, O rise, and tell to me What thou did with thy sweet babe We sair heard weep by thee.'	D 6. Queen Mary came tripping down the stair, Wi the gold strings in her hair: 'O whare's the little babie,' she says, 'That I heard greet sae sair?'

5.

'Hold your tongue, madame,' she said,
'And let your folly be;
It was a shouir o sad sickness
Made me weep sae bitterlie.'

6.

'O rise, O rise, Mary Hamilton,
O rise, and tell to me
What thou did with thy sweet babe
We sair heard weep by thee.'

7.

'I put it in a piner-pig,
And set it on the sea;
I bade it sink, or it might swim,
It should neer come hame to me.'

8.

'O rise, O rise, Mary Hamilton,
Arise, and go with me;
There is a wedding in Glasgow town
This day we'll go and see.'

9.

She put not on her black clothing,
She put not on her brown,
But she put on the glistering gold,
To shine thro Edinburgh town.

10.

As they came into Edinburgh town,
The city for to see,
The bailie's wife and the provost's wife
Said, Och an alace for thee!

11.

'Gie never alace for me,' she said,
'Gie never alace for me;
It's all for the sake of my poor babe,
This death that I maun die.'

E 8.

'There is no bairn here,' she says,
'Nor never thinks to be;
'T was but a stoun o sair sickness
That ye heard seizing me.'

E 9.

They sought it out, they sought it in,
They sought it but and ben,
But between the bolster and the bed
They got the baby slain.

A 3.

She's tyed it in her apron
And she's thrown it in the sea;
Says, Sink ye, swim ye, bonny wee babe!
You'l neer get mair o me.

D 11.

'Busk ye, busk ye, Marie Hamilton,
O busk ye to be a bride!
For I am going to Edinburgh toun,
Your gay wedding to bide.'

D 12.

'You must not put on your robes of black,
Nor yet your robes of brown;
But you must put on your yellow gold stuffs,
To shine thro Edinburgh town.'

H 10.

As they gaed thro Edinbruch town,
And down by the Nether-bow,
There war monie a lady fair
Siching and crying, Och how!

H 12.

'O weep na mair for me, ladies,
Weep na mair for me!
Yestreen I killed my ain bairn,
The day I deserve to dee.'

12.

As they gaed up the Tolbuith stair,
The stair it was sae hie,
The bailie's son and the provost's son
Said, Och an alace for thee!

13.

'Gie never alace for me,' she said,
'Gie never alace for me!
It's all for the sake of my puir babe,
This death that I maun die.'

14.

'But bring to me a cup,' she says,
'A cup bot and a can,
And I will drink to all my friends,
And they'll drink to me again.'

15.

'Here's to you all, travellers,
Who travels by land or sea;
Let na wit to my father nor mother
The death that I must die.'

16.

'Here's to you all, travellers,
That travels on dry land;
Let na wit to my father nor mother
But I am coming hame.'

17.

'Little did my mother think
First time she cradled me,
What land I was to travel on,
Or what death I would die.'

18.

'Little did my mother think,
First time she tied my head,
What land I was to tread upon,
Or where I would win my bread.'

I 17.

When she gaed up the Tolbooth stairs,
The corks frae her heels did flee;
And lang or eer she cum down again
She was condemnd to die.

F 14.

'O had you still, ye burgers' wives,
An make na meen for me;
Seek never grace of a graceless face,
For they hae nane to gie.'

A 12.

'Bring me a bottle of wine,' she says,
'The best that eer ye hae,
That I may drink to my weil-wishers,
And they may drink to me.'

C 13.

'O all you gallant sailors
That sail upon the sea,
Let neither my father nor mother know
The death I am to die!'

E 15.

'A' you that are in merchants-ships,
And cross the roaring faem,
Hae nae word to my father and mother,
But that I'm coming hame.'

J 9.

'Ah, little did my mother ken,
The day she cradled me,
The lands that I sud travel in,
An the death that I suld dee.'

A 16.

'Oh little did my father think,
The day he held up me,
What lands I was to travel through
What death I was to dee.'

19.

'Yestreen Queen Mary had four Maries,
This night she'll hae but three;
She had Mary Seaton, and Mary Beaton,
And Mary Carmichael, and me.'

20.

'Yestreen I wush Queen Mary's feet,
And bore her till her bed;
This day she's given me my reward,
This gallows-tree to tread.'

21.

'Cast off, cast off my gown,' she said,
'But let my petticoat be,
And tye a napkin on my face,
For that gallows I downa see.'

22.

By and cum the king himsell,
Lookd up with a pitiful ee:
'Come down, come down, Mary Hamilton,
This day thou wilt dine with me.'

23.

'Hold you tongue, my sovereign leige,
And let your folly be;
An ye had a mind to save my life,
Ye should na shamed me here.'

A 18.

'Last nicht there was four Maries,
The nicht there'l be but three;
There was Marie Seton, and Marie Beaton,
And Marie Carmichael, and me.'

H 19.

'Aft hae I set pearls in her hair,
Aft hae I lac'd her gown,
And this is the reward I now get,
To be hangd in Edinbruch town!'

E 16.

'Hold your hands, ye justice o peace,
Hold them a little while!
For yonder comes my father and mother,
That's travelld mony a mile.'

F 23.

'O some o your goud, my love Willie,
An some o yer well won fee,
To save me frae the high hill,
And fra the gallow-tree!'

E 22.

He's taen out a purse o gowd,
Another o white monie,
And he's tauld down ten thousand crowns,
Says, True love gang wi me.

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From Idealization to Repulsion: Gender and Monstrosity in De Bry's Great Voyages

By Degane Sougal

In the sixteenth century, the De Bry family became famous for their large engravings depicting the New World.¹ The De Brys left Liège for Frankfurt to open their own engraving and publishing company, and by the 1580s they established a reputation there for producing “lavishly illustrated travel accounts.”² The desire to dissect, identify, and reconstitute traits thought to make an ethnic group unique reached new heights, especially through the innovation of copperplate engravings.³ This process is exemplified in Theodor De Bry's *Great Voyages*, the first edition of which appeared in 1591. In this paper, I will discuss Volume II of the collection, depicting Florida and presumably the Timucua tribes that inhabited the region. I will argue that De Bry's visual representations of the Timucua construct the native body as a laboring one that could serve the advancement of European colonial enterprises in the Atlantic region. The Timucua body in De Bry's prints is simultaneously depicted as attractive, through connotations of European civility, and repulsive, through markers of savagery such as nudity and paganism. Furthermore, De Bry's prints construct a homogenous category of New World Indian that displaces distinctive Timucua culture and identity. Thus Timucua bodies, through De Bry's visual renderings, become laboring bodies without a culture or a history.

European ideas about Indigenous peoples came into being through an association of classical mythology with new descriptions beginning to be conceived through observations of foreign peoples by scientifically minded Renaissance travel and ethnographic writers.⁴ But postcolonial

¹ I would like to thank the organizers of the 2011 Newberry Graduate Student Conference, in particular Tia Parks and Karen Christianson. I would also like to thank my fellow participants including David Hichcock and Liz Maynard. I must thank my editor Matt Maletz for his patience and thoughtful suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank the faculty and graduate students in the art history and communications department at McGill University. I would especially like to thank Charmaine Nelson and Angela Vanhaelen for their support and assistance with this project.

² Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xiii

³ Brien names this as “ethnographic desire.” Rebecca Parker Brien, “Cannibalizing America: From the Ethnographic Impulse to the Ethnographic Portrait,” in *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press: 2007), 74.

⁴ Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 11.

studies have shown that ethnography can no longer maintain a neutral, perspectival distance from its objects.⁵ It is in this light that De Bry's prints must be critically analyzed. De Bry participated in a process of constructing the familiar from the unfamiliar by depicting Indigenous peoples in a Eurocentric system of representation, and this association is particularly shaped through print. By critically reading these prints, I aim to disrupt stereotypes of the Indian in North America and to unmask what M. J. Rowland, an Australian Aboriginal scholar, calls the impossible task "colonized peoples are given of acting out pre-contact stereotypes of themselves produced by the colonizing culture."⁶

The Spanish were the first colonial force to arrive in Florida in 1513; however, they were not able maintain their settlement because of their incapacity to deal with the new environment.⁷ In 1513, when Juan Ponce de León first arrived in Florida, the native population was about three hundred thousand: fifty thousand Apalachee in the eastern panhandle, one hundred fifty thousand Timucua speakers in the northern peninsula, and one hundred fifty thousand members of other groups in central and southern Florida.⁸ In the sixteenth century, native groups who spoke dialects of the Timucua language occupied most of the northern third of the peninsula, from the Ancilla River to the Atlantic Ocean, and south at least through Marion County all the way to the central Florida.⁹ The strategic position of *La Florida* on the northern ruins of the Spanish empire continued to draw the interest of other European colonial powers. The French, with ambitions to rival the Spanish, sent an expedition in 1564, led by Jean Ribault and René de Laudonnière with a crew of one hundred fifty people. They were sent to build a settlement, Fort Caroline, as well as to map the seacoast and harbor. A painter by the name of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues was among the crew; he drew sketches and subsequently turned them into paintings. In 1565, a Spanish envoy led by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés captured Fort Caroline, killing almost everyone; Le Moyne was one of the few survivors who escaped and sailed back to Europe. Later, De Bry bought Le Moyne's paintings from his widow. Thus De Bry's engravings are copies of Le Moyne's paintings; very few of Le Moyne's original paintings have survived to today.¹⁰ It is certain that De Bry never went to the New World; instead, he adapted Le Moyne's work for his own ventures. For these reasons, De Bry's prints are believed to represent French encounters with a group from the Timucua tribe in 1564.

⁵ Gaudio, xiv.

⁶ M. J. Rowland, "Return of the 'Noble Savage': Misrepresenting the Past, Present and Future," *Australian Aboriginal Studies* Vol. 2, No. 2 (2004), 8.

⁷ *La Florida* was a Spanish colony from 1565 to 1821, yet in 1564 to 1565 there was a French settlement and in 1763 to 1783 it was a British outpost. Finally, Florida became part of the United States in 1819 when the Spanish sold it to the Americans. Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1995), 6.

⁸ Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 1-2.

⁹ Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 80.

¹⁰ Stefan Lorant, *The New World: The First Pictures of America, Made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne and Engraved by Theodore De Bry: With Contemporary Narratives of the Huguenot Settlement in Florida, 1562-1565, and the Virginia Colony, 1585-1590* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), Preface, I-X.

The only existing work of Le Moyne that depicts the Timucua shows the arrival of the French in Florida.¹¹ René de Laudonnière, on the right side, dressed in customary French naval attire in crimson, yellow, and blue, is greeted by Chief Saturiwa. The chief rests one arm on the French commander's shoulder, while the other points toward a column and the heavens. The chief's gaze is directed toward the right, where Laudonnière's soldiers delineate the margin of the canvas. Laudonnière is presented with gifts and a feast in the center of the composition. Timucua men and women in bare skin kneel with their arms raised, worshipping a column built by the French during an earlier expedition in the sixteenth century that had remained in Florida.¹² The stone column, bearing French coats of arms, separates the worshippers from the chief and the French soldiers. At the columns' feet are baskets filled with fruits and corn, pointing to the fertility of the land. Though textual accounts confirm the veracity of this encounter, many scholars have questioned whether the watercolor can be attributed to Le Moyne, because of several "outrageously wrong colors," as Christian F. Feest puts it. Indeed, the pale skin and blondish hair of the Timucua have led scholars to believe that Le Moyne could not have been the painter, but that this work was after De Bry's engraving.¹³ While it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion about the true authorship of the watercolor, this paper contends that this record of the encounter is based on a Le Moyne watercolor that De Bry later copied into an engraving.

De Bry's version of the same scene is similar (see figure 3, below), but with key differences. The engraver accentuates the muscles of the Timucua's bodies. The women, in addition to being more muscular, have long flowing hair similar to Classical Greek nudes. In this way, De Bry altered the disposition of the Timucua body by using Greco-Roman ideals. In doing so, he constructs the Indian body as attractive according to European standards of ideal beauty. Furthermore, the Greco-Roman classical figure is explicit in De Bry's engravings through the poses in which he presents the Timucua.¹⁴ In Royal Entry (figure 1), Chief Saturiwa is shown accompanied by his wife.¹⁵ This scene is described in Le Moyne's own words as follows:

Next to the Chief walked two young men carrying fans to create a soft breeze. Behind them was a third young man who wore small gold and silver discs dangling from his belt and holding up the chief's deerskin so it did not trail along on the ground. The Chief's wife and her maid servants were all dressed in a special kind of moss hanging from their shoulders around them as a girdle. The moss grew on many trees and hung together like a chain, with greenish azure color shining like

¹¹ Much debate continues about whether Le Moyne produced firsthand images of his adventures in Florida. See Miles Harvey, *Painter in a Savage Land: The Strange Saga of the First European Artist in North America* (New York: Random House, 2008), 84-85. However, I am convinced that Le Moyne did paint watercolors during his time in Florida. For a full color reproduction of Le Moyne's watercolor see Harvey, *Painter in a Savage Land*, 173.

¹² The French had planted the column during a ceremony in 1562, as a means of establishing sovereignty over the land, though they had not yet secured a settlement; Harvey, 17.

¹³ Chrisitan F. Feest, "Jacques Le Moyne Minus Four," quoted in Harvey, 24.

¹⁴ *First Images of America : The Impact of the New World on the Old*, 419.

¹⁵ Figures 1 through 5 are from the Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake, Library of Congress, Rare Book & Special Collections Division; available online at <http://international.loc.gov/intldl/drakehtml/rbdkhome.html>.

silk. The trees on which their moss grew were beautiful to look at because it hung down to the ground from the highest branches.¹⁶



Figure 1. Theodor De Bry, *Great Voyages*, part II, Frankfurt, 1591, plate 39. Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake, Library of Congress Rare Book & Special Collections Division.

Le Moyne's textual description can be defined as a "first hand observation" of the Timucua life by a European. His attention to the moss skirts and likeness to silk reveal his fascination with new sensual—visual and tactical—pleasures. Though De Bry's print remains close to the written account, the engraver constructs knowledge differently through visual representation. In other words, aesthetics play a different, albeit just as important, role than text in constructing knowledge of the Timucua. In this print, the figures are represented in a *contrapposto* and their bodies are elongated through the upright position. The figures appear relaxed and elegant, similar to Greco-Roman statues, and their erect position becomes a sign of civility.¹⁷

¹⁶ Harvey, 44.

¹⁷ Michiel van Groesen, *The Representation of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages, 1590-1634*. (Leiden, Boston, and Tokyo: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008) , 205.

De Bry's representation of Indigenous peoples of America follows a European visual language that depends on the civil bodily comportment of subjects.¹⁸ These markers of civility are the central visual trope of the frontispiece of volume II of the *Great Voyages*.¹⁹ The frontispiece (figure 2) looks similar to a temporal triumphal arch or the façade of a Classical structure. In the foreground, two Timucua men mark the margins of the arch, standing erect like statues. On the left side, the Timucua figure, adorned with a feather crown, half-naked, and covered in tattoos, holds a bow and arrow. To the right, the Timucua figure holds a club in his left hand, with a raccoon tail hanging from his waist. The feathered crown and the raccoon tail of these two figures function as symbols of the New World. Between them an opening guides the viewer's eye to the procession of a Timucua queen. She is carried by Timucua men on a throne covered in a canopy. At the peak of the triumphal arch is Chief Saturiwa, the central figure of worship in the print. He appears upright and elongated in a *contrapposto* stance. At his feet, two Timucua men hold his deerskin in a worshipping gesture, while to each side of the chief two other men hold out fans. The frontispiece serves as a mirror image of the Royal Consort print (figure 1). Like the Royal Consort, the cover page of volume II depicts the Timucua in a European regal tradition. The Classical style through which the Timucua are represented, and the presence of the queen's procession in the foreground, present the Timucua body in an idealized fashion that echoes European traditions of beauty, civility, and royalty. In addition, volume II depicts the Timucua with wavy hair that resembles a Venetian Venus rather than eyewitness ethnographic accounts of Indigenous people.²⁰ Therefore, De Bry's illustrations represent the Timucua of Florida through European iconography such as statues, portraits of Roman athletes, and the Italian Venuss. However, medieval monsters, witches, headless men, dwarfs, and giants, were also references in depictions of Indigenous peoples across the Americas.²¹ Though these prints construct the Timucua as attractive bodies through Greco-Roman ideals, the connotations of savagery are always simultaneously present. These markers of savagery are particularly explicit through paganism.

¹⁸ Gaudio, xix.

¹⁹ Jennifer L. Morgan, "Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 54, No. 1 (1997), 167.

²⁰ Rachel Doggett, Monique Hulvey, and Julie. Ainsworth, *New World of Wonders* (Folger Shakespeare Library. University of Washington Press, 1992), 25.

²¹ Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of De Bry's Great Voyages* trans. Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 32.

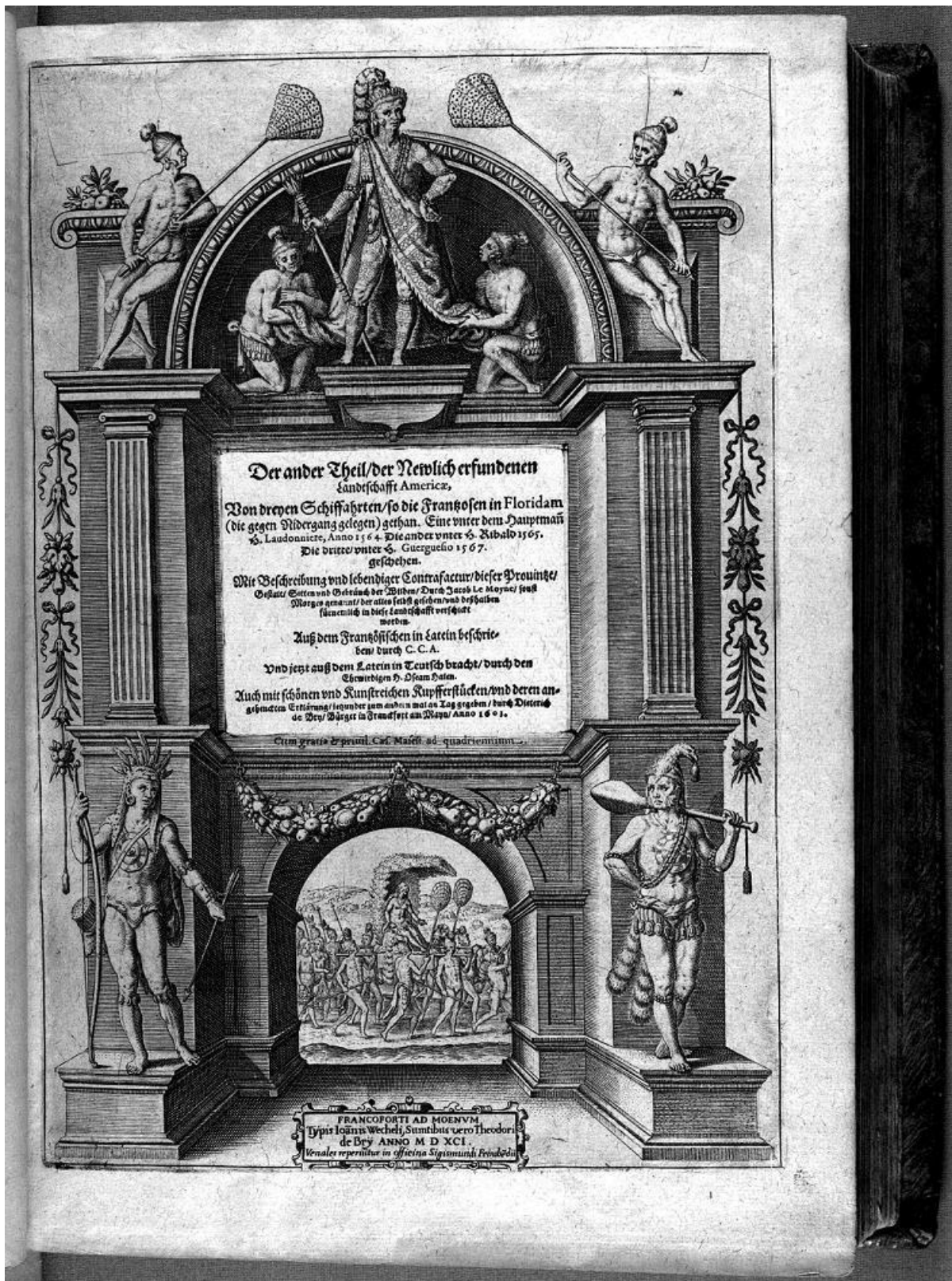


Figure 2. Theodor De Bry, *Great Voyages*, part II, Frankfurt, 1591, frontispiece. Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake, Library of Congress Rare Book & Special Collections Division.



Figure 3. Theodor De Bry, *Great Voyages*, part II, Frankfurt, 1591, plate 8. Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake, Library of Congress Rare Book & Special Collections Division.

In the Encounter print (figure 3), Chief Saturiwa is much larger in scale than Laundonnière. The threat of his imposing physicality is mediated by his lack of weapons in comparison to the harquebus of the French soldiers. His long arms are accentuated by long blackened nails making him almost animal-like. The Timucua “worshippers” also possess long black nails, again pointing to savagery. Furthermore, the Timucua are presented naked or semi-naked; their lack of clothing is associated with no rules, no laws, no religion, and no moral etiquette. At the same moment Timucua are celebrated through association with Greco-Roman ideals, their nakedness becomes a symbol of savagery. During the sixteenth century civility was equivalent to the later term civilization; in other words, “a nation’s level of civility was determined by examining morality, type of government, material culture” and ways of cultivating and preparing food.²² The importance of manners cannot be underestimated in the Renaissance, for “the notion that the interior self was visible from the outside had acquired momentum.”²³ Nudity became a key component of identifying ethnic identity and a signifier of a nation’s level of civility.²⁴ This state of nudity and its

²² Brien, 81.

²³ Groesen, 205.

²⁴ Brien, 85.

savagery is accentuated by the tattoos all over the Timucua bodies. These markers of savagery, and worshipping the column in the Encounter, construct the Timucua as pagans. Paganism was a “useful instrument to represent otherness, as it reminded readers of Europe’s shared Christian heritage.”²⁵ Thus though the Timucua are represented as ideal through Classical visual tropes, they are never quite akin to Europeans. Yet questions remain: how to make sense of this paradoxical visual scheme constantly oscillating between idealization and repulsion? What does this paradox tell us about European desire for the colonized body in the early modern period?

This paradoxical state is best articulated by Jennifer L. Morgan in her article “Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder”: Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500 – 1770.” Morgan argues that Black and Native women in the eyes of European travel writers, are simultaneously available and untouchable, productive and reproductive.²⁶ Though Morgan’s focus is not volume II of De Bry’s prints, her analysis of gender and labor is compelling and worth further examination through visual representation.

In De Bry’s engravings, Timucua women are shown with muscular Greek-like bodies with high and small breasts (figures 1, 2, 4, and 5). They are all attractive young women similar to Greek statues. However, shape and sexuality still remain markers of savagery. Morgan argues that the notion of savagery in the Native body dates back to travel accounts by Vespucci. The latter fixed the Indigenous woman as a dangerous cannibal; he also wrote of women who bit off the penises of their sexual partners.²⁷ By contrasting these images with texts discussing the voyages, women come to signify a latent sexual danger. Furthermore, Morgan argues that although titillation was certainly a component of these accounts, to write of sex was also to define and expand the boundaries of profit through productive and reproductive labor. The link between the sexuality of Timucua women and labor is more explicit through an analysis of how Europeans came to conceive of Native maternity. De Bry’s representations of women and maternity are telling in this regard.

The Timucua, like other Native Americans, were understood to possess unnatural behaviors of womanhood and motherhood. European travelers often mentioned Timucua women’s absence of shame in delivering babies, or more generally in “parading naked.” This absence of shame, explicit or implicit, worked to establish distance between European and Native.²⁸ It is also heightened through De Bry’s emphasis on nudity. In the early modern period, nudity was a marker of the uncivilized, contrasted to clothed Europeans. In the De Bry prints, all French men are always represented fully clothed and carrying weapons. Shame through European eyes is also linked to the supposed cruder nature of the Timucua. This cruder nature is emphasized through the grotesque, and in particular the sexual grotesque.²⁹ Michael Gaudio argues that the grotesque is “primitivized as a quality of the simple that the savage mind is itself supposed to be a grotesque . . . it is irrational and invested in the magical rather than in the representational power of the image.”³⁰ In this sense, De Bry’s iconographical program stresses savagery by linking it to the European ideas of

²⁵ Groesen, 220.

²⁶ Morgan, 170.

²⁷ Morgan, 173.

²⁸ Morgan, 184.

²⁹ I have drawn on Morgan who describes is as “sexual grotestequerie” Morgan, 178 .

³⁰ Groesen, 79.

strangeness. This idea of the grotesque is also highly sexualized in the depiction of Timucua women.

Europeans believed that Timucua women delivered their children with no pain, according to early European travel accounts. European men wrote that Indigenous women could deliver babies with no need for nurses, midwives, or doctors in their homes and go on with business the day after delivering the child, in opposition to European conceptions of health and maternity.³¹ This characterization of native women is not only false, but it constructs the Timucua women to produce mechanical and meaningless childbearing. In addition to giving birth, the manner in which Timucua women fed their children is also presented in De Bry in a way that emphasizes the women's strong statuesque bodies. In the Healing Ritual (figure 4), a Timucua woman observes the ritual while breastfeeding a child. She is young, lean, yet muscular, with Botticellian wavy hair. The child seems enormous, yet she is capable of sustaining his weight with one arm. In this print, Timucua women are able to attend to day-to-day activities while tending to children.



Figure 4. Theodor De Bry, *Great Voyages*, part II, Frankfurt, 1591, plate 20. Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake, Library of Congress Rare Book & Special Collections Division.

³¹ Morgan, 171.

Breastfeeding over the shoulder is a technique whereby children on their mother's back could breastfeed by thrusting their bodies over the mothers' back towards the breast. Morgan argues that the image of breastfeeding over the shoulder was compelling because it offers in a single narrative-visual moment evidence that Timucua women's difference was both cultural, in this strange *habit*, and physical, in this strange *ability*.³² Although we do not know whether Timucua women actually practiced breastfeeding over the shoulder, these prints allude to the capacity of Timucua women to breastfeed with no physical inconvenience. The technique recurs in De Bry's body of work: he depicts Algonquin women in Virginia breastfeeding over the shoulder in volume I of the *Great Voyages*, and he reuses this trope of breastfeeding in several prints, most notably those of Africans in Guinea. The Timucua become conflated with other Indigenous groups, whether in America or Guinea—not surprising considering, De Bry made everyone look similar. But what is clear is that the representation of Timucua women in this way constructs them as *versatile*, for they are able to take care of children and work at the same time (figure 5). Thus, reproduction becomes synonymous with production and European consumption.

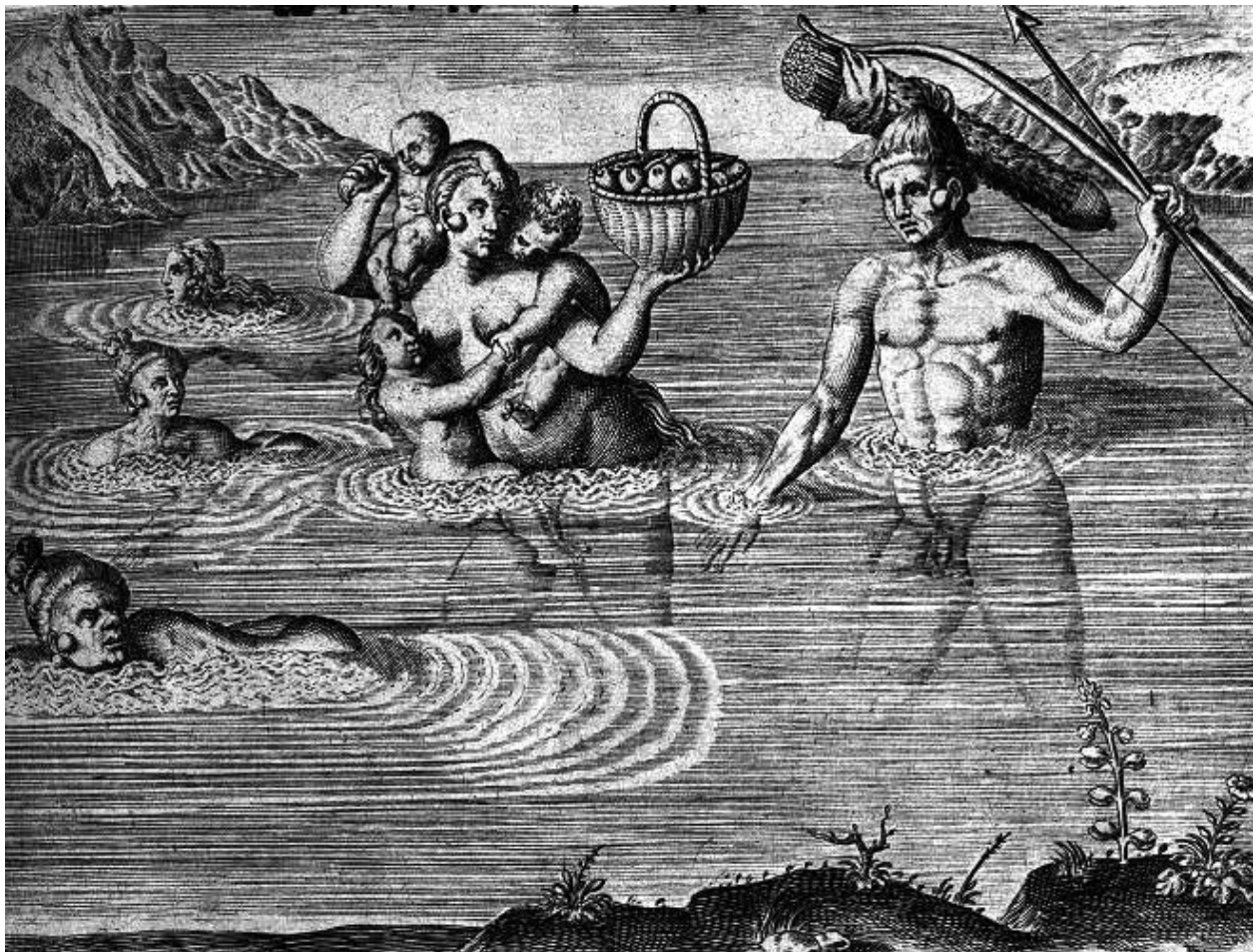


Figure 5. Theodor De Bry, *Great Voyages*, part II, Frankfurt, 1591, plate 27. Kraus Collection of Sir Francis Drake, Library of Congress Rare Book & Special Collections Division.

³² Morgan, 184.

In this print, *Crossing the River*, a Timucua woman is able to carry three children and a basket of fruit while swimming across a river. The child on the left side reaches for her breast, alluding to the children's ability to feed themselves while their mother is occupied in physical labor. Her belly protrudes slightly, suggesting that she is pregnant with another child. Her gaze is directed toward a Timucua man who carries a bow and arrows. The Timucua couple's bodies in this print are strong and muscular, like the Royal Consort, but here they are working bodies. The Timucua woman's body consists of a reproductive labor force, while the Timucua male is military one.

Lyndal Roper shows that in the Renaissance women were defined by their experience of pain in childbirth, and an inability to feel pain was evidence of witchcraft.³³ Indigenous women who did not feel pain were thus constructed as savages or witches. Despite these associations, they could be put to good use for European economic interest, whether French or Spanish. The notion that Indigenous childbirth was painless is a European construction and myth. The Timucua had healers who aided midwives in childbirth deliveries. Women who were about to give birth marked the door of their house with a laurel branch and apparently delivered the child away from home.³⁴ De Bry's representation of Timucua women as both productive and reproductive creates a visual discourse of labor without pain, a discourse particularly crucial in the context of European colonial warfare in the region. Europeans marked difference between themselves and Indigenous peoples through the body, but also between each colonial power by taking possession or enslaving different tribes to their own economic benefit. In the early sixteenth century, Pedro de Salazar oversaw a mission where five hundred Native Americans from Florida were taken as slaves to Hispaniola; most died before arriving.³⁵ The French were also seeking the resources of the region, hoping to find gold and other minerals, but also to obtain slaves they could export to other sites in the Caribbean. Considering this early slave trade in the Caribbean, De Bry's prints function as a visual discourse on gender and race about how Timucua bodies could serve European colonial enterprises.

In the late-sixteenth century, just as the *Great Voyages* were being published, the Spanish put in place mission villages that served as centers for the religious education of the Timucua. Harvey notes that "by turning the Timucua into Catholic subjects of the Crown, the mission system neutralized them as potential enemies, made them dependent on the Spanish empire, and molded them into a workforce of conscripted labor."³⁶ In addition, these mission villages served as economic hubs for the colonizers. The Timucua inhabitants provided free labor for the colonizers; indeed, much of the day-to-day lives of the Spaniards in Florida, whether friar, garrison, soldier, or St Augustine resident, depended on native labor.³⁷ The Timucua were burden bearers; they were in charge of transport, construction, building forts, timbering, and cutting stone. They also maintained roads and infrastructure. The colony's whole existence depended on this labor force, composed of men, women, and children. They cooked, tended to the convent gardens, looked after

³³ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York, 1994), 203-4 cited in Morgan, 189.

³⁴ Jerald T. Milanich, *The Timucua* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 185.

³⁵ Milanich, *Florida Indians*, 180.

³⁶ Harvey, 125.

³⁷ Milanich, *The Timucua*, 190.

animals, did household chores, and provided maize, fish, and other food for the friars' tables.³⁸ European writers, intellectuals, artists, and printmakers such as De Bry were involved whether explicitly or not in the hierarchization of a gendered racial ideology in the early modern period.

Gendered racial discourse committed to constructing stable categories of the European and the Other. In De Bry, women are depicted with what Europeans assumed to be roles fit for women. Nowhere in De Bry do we find women in political roles. The dialogues between Timucua and Europeans are always between men. It is men who gesture, through signaling of the hand, the direction of battle, punishments of the disgraced, and the order of rituals. However, this is also De Bry's construction, for women could be chiefs in Timucua tribes.³⁹ Milanich argues that every indication suggests that female chiefs wielded the same powers as male chiefs. Some Timucua chiefs who were women were widows of a male chief, as some textual accounts describe; but others were women from families that were entitled to the position.⁴⁰ While I have discussed European obsession with Timucua womanhood, it is also important to examine constructions of masculinity in De Bry. The French in De Bry are shown as observers and listeners of the Timucua culture; however, they exploited not only Timucua labor, as I have begun to outline, but also their resources.

European attempts to colonize Florida were unsuccessful in the beginning of the sixteenth century, for one because the French and the Spanish did not know how to survive in the region, especially when it came to obtaining food. The first Spanish and French expeditions attempted to steal food from Indigenous tribes in the area, but they were not always successful. The French traded axes, knives, glass, beads, combs, mirrors, and even their clothes for maize, beans, acorns, fish, turkey, deer, and other foodstuffs. They also sought alliances for protections and to obtain food.⁴¹

The French came into contact with Chief Saturiwa and Chief Utina, Saturiwa's enemy. Laudonnière, after a few months in Florida, did not have sufficient supplies and did not grow enough crops, since for him "the work of cleaning, planting and harvesting fields was the work of peasants and not tradesmen or soldiers."⁴² Thus, Laudonnière and his crew depended on Saturiwa for survival. Saturiwa's and Utina's villages were both in the St Johns River region, but because Utina controlled many agricultural fields and promised gold and silver, the French betrayed Saturiwa and joined forces with Utina.⁴³ The latter had convinced the French, in exchange for food and the location of gold, to join him in attacking Potaku. These alliances, where the French are situated in vulnerable positions, are never shown in De Bry. They also have much larger consequences on the Timucua. The Native systems of battle was changed forever in order to cope with constant negotiations and threats from Europeans. Milanich argues that "European military might ha[s] led to an escalation in the military capabilities and political complexities of the Timucua, an escalation intended to counter the invading armies and bureaucracies from Spain and

³⁸ Milanich, *The Timucua*, 193.

³⁹ Milanich, *The Timucua*, 157.

⁴⁰ Milanich, *The Timucua*, 196.

⁴¹ Milanich, *The Timucua*, 85.

⁴² Harvey, 58.

⁴³ Milanich, *The Timucua*, 85. Also see Harvey, 53-54.

France.”⁴⁴ Though the Timucua chief is depicted in royal fashion, he is the leader of only his people, and not the French. This mechanism places a hierarchy that serves to pacify the Timucua men.

According to Michel de Certeau, “Western ethnological science is written on the space of the the body of the other.”⁴⁵ As I have shown earlier, the body in the postures found in volume II of the *Great Voyages* signifies nobility. This process created an image of the Timucua as homologous to idealized Greco-Romans. Ter Ellingson argues that De Bry’s assimilation of non-European people to classical Greco-Roman ideals of innocence and beauty produced discursive and visual representations, such as the myth of the Golden Age.⁴⁶ This practice is also carried out with representations of Africans as Greek nudes.⁴⁷ This resemblance leads authors like van Groesen to proclaim that “[s]ome of the warring Africans in the Gold Coast looked like twin brothers of the Timucua combatants of Florida, albeit with a slightly different hairstyle.”⁴⁸ In this sense, De Bry made many diverse ethnic and racial groups look similar by creating a homogeneous category of the Other. William C. Sturtevant argues that European artists such as De Bry who lacked appropriate models represented all non-Europeans similarly, through association with Greco-Roman classical figures. Like Sturtevant, I argue that this process of representation constructs a process of homogenization of Timucua and African identities. Thus Indigenous peoples across the Americas become “Indian,” in other words, become this homogenous category that did not exist prior to European colonization. For example, through De Bry, the Timucua are represented with clubs that existed only in Brazil.⁴⁹ Other objects and practices are transposed in different contexts that disrupt the specificity and culture of each group. De Bry erased cultural, geographic, and historic specificity from his prints. Through copperplate engraving, De Bry ubiquitously reproduced images of the Timucua with no specific cultural references.

Furthermore, feathers also become a symbol for American Indians, but I want to take this further by saying they represent a synecdoche for Indian identity. Feather crowns and skirts came to typify America and became a popular iconographic scheme in late sixteenth century.⁵⁰ The allegory of America was thus depicted usually with feathers, an animal such as an armadillo, crocodile, or parrot, along with a bow and arrow and cannibals. For example, the frontispiece of the volume indicates this (figure 3). After feathers, arrows become the most common signifiers of Native Americans in De Bry’s prints.⁵¹ Peter Mason’s discussion of the term exotic clarifies some of my claims. Mason states that the term exotic is produced by a “process of decontextualization, taken from a setting elsewhere, it is transferred to a different setting or recontextualized. It is not the ‘original’ geographic or cultural counts which are valued, but the suitability of the objects in

⁴⁴ Milanich, *The Timucua*, 151.

⁴⁵ Gaudio, 2.

⁴⁶ Ellingson, 9.

⁴⁷ Ellingson, 10.

⁴⁸ Groesen, 203.

⁴⁹ Fredi Chiappelli, Michael J. B. Allen and Robert L. Benson, eds. *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 418.

⁵⁰ Doggett, Hulvey, and Ainsworth, 28.

⁵¹ Gaudio, 7. An analysis of arrows and the association to European quills is in Gaudio, Chapter 1 “Savage Masks: The Scriptive Techniques of Early Modern Ethnography.”

question to assume new meanings in a new context.”⁵² In other words, the exotic has nothing to do with ethnographic or geographic precision.⁵³ Instead, objects that come to signify America are placed in any context to visually render the New World. Thus Timucua bodies not only become conflated with other Indigenous groups across North and South America, but in De Bry’s prints the cultural specificity of the Timucua is erased. Through print, Timucua people become the mirror through which De Bry, as a printer-engraver, defines himself. By showcasing his talents and his mastery over copperplate engraving, De Bry presents himself as a knower, thus distancing himself from the object of his knowledge production, producing a colonial discourse of his own.

Savagery was also associated with one “that lacks perspective on the world,” while humanists, like De Bry, possessed “mechanical perspectivalism,” most notably through the innovation and technology of copperplate engraving.⁵⁴ Michael Gaudio argues that viewers of the *Great Voyages* “were declaring their difference from the savage by doing precisely, that which the savage cannot do—by achieving a perspective on the world.”⁵⁵ Indeed, copperplate engraving was not just a valuable commodity in terms of its monetary value, but, as Gaudio shows, copperplate was the “key medium of exchange in the representational economy engine” for transforming copper into knowledge of the New World.⁵⁶ By paying particular attention to the materiality of the De Bry’s prints, Gaudio argues that the understanding of the savage is a product of representational failure; he states “[e]ngraving the savage never was the illustration of a coherent idea; it was a confrontation with medium, a struggle—never complete—to make meaning out of matter.”⁵⁷

De Bry’s power through representation is explicit in his self-portrait (figure 6), in which he showcases himself as a knower who controls not only himself but his surroundings as well. He is dressed in a working robe; however, the flange around his neck indicates a higher status. He holds in his right hand a compass, an instrument of a topographer and geographer. In this sense, he is depicting his knowledge of the world and his ability to render that world in visual terms through the power of representation. His left hand rests on a skull, perhaps a *memento mori* or perhaps pointing to his understanding of the human body. In any case, De Bry wishes to present himself as a humanist, a man whose knowledge is not limited but is bound to his profound desire to *know* mankind. In addition, he stares directly at the viewer with a sober gaze. His name and occupation indicate his importance. Thus his self-portrait testifies to his intentions to promote himself and his family as not only engravers, but as men of knowledge. By representing the New World through print, De Bry constructs knowledge of the Timucua made to be consumed by a European audience seeking new wonders of the unknown.

⁵² Gaudio, 7, 20.

⁵³ Brien, 88.

⁵⁴ Gaudio, xix.

⁵⁵ Gaudio, xix.

⁵⁶ Gaudio, xxii.

⁵⁷ Gaudio, xxiii.



Figure 1. Theodor De Bry, *Self-Portrait*. Frankfurt, 1497. Courtesy of the British Museum, London. Available online at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Theodor_de_Bry.png.

The first edition of the *Great Voyages* was published in four languages in 1590: English, French, German, and Latin, an ambitious project. However, the following editions were published only in Latin and German. Latin versions tended to omit controversial and sensational passages that were eagerly included in the German ones.⁵⁸ The German versions tended to criticize Spanish greed in the region, in order to perpetuate the “Black Legend” in favor of Protestant resistance to

⁵⁸ Groesen, 244.

the Holy Roman Empire.⁵⁹ Indeed, translations into different languages demonstrate different assumptions and expectations. Customers of De Bry tended stick to one single language.⁶⁰ This process was also strategic, for many of De Bry's readers were Germanic princes, including Maximilian, king of Poland; Guillaume, count of Palatine; and Christian, duke of Saxony, among others.⁶¹ In addition, the book was widely read by educated people and collectors, already fascinated by explorations of the New World. In addition, a rising merchant class who were beginning to buy books and art objects read it. The maritime companies also invested in collections like De Bry's.⁶² In the late sixteenth century, it was common to showcase the frontispieces in the streets in order to gain publicity. De Bry thus made his frontispiece eye-catching, as Groesen relates:

The De Brys went to great lengths to make sure that the collection's frontispieces impressed potential customers, particularly in the 1590s, when the series still had to establish its reputation. . . . rugged land- and seascapes, and elaborate depictions of exotic flora and fauna permitted them to display the range of their unrivalled engraving skills.⁶³

The De Brys focused their attention on profiting from a growing European interest in the New World. In other words, the curiosity and wonder for depictions of the New World surely attracted many passersby.⁶⁴ Michiel van Groesen argues, "[t]he appeal of collections of voyages in the early modern book market intended to assemble and absorb the full scale of Europe's quest for expansion, suggests that the De Bry collection essentially tapped into the same state of mind which had conditioned perceptions of initial discoveries."⁶⁵ Thus, the *Great Voyages* responded to the emotions of wonder and amazement that Greenblatt describes as the "instinctive recognition of difference, the sign of heightened attention" and surprise, vis-à-vis the new. The importance of the *Great Voyages* as a visual archive of how Europeans came to know the New World cannot be underestimated. De Bry, through visual tropes, constructs an Othered laboring body in opposition to the knowing body of the printer-engraver.

In conclusion, methodological difficulties exacerbate recovering information about the Timucua in *La Florida*. Florida was crucial for Native American and Black alliances in North America. Aided by Florida's particular geographic, demographic, economic, and political conditions, the Timucua and African slaves persisted and created viable communities in the face of repeated aggressions. I point this out to illustrate that many of De Bry's representation could have

⁵⁹ Though I did not have room to address the Black Legend in this paper, it is of particular importance of the context of De Bry's *Great Voyages*. See Groesen.

⁶⁰ Groesen, 261. Examples of the differences between German and Latin can be found on page. 265. More on reception in chapter ten "Selling, Purchasing and Burrowing : Towards an Understanding of Readership," 309-341.

⁶¹ Bucher points to the presence of a dedicatory epistle to a prince, accompanied by his coat of arms at the beginning of several volumes surely as a recognition of their financial support., Bucher, 11.

⁶² Bucher, 11.

⁶³ Groesen, 225.

⁶⁴ Bucher, 11-12.

⁶⁵ Groesen, 13.

included Africans brought to the region by Europeans.⁶⁶ I have only begun to scratch the surface of the complexity of Florida in the sixteenth century. Tragically, through European colonization, the Timucua disappeared in the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ However, Sara Castro-Klaren affirms in her essay “Dancing and the Sacred in the Andes” that peoples and cultures “did not vanish without a trace.”⁶⁸ In order to recover these traces, one must question the assembly of documents that constitute evidentiary paradigms. Thus it is vital to read De Bry as a visual archive against the grain and to pose new questions informed by postcolonial studies and Indigenous rights activists.

Finally, De Bry’s engravings served as a source for artists for over two centuries after the publication of his *Great Voyages*. Many of the original images have been lost, such as Le Moyne’s watercolors, but what remain are De Bry’s renderings of the painter’s life in Florida.⁶⁹ In the nineteenth century, Thomas Jefferson bought a first edition of De Bry’s *Great Voyages* for his library. He was said to be so fond of the prints that he recommended them to anyone seeking “true depictions” of America in the sixteenth century.⁷⁰ Therefore, I hope to have shown that through his prints De Bry places the Timucua in a system of classification that creates a category of American Indian displaced from any cultural or historical specificity. This classification is based on European conceptions of nobility and savagery. In addition, the bodies of the Timucua are also shown as laboring bodies that could benefit European colonizers. In other words, the Classical representation of the Timucua molds their bodies into productive ones, capable of arduous work without pain or struggle. In this sense, they are erased from any conflict or violence. This specific construction of gender, sexuality, and savagery is strategically represented to benefit European economic interests in the late sixteenth century as a means of justification for a form of early slavery.

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⁶⁶ During the early Spanish settlement in 1513, Luca Vasquez de Ayllon, merchant and judge in Santo Domingo was ordered by royal charter to establish settlements and bring Christianity to the Native peoples, who were to be well treated and paid for work. On the one hand, Ayllon was granted permission to take slaves from the Native population; this was rationalized by the belief that slaves were kept by some Native groups. Those individuals because they already were slaves, could be traded and then exported to Santo Domingo. During that time, many Native groups revolted against the Europeans. Some slaves brought by Ayllon joined a Native Gualde rebellion, destroying the Spanish settlement of San Miguel del Gualdape. Therefore, due to the slave arson at Gualdape, all subsequent expeditions also incorporated Africans.” African rebels joined different Native groups in Florida, as many of their counterparts were already doing in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba and Mexico. Nonetheless, the remnants of many different villages in the area were “reduced” to mission sites so that they could more readily supply the Spaniards with food and labor. Jane Landers, “Africans and Native Americans on the Spanish Florida Frontier” in Matthew Restall, ed., *Beyond Black and Red. African-Native Relation in Colonial Latin America*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 54-56.

⁶⁷ Landers, 70.

⁶⁸ Sara Castro-Klaren. “Dancing and the Sacred in the Andes” Cited in Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *New World Encounters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), xvii.

⁶⁹ Chiappelli, Allen and Benson, eds., 433.

⁷⁰ Chiappelli, Allen and Benson, eds., xiii.

Spenser's Arthur and Milton's Alfred: Rethinking Kingship, Nationhood, and Identity in Early Modern England

By R. Scott Bevill

The quality of a nation's written history remains inextricably tied to the events and people described within it. As Milton writes in his *History of Britain*, "by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gon hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same Ages." Further, "in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilful Writers, the indistinct noise of many Battels, and devastations, of many Kingdoms over-run and lost, hath come to our Eares." What we have left from these darkest eras are merely "the work of Wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of men and Conquerours."¹ For Milton, who attempted to craft his history out of the "antientest and best authors," this epidemic of bad historical writing, rife with incomplete narratives, irreconcilable dates, and outright fictions, marks an inconsequential history. The great, the tremendously evil, and the mediocre receive the histories they deserve, be they eloquent, polemical, or frivolous. What are we to think, then, upon examining the innumerable histories of Britain and England? Are the inconsistencies, contradictions, and obvious constructions present in any of the "antientest" histories or antiquarian retellings the result of a Spenserian Blatant Beast on a binge, braying lies and half-truths while gobbling up the choicest bits? Much like the Renaissance self-fashioners, we must take as our guide an image from Milton's *Areopagitica* and act as Isis to history's Osiris—pick up the scattered pieces of historical truth from the detritus of time and prepare for a future reconstruction.

Perhaps this is not all bad. For what were Bede or Gildas or even our disparaged friend Geoffrey of Monmouth doing, if not attempting to write England? As Richard Helgerson argues, writing England was the primary concern of the young Elizabethan poet, historian, dramatist, antiquarian, or clergyman, and for one of these to lament the constructed fictions of a Geoffrey or Nennius or the monkish perspective of a Gildas or Bede, as Milton does, is to lament his own task.² What is left is to recognize the approach toward writing a history of this magnitude. For

¹ John Milton, *The Works of John Milton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931 – 1938), 10:32.

² Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 3–4.

Spenser, it was to follow the “antique Poets historicall,” as he wrote to Raleigh, and to become Virgil for the Queen or, if not for her, at least for Britain.³ His epic, even as it falls apart and remains unfinished, perhaps devoured by the same Blatant Beast who has disrupted history itself, remains marked by a quixotic, desperate sort of optimism. By contrast, Milton writes his history in the midst of growing disillusionment stemming from his realization that the Long Parliament and Commonwealth of reality did not match the institutions of his ideals. His *History*, then, evinces cynicism and dire warnings for the present found in the increasingly murky annals of Britain's past. In the Digression in particular he attempts to parallel events of history with contemporary failures, but the delay in publication of his *History* to 1670 and the Digression (titled the *Character of the Long Parliament*) to 1681, both long after the Restoration, fulfill Milton's pessimistic outlook. Though it would be difficult to categorize either figure's historical effort as a complete success—Spenser's incomplete epic reflects his growing distance from the court, and Milton's attempt to write his nation ran parallel to failure to see that ideal state actualized—the scope of these works remains impressive. Helgerson insightfully notes the sheer ambition of Spenser's simultaneous wish for a “kingdom of our own language” and his determination to build that kingdom himself. But is Spenser's ambition in this matter—attempting a “task not just for one poet, but for a whole generation of writers”—any less remarkable than Milton's?⁴ Where Spenser asks, “Why a God's name may not we, as else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language?” and hopes to answer it, Milton composes a mission statement:

I apply'd my selfe to that resolution which Ariosto follow'd against the perswasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, that were a toylsom vanity, but to be an interpreter & relater of the best and sagest things among mine own Citizens throughout this Iland in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Christian, might doe for mine: not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attaine to that, but content with these British Ilands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto bin, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble atchievements made small by the unskilfull handling of monks and mechanicks.⁵

The ambition here is extraordinary, as Helgerson argues, not only for the sheer scope of the project, but also for the extraordinary nature of the times.⁶ Spenser's generation developed an intense interest in all things English and British because “England itself mattered more . . . and

³ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Harlow, England: Pearson, 2001, 2007), 715.

⁴ Helgerson, *Forms*, 4.

⁵ Milton, *Works*, 1:811–12, in Andrew Escobedo, *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England: Foxe, Dee, Spenser, Milton* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 186–87.

⁶ Helgerson, *Forms*, 3.

because other sources of identity and cultural authority mattered less.”⁷ In the 1530s England was declared an empire, and just over a century later it deposed and executed a king. It is no wonder fields of intellectual discourse became concerned with national identity. When Shakespeare has Captain MacMorris ask “What ish my nation?” he speaks not simply of Ireland, but of the Atlantic Archipelago as a whole, along with its individual parts. Spenser’s plea for a “kingdom of our own language” actually seems modest compared to his nation’s imperial ambitions. How can he be part of an empire if he doesn’t even have a kingdom? How can MacMorris be part of an empire if he doesn’t have a nation? Perhaps for these young Elizabethans, as Helgerson calls them, an answer is present within the genre of the British history.

However, this history was flawed, as Milton later observed. The primary past writers of Britain may not have been equal to the task. In this age England was to be an empire, but empires require history, worthy histories, documenting their rise from antiquity. British history encompassed a potential minefield of myths and half-formed biblical parallels written by the shaky, “unskilfull” hands of monks or, worse, passed down through the generations by Druidish oral tradition. But surely this was a worthy history, shaping the directions of faith, trade, and politics throughout the North Atlantic. Though England had been denied eloquent contemporary historians, these ambitious Elizabethans seized the opportunity to craft a new history, defining their place in the world. Although Milton began his own attempt at history fifty years after Spenser’s was complete, he may have believed the challenge of fashioning this history to be even more urgent. With a century of antiquarianism behind him, he remained dissatisfied with the ineloquence of history. A brief scan of Milton’s collected outlines of topics for potential tragedies reveals thirty-three possible themes from the British past. In comparison, the *Old Testament* rates fifty-three topics.⁸ Clearly Milton felt that the deeds of his nation were worth a crafted history, through epic, tragedy, or historiography, but this crafting required that choices be made. As Spenser wrote,

the Methode of a Poet historical is not such, as of an historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affayres orderly as they were donne, accounting as well the times as the actions, but a Poet thrusteth into the midst, euen where it most concerneth him, and there recouring to the thinges forepaste, and diuining of thinges to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all.⁹

Defending and even propagandizing a discredited history marks a poet. A historiographer must play the role of Isis, but a poet historical has more important things at stake—a national identity and a pride in developing that identity from the ruins. Though British history at this time was in the midst of a “Battle of the Books,” as Greenlaw terms it—Polydore Vergil’s attack on the Brutus myth sparked a response from all corners of the intellectual community—Spenser defends the approach of a poet historical in *A View of the State of Ireland*.¹⁰ Curran notes that Spenser claims a

⁷ Helgerson, *Forms*, 3.

⁸ Milton, *Works*, 18:243.

⁹ Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, 716-717.

¹⁰ Edwin Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser’s Historical Allegory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1932), 7.

sort of truth for Brutus by questioning the veracity of Aeneas.¹¹ Thus history for the poet can be built on specious claims from the darkness of antiquity, yet be treated as a sort of scripture because of the quality and gravitas of the epic. Milton seems to agree with that sentiment in the opening to his *History*: "I have therfore determin'd to bestow the telling over ev'n of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know, how to use them judiciously."¹² Denying himself the freedom to relate fables—though he does so anyway with heavy disclaimers—Milton allows for the influence of Spenser's epic, while hoping his narrative history can shape its own place in the conversation.

However, in post-Polydore discourse specifics about these historical and poetical choices become clear. Polydore's favoring of Gildas over Geoffrey implies a belief in the criticism that "thei [the ancient Britons] were nether valiaunte in battaile nether true in leage."¹³ For a newly named empire, this kind of critique of its history could not be tolerated, so it is precisely the antagonistic nature of Polydore's approach to the early histories that sparked an explosion of historical revisioning in Elizabeth's England. As Greenlaw argues, the Tudor myth was built on two strands: "One, the tragic story of Lancaster and York, ending in the union of England, was the theme of Hall's *Chronicle* and of Shakespeare's historical plays. The other, the return to power after many centuries of the ancient Britons, was the theme of Leland and other chroniclers, of Warner and Drayton who combined chronicle with epic, and of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*."¹⁴ That Brutus and Arthur, the sandy foundations of the Tudor dynasty, were now questionable required a new approach to the past. Certainly Spenser and to a much larger extent Drayton worked toward an ideal Tudor empire, but Polydore's criticisms allowed for other directions: Matthew Parker's search into the past for a true British church, for example, which he not only found in the more historically dubious accounts of Joseph of Arimethea, Geoffrey's King Lucius, or even Claudia Rufina, but also in the more believable Saxon sermons, which he reprinted in the *Testimonie of Antiquitie*.¹⁵ Here he fashions an originally English religious tradition that did not rely on possibly discredited sources. Parker's example led to a resurgence in antiquarian studies that broadened the scope of national identity from the ancient Britons to the conquering Saxons. Parker safely expanded his arguments, incorporating both defensible and indefensible historical sources, but using them in concert. Holinshed, in his expansive *Chronicles* takes a similar all-inclusive approach. By telling all the stories, disclaiming against the most fabular and praising the most likely, Holinshed provides the very sourcebook that Milton hopes the poets and rhetoricians of England could use judiciously.

However, Milton does not have the luxury of the all-inclusive approach. His history, as a narrative form and an attempt to tell the story of England, must be choosy. While the poet

¹¹ John E. Curran, *Roman Invasions: The British History, Protestant Anti-Romanism, and the Historical Imagination in England, 1530-1660* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 111.

¹² Milton, *Works*, 10:3.

¹³ "Britanni nec in bello fortes sint, nec in pace fidelis." Polydore, *English History*, 28-9, in Nicholas Von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain: Republican Historiography in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 122.

¹⁴ Greenlaw, *Spenser's Historical Allegory*, 7.

¹⁵ Curran, *Roman Invasions*, 41.

historical chooses the best pieces of history, both mythical and rational, for the greatest poetic effect, the literary historian must direct his story according to the most likely sources. Milton navigates toward a similar national identity through an entirely different approach. Without acknowledging Brutus as provably historical, without acknowledging Arthur as existing at all, Milton still produces an identifiably English, and arguably British, story. Milton recognizes that even questionable elements of history still possess power. That no one necessarily believes Geoffrey does not mean his histories are worthless; in fact, they still carry great propagandistic power. As Schwyzer argues, a poetical history like Spenser's still holds the potential for someone else, probably a "salvage," to believe and accept it as fact.¹⁶ Though the educated reader may long since have abandoned any belief in Brutus or Arthur as integral to their national identity, this belief may still be present, perhaps even widespread, among some other group that considers the legend co-equal with the more murky and mundane facts. Yet even those mundane facts can be mythologized. And here, in the liminal ground between myth and history, poetry and politics, we find the work of these two poets, bookending the long, tumultuous century.

In grappling with the Renaissance self-fashioning of old British history, modern scholars perceive a need for a new British history. Milton himself seems uncomfortable with writing a *History of Britain*, as his subtitle, "That Part especially now called England," attests. This new British history, first envisioned by Pocock, had to incorporate studies throughout the Atlantic Archipelago, taking into account the varying histories of each of Bede's five nations and four languages.¹⁷ Such a history would presumably answer Captain MacMorris' vexed question, "What ish my nation?" while also answering Spenser's insistent request for a kingdom of his own language. But now that Pocock has made the call and scholars have answered, what do we do with the old history as practiced by Spenser and Milton? When Spenser successfully argues a defense of Geoffrey by calling Virgil into question, he also allows a classical origin for the Irish. Is Milton willing to go along with those conclusions fifty years later? This seems doubtful, as he considers Boece, the Scotch chronicler, as less trustworthy at his most truthful than Geoffrey at his most astray.¹⁸ And yet Milton's considerations of English history do not necessarily allow for mythologized origins; instead they focus on the lessons learned through sober reflection on the documented past. His approach looks at the entire picture, evaluates it according to the best primary sources and contemporary commentary, and then combines it into the story of a nation. This seems one of the primary benefits of the new British history. The overlap of separate histories throughout the British Isles only strengthens the overarching narrative. Differences between the nations become an essential part of the "Smooth course of history" that Milton so valued.¹⁹ This new British history need not concern itself with whether Brutus, the Samotheans, the giant Albion, or the Irish Tuatha de Danaan first settled the islands. What is of concern is how these

¹⁶ Philip Schwyzer, "British History and 'The British History': The Same Old Story?," in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 20.

¹⁷ J. G. A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject," *The Journal of Modern History* 47/4 (1975): 601-621.

¹⁸ Milton, *Works*, 10:106.

¹⁹ Milton, *Works*, 10:3.

stories were used and appropriated across the strands of history. Which historical fictions were believed, which were kept around as curiosities, and which were used?

The Potential of the Prince

Spenser's portrayal of Arthur is remarkable for the uncertainty that defines his character. Arthur's inability to answer the question of his "name and nation" defines him by his as-yet unaccomplished potential, rather than his accepted deeds. Arthur here is very different from the Arthur of typical chivalric romance. The Arthur of Chrétien and the *Gawain*-Poet seems paralyzed by his past—stuck in the position of authority at Camelot, his kingdom won, now simply an arbiter of the heroic deeds of others. Spenser's Arthur, in contrast, seems vibrant and alive with the questing fervor of an ideal chivalric figure. He defeats giants, rescues maidens, and consults with hermits—deeds every good knight should do to earn his name. But something is missing here. The reader understands who this Arthur is, but doubt creeps in through the teasing of Arthur's ultimate union with Gloriana. Ultimately these two figures represent more than simple literary avatars of their historical and legendary selves. Together, they *are* Britain. As Baker argues, national pride in the sixteenth century was difficult to quantify or even imagine, so Spenser embodies these two malleable figures of Arthur and Gloriana in its place.²⁰ Gloriana, present through her absence throughout the poem, remains the driving force behind each book and canto. As the glory of Britain herself, she is not corporeal within the work. We have only the hope that we, and Arthur as the ideal monarch, may reach her by the end of book twelve. Spenser finds it easier in the context of his time to embody his patriotism in the shining figure of glory, even if her shape happens to resemble Elizabeth. And Arthur, of no nation, no history, and no name, can potentially be fulfilled through her.

In the house of Temperance, Arthur and Guyon find and read a pair of books—Arthur, at this point still known as the Prince, took up "an auncient booke, hight *Briton moniments*."²¹ As a history much derived from Galfridus, this "auncient booke" obviously recalls the "very old book in the British tongue" given to Geoffrey by Walter the archdeacon of Oxford.²² That such a book ever existed, or would have been readable by a twelfth-century *magister* with mediocre Latin, remains much in doubt, but its poetic existence in the house of Temperance serves the same purpose as it does in the prologue to Geoffrey's history. This plea to the authority of a fictional, but older and more trustworthy, source than any previously established author is common in not only prose

²⁰ David J. Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 170.

²¹ Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II.ix.59.

²² Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 4.

histories like Geoffrey's and verse histories like Wace's, but also chivalrous romances.²³ But Spenser seems not completely satisfied with the authority granted by this old book, for he also takes the poetic stance of writing it himself. Here we see romantic and epic traditions combined, as Spenser establishes the trustworthiness of his account through an older source and his authority to tell it through a call to the muses:

Who now shall giue vnto me words and sound,
Equall vnto this haughty enterprise?
Or who shall lend me wings, with which from ground
My lowly verse may loftily arise,
And lift it selfe vnto the highest skyes?
More ample spirit, then hitherto was wount,
Here needs me, whiles the famous auncestries
Of my most dreaded Soueraigne I recount,
By which all earthly Princes she doth far surmount.²⁴

Spenser realizes that at this point he will embark on the crux of his poem. By establishing Arthur as the sixty-third king in the chronicle of the "auncient booke," Spenser fashions his "most dreaded Soueraigne" with the weight of Arthur's entire myth behind her. This is problematic for Spenser, however, as it became increasingly obvious during his time in the Pale that his vision for Elizabeth did not quite match reality. If he establishes through this chronicle and later through Merlin's prophecies to Britomart the same Tudor legend that drove antiquarian interests throughout the sixteenth century, how can he reconcile the soon-approaching Stuart succession? Spenser, though backed by the requisite poetic authorities for both epic and romance, is blocked by the famously praised virginity of his glorious, dreaded queen. With no indication of a permanent kingdom of Arthur's line, is Spenser crafting this nation thirty years too late? The interruption that prevents Arthur from finally learning his name and nation brings much-needed relief to Spenser's problematic prophecies. By leaving the line of kings incomplete here, Arthur is overwhelmed by the sheer nobility of his isle but not burdened by the expected responsibility that comes with it. In much the same way, the incomplete ties between Arthur and Elizabeth throughout the poem free her from the Tudor myth. Yet this newfound freedom exists directly alongside the assumption that the triumphant union of Arthur and Gloriana will happen somewhere, and the obviously constructed history of Faerie that Guyon finds and reads may just be that place.

²³ "Master Wace has translated it and tells it truthfully," Wace, *Roman de Brut*, ed. and trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), 3. Chretien, similarly, opens *Cligès* with this statement: "The story I wish to recount to you, we find written down in one of the books in the library of Saint Peter's Cathedral in Beauvais. The fact that the tale was taken from there is evidence of the truth of the account. Hence its greater credibility." *The Complete Romances of Chretien de Troyes*, trans. David Staines (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 87. Another examples of this technique could include the *Gawain*-Poet, who in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* opens by describing Brutus' arrival in England after the fall of Troy and counting Arthur as "most courteous of all" the kings in history. This background did not come from a book, however, but was heard in the hall by the *Gawain*-Poet and set down "by letters tried and true." *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, trans. Marie Boroff (New York: Norton, 2001), 10.

²⁴ Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II.x.1.

In the chronicle of Faerie, Spenser provides the critics of Geoffrey with an example of what a constructed history looks like: linear, neat, story-shaped, and utterly fantastic. In comparison, the book of *Briton Moniments* seems a mess of betrayals, failures, triumphs, and competing dynasties. Spenser cries out for the reader to recognize how much more true our own British history is than that of his Faerie Lond, but the implication of an impending crossover between the two books undermines the poetic reassurances of fidelity. Thus Spenser avoids the discomforting possibility of a conclusion to his history by leaving it unfinished and the greatest king unnamed. Finding a hero for the chronicles of Book II is difficult. Both Baker and Berger argue that Britain itself is the hero of not only this chronicle but the entire poem, but this seems too simplistic an allegory for Spenser at this point.²⁵ His allegories, Spenser writes in the *Letter to Raleigh*, shift from point to point and person to person; sometimes Gloriana is Elizabeth, but generally she represents Glory itself and Elizabeth may become Belphebe or Una or perhaps Britomart.²⁶ The nation that is built between the books of *Briton Moniments* and "Antiquitee of Faery" is most likely Spenser's ideal "kingdom of his own language," a kingdom that cannot exist except in potentiality. The very possibility that it could be named as Britain or England prevents it from coming into being. Escobedo argues that for Spenser and Renaissance England the concept of nationhood "was linked to a perception of historical loss, the sense that the past was incommensurate with and possibly lost to the present."²⁷ In the light of Escobedo's argument, Spenser in this chronicle and later in Merlin's prophesy attempts to grasp, but falls short of, a complete history. However, this attempt is essential to establishing a uniquely British identity, because the search for an identity is ultimately and paradoxically what it means to be British. Spenser cannot allow Arthur to discover his own history and identity, because that would "mean Arthur's extinction, because the narrative includes his own death. The history that celebrates Arthur also annihilates him."²⁸ Thus any complete history of Britain and any hint at the completion of Arthur's union with Elizabeth would simultaneously annihilate the possibility of that event ever occurring. Spenser would rather remain in this liminal space of national potential than risk national failure.

Perhaps, then, the six books out of an intended twelve are meant to reflect the unachieved potentiality of Spenser's chosen subject. Arthur's position among the Nine Worthies depends on his twelve great victories, while Spenser set out to prove his worth by explicating his twelve great virtues. Rather than what a punch-drunk student of Spenser would suggest at the end of book five, that the Blatant Beast simply devoured the rest of the epic, this unfinished experiment in fusing history with the form of the epic under the guise of a chivalric romance epitomizes the blank pages after Uther in *Briton Moniments* writ large. That Spenser attempted to fashion the kingdom of his own language means that he achieved it, here in the unfamiliar grounds of England and Faery Lond, and the ways in between.

²⁵ Baker, *Between Nations*, 171.

²⁶ Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, 717.

²⁷ Escobedo, *Nationalism*, 3.

²⁸ Escobedo, *Nationalism*, 10.

The Learning of the King

Where Spenser bypassed the sourcing of his histories in *The Faerie Queene* through poetic calls for authority, prophecies from a wizard, and rhetorical denial of Rome's antiquity, Milton grappled with his sources, attempting to fulfill his purpose of connecting the histories of the "antientest and best authors." Fascinatingly, the sole author supposed to be free from Harold Bloom's anxiety of influence seems anxious over the composition of his nation.²⁹ Milton's opening statements, lamenting the state of the earliest and obscurest portions of all national histories, set forth his own ideology in writing this narrative British History:

That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a modern Fable.

Nevertheless there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, men not unread, nor unlerned in Antiquitie, who admitt that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction, and seeing that oft-times relations heertofore accounted fabulous have bin after found to contain in them many footsteps, and reliques of something true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not fain'd; I have therfore determin'd to bestow the telling over ev'n of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know, how to use them judiciously.³⁰

In this instance, Milton is willing to play Livy to Spenser's Virgil and approach the most legendary and fabulous aspects of the past with a critical eye. Writing at least a half-century after the men named by Helgerson as the primary Elizabethan writers of England, Milton's ambitions are no less impressive. He sees in Spenser, and to a lesser extent in Drayton, the poetic and rhetorical need for Flood and Giants, but feels that Britain has, up until his time, lacked the eloquent historian she deserves. This is not to say that he has no respect for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquarian chroniclers. Like poets and rhetoricians, they serve their purpose and some—Hall, Speed, Stow, and Camden, at least—are even worthy to be cited in the *History*, but Milton's purpose is not to stand "with others computing, or collating years and chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things whereof the substance is so much in doubt."³¹ This kind of search would by its very nature "disrupt the smooth course of history."³² Milton takes a different course from his predecessors by crafting the story of Britain, and, like a story, this one hopefully carries with it a lesson for the struggling Commonwealth. Von Maltzahn documents Milton's ambitions regarding the composition of the *History*, seeing it as both "advice

²⁹ Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997)

³⁰ Milton, *Works*, 10:2-3.

³¹ Milton, *Works*, 10:31.

³² Milton, *Works*, 10:3.

literature to the nation in the ensuing interregnum" and an account of "Milton's bitter perspective" on the Long Parliament and fears for the future of the Rump.³³

But what sort of lesson does Milton offer this floundering nation, presumably of his own creation? Milton's disdain for the fables of so many early sources prevents him from claiming a British exceptionalism on account of Brutus or Arthur. Instead Milton contents himself with finding moments of true nobility in the murky depths of unsure history. Of the kings and chronicles Milton chooses to highlight, Alfred stands out due to the length of his chapter and the lack of a polemical tirade against him. Though questions of historical accuracy regarding Alfred the Great are prominent today—scholars doubt he could write at all, much less translate Boethius and portions of the Bible—Milton accepts the traditional accounts of Alfred as a poet, scholar, warrior, and great man. His obituary for the great king transforms this Saxon leader into the ideal of a Renaissance monarch:

After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idely or voluptuously, but in all vertuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900. the 51. of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried regally at *Winchester*.³⁴

This certainly marks a well-deserved rest after years of battle against the Danes, but Milton is not content to end his praising of Alfred there:

He was of person complier then all his Brethren, of pleasing Tongue and gracefull behavior, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondness of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age; but the great desire of learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. . . . He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars and the cares of his Kingdome, yet leasure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate therof what he could to his people, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda's* History and others, permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in court or Common-wealth.³⁵

Though he does not end his litany of praises with the Anglo-Saxon exclamation, "*ƿæt wæs god cyning!*", it would certainly fit. Yet Milton's praise of Alfred is not limited to his *History*, but also appears in his other writings. In his *Commonplace Book*, Milton writes, "Alfred turn'd the old laws into english. I would he liv'd now to rid us of this norman gibberish"; and as an addendum to an outline for a possible tragedy, he surmises that "A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in

³³ Von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain*, 22-23.

³⁴ Milton, *Works*, 10:220.

³⁵ Milton, *Works*, 10:221.

Alfreds reigne. Especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes. Whose actions are wel like those of Ulysses.”³⁶ To put this last quote in perspective, in this same document we find Milton’s first four drafts of outlines for a play then called *Adam Unparadis’d*, but he makes no comment about that topic being worthy of an epic. Thus after the deposition of a bad king, Milton became so infatuated with the idea of Alfred the Great that he felt his reign more worthy of epic treatment than Arthur, whose realm belongs to poets, and Adam.

A number of reasons account for this overwhelming praise, but two in particular stand out: Alfred’s passion for learning, not only for himself but also for his kingdom; and the very idea of what kingship should be, as Milton expressed in the *Commonplace Book*: “The Kings of Britain, says Gildas, are anointed, but not by God. Contrary to the opinion now popularly held, that all kings are the anointed of God.”³⁷ In Milton’s view Alfred was a noble ruler, contracted with his people to enrich their lives through education by an “excellent statute for training up all the English till 15 years old in learning.”³⁸ Learning in fact is the only solution to the faults he finds with the Long Parliament in the polemical Digression. Building on a theme in a great number of his prose writings, Milton asserts that education, and the ability to employ that education in forming opinion and argument, is the mark of a good man. Alfred, anointed through his relationship as both king and headmaster to his people, not Arthur, divinely appointed savior of the British race, becomes Milton’s ideal. In education and the search for knowledge and truth, Milton finds British identity. Much like Escobedo’s assertion that Renaissance self-fashioning can only happen through an impossible search for identity, Milton argues that British identity is only secure in the Isic gathering of Osiric knowledge. And Alfred, not Arthur, remains the best example of that.

Roman Reflections

Though these two “poets historicall” serve as opposite ideological bookends to the century of British identity, they share a unique sense of British exceptionalism in the face of other historical precedents. The binary oppositions of “Gothic” and “Greek” established by Helgerson could very easily serve to distinguish Spenser and Milton, but a more nuanced binary of British and Roman, as proposed by Curran is more appropriate, as this allows for both of these “poets historicall” to take their places alongside each other. Spenser, as the poet, finds the easiest path towards establishing a co-equal British imperial state to the gigantic shadow of Rome. Through Brutus, Brennus and Belinus, Joseph of Arimethea, and of course Arthur, Spenser runs through the list of heroic and kingly opposition to the Roman other. In each of these encounters, it is the noble and worthy history of Britain that proves lasting. Milton’s opposition to Rome is more subtle, and it is to be found in establishing a British seat of learning separate and greater than any on the continent. In the *Commonplace Book*, he takes note with some pride that the two “chiefest and ancientest

³⁶ Milton, *Works*, 18:166, 243.

³⁷ “*De regibus Britannis inquit Gildas, ungebantur reges, no per deum. Contra qua’m nunc vulgus existimat, quoscunque scilicet reges dei unctos esse.*” Milton, *Works*, 18:196.

³⁸ Milton, *Works*, 18:137.

universities of Europe" were founded by the Englishmen Alcuin and John. And in his *History*, Milton records the legendary histories as remnants of a more unenlightened past, but his denial of Brutus can also be seen as a denial of Aeneas and Romulus. Though Roman historians are typically counted as more reliable than their British counterparts, Milton has undermined their status as an eternal empire, while allowing for the possibility of Britain to surpass the Roman exemplum.

However, neither Spenser nor Milton can escape the shadow of classical antiquity. They are playing roles established by the Latin masters—Virgil and Livy, poet and narrator of history. The unfinished and increasingly pessimistic nature of both of their histories reveals a lingering fear inside each poet that perhaps their ideal kingdom or commonwealth is not ready yet. Spenser hides this discomfort with a desperate attachment to the ideals of Gloriana and the virtues of Arthur, while Milton shockingly erupts into a polemic against the Parliamentary establishment. It is clear, though, that when the kingdom or commonwealth of their own language is finally established, that Britain shall finally eclipse her early-blooming Trojan cousin. As Helgerson argues, the early modern duality of choosing between antiquity and medieval influences is no longer a part of our modern world. Instead, we borrow from a larger, unified past.³⁹ Milton, it seems, was on the right side of history. Rather than establishing a British empire of his own, he wrote the first four books of his history while "Caroli regno in rempublicam redacto;" not that the kingdom of Charles reduced itself into a republic, but that Britain was edited and revised and rewritten into the new commonwealth of our own language.⁴⁰

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³⁹ Helgerson, *Forms*, 21.

⁴⁰ Von Maltzahn translates this as the reign of Charles being "reduced" into a republic.

The Tlaxcalans: Pleading for What Was Promised

By Tony Hessenthaler

When the Tlaxcalan Indians allied with the Spaniards in 1519, they were promised special privileges and rights by Hernan Cortés. Ultimately, King Philip II believed and followed through on the promises that Cortés had made nearly forty years earlier. The Tlaxcalans, then, represent an experience apart from that of the majority of Indigenous peoples under Spanish colonialism, in that they were promised privileges and rights for their participation alongside the Spaniards in the conquest of central Mexico. This project illuminates a small portion of their experience found in a little-studied document held in Indiana University's Lilly Library that shows correspondence between the Tlaxcalans and King Philip II. The document is a two-page letter with a colored illustration—a map—inserted and bound between the pages of the letter and dated 1556. I will refer to it as the Lilly Tlaxcala Map throughout.¹ I contextualize the letter and illustration amidst a corpus of related correspondence and documents pleading for the king's intervention to uphold Indigenous privileges. Gordon Brotherston's book, *Footprints Through Time*, examines the traditions of Indigenous maps found in the Lilly Library at Indiana University.² The only scholar to have published other research on this document, his intent was to highlight the variety and richness of multiple images in the Mexican manuscripts at the Lilly Library, to encourage more research on each item. This project, then, builds upon Brotherston's work as a document discovery. Using visual methodologies proposed by Gordon Brotherston, Charles Gibson, Gillian Rose, and Barbara Mundy, I analyze both the text and image to show the extent to which the Spaniards' early allies—and modern Mexico's most famous "traitors"—had adopted the new Spanish Colonial process, and the dialog created between them and their new patron, the King.

The Tlaxcalan Indians have been historically villainized, since they were the first sizeable group of Indians to join forces with Cortés on his march inland towards Tenochtitlán. They solidified their presence among the Spaniards when they participated as brothers-in-arms in conquests as far as Nicaragua and California. As a clarification of terms used in this project, I will use the terms Indian and Indigenous/indigene to describe the Indigenous peoples of New Spain, specifically the

¹ Tlaxcala Map, Aug. 24, 1556, Mexico, The Lilly Library, Indiana University.

² Gordon Brotherston, *Footprints through Time: Mexican Pictorial Manuscripts at the Lilly Library* (Bloomington, Indiana: Lilly Library, 1997); a comparative study of eleven separate pictorial manuscripts.

Tlaxcalans in this context. Although the former is anachronistic and Eurocentric, it embodies well the vision of the Spaniards towards the different groups of indigenes found in colonial New Spain; they were *all* Indians in the eyes of the Spaniards. Since the Lilly Tlaxcala Map is composed of an illustration along with Nahuatl and Spanish texts—in which the words *naturales* (natives) and *cacicques principales* (main chiefs) are used to describe Tlaxcalan nobles—I have opted to continue using the word Indian along with Indigenous, as it is impossible to completely erase the former. Such impossibility stems from the use of the term in so many titles, names, and descriptions of the time period; for example, in leadership positions, such as the *gobierno de indios* (Indian Governor). Also worth noting is the absence of the word “Tlaxcalans” (*Tlaxcaltecos*) in the Lilly Tlaxcala Map, but rather expressions such as the inhabitants of “that noble city” of Tlaxcala.³

The history of Tlaxcala is documented not only by modern historians, but also by early Spaniards, and even by the Tlaxcalans themselves. This autobiographic and independent nature of Tlaxcalan history—Tlaxcalans talking about their own history—is the basis upon which they were able to trace their own resistance to the Triple Alliance in the pre-Cortesian era, and later, their alliance with Cortés as conquerors in their own right. Their (auto)biographical history enjoyed a certain autonomy. The Tlaxcalans’ privileged position allowed for more continuity of preconquest and early postconquest customs. Diego Muñoz Camargo, a mestizo who governed Tlaxcala well after the conquest (1608-1614), is likely responsible for continuing the traditions that the Tlaxcalans had written about themselves. Charles Gibson, whose informative work, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*, points out that Muñoz Camargo “was the son of a famous Tlaxcalan historian; he was not Indian, and he had no *cabecera* [head town] affiliation.”⁴ Muñoz Camargo, then, was the link from an early postconquest dynastic rule to a non-Tlaxcalan ruling on a local level and carrying on the traditions of the previous Indian Governors.⁵

The history of Tlaxcala cannot always be taken at face value. For example, one idea that erroneously continues today suggests that preconquest Tlaxcala included four separate ruling dynasties that together composed the ancient kingdom of Tlaxcala. In the eyes of Gibson, this is a postconquest construction.⁶ He states: “Muñoz Camargo recorded the dynasties of the four *cabeceras* in the late sixteenth century, when the four centers had become essential to the structure of colonial Indian government.”⁷ The political system current at the end of the sixteenth century

³ Tlaxcala Map, 1.

⁴ Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1952), 107. Based on Torquemada’s assertion of Muñoz Camargo; cited in Gibson as, “Torquemada, Juan de, *Primera (Segunda, Tercera) parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarquía indiana*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1723).

⁵ Indian Governor was not an accurate title after 1607; Gibson, 107. With Muñoz Camargo, the legacy of having one representative from each of the four ruling houses of Tlaxcala ruling in turn died out.

⁶ The concept of the four ruling houses or dynasties is questioned by Gibson in chapters 1 and 4 of his work. He states: “The notion of the four *cabeceras*, in other words, was developed in postconquest times as an element of Tlaxcalan lore, while the traditions of other provincial towns were lost”; Gibson, 11. What can be confirmed is that these *cabeceras* did take turns ruling after the conquest, but Gibson questions their preconquest recognition as ruling dynasties. Brotherston mentions the importance of the number four, which can also be seen in the four posts on the far-right center of the illustration; however, he makes no connection to specific houses.

⁷ Gibson, 11.

was written anachronistically into the earlier history. Here the passing of time creates a problem of verifiability and blurring the past to match an imagined or imposed view. Like Muñoz Camargo, the author(s)/illustrators(s) of the Lilly Tlaxcala Map, and even the authors/artists of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, wrote in later times. They were the next generation whose parents or grandparents participated in the conquests. In my analysis of these documents, I analyze the materials with a focus on the content, not the veracity of claims made by historical authors. Historical preferences, oversights, and exaggerations on behalf of the historical author(s) remain altogether unavoidable.

Although the Tlaxcalans enjoyed relative autonomy in their local government, by the mid-sixteenth century they felt less secure in their future under the Spaniards and drafted a series of documents aimed at securing their rights and privileges. We do not know whether specific events caused an increased awareness of the need to secure the rights and privileges promised to them by Cortés. However, I speculate the Tlaxcalans perceived a shift in power corresponding to an increased Spanish presence. This increased presence, although intended to be minimized according to laws regarding Spanish presence in the province, proved detrimental to the continuation of Tlaxcalan autonomy under the crown. The province offered untapped resources in the eyes of “traders, cattle raisers, agriculturists, and manufacturers” and this constant infiltration of white colonists “contributed directly to the loss of Indian prosperity and prestige in the late sixteenth century.”⁸ As a trend that started in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Tenochtitlán, most creoles (*criollos*, Spaniards born in the New World) and peninsulars (*peninsulares*, Spaniards born in Spain) opted, or were only allowed, to live in certain areas. For example they were allowed to set up residence only in certain neighborhoods of Tenochtitlán, generally closer to the center or plaza. In the greater Tlaxcala area, where Spaniards were explicitly prohibited from living, they lived in nearby Puebla. The laws prohibiting Spanish settlement of Tlaxcala allowed for Tlaxcalans to rule themselves and report directly to the king, at least through most of the sixteenth century. Muñoz Camargo, a *mestizo* (of mixed Spanish and Indian blood), was the first Spanish magistrate, albeit half-blooded, to live in Tlaxcala, and that was at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

According to Gibson, another factor that set Tlaxcala apart from the majority of other Indian groups was their placement directly under the crown:

In the 1520's, having fixed itself securely on the mainland of the New World, the *encomienda* [Indian tribute] became the normal institution governing relations between Spaniards and Mexican Indians. It was these circumstances and at this time when Cortés placed the province of Tlaxcala directly under crown government . . . which he explained as a reward for military assistance in the conquest.⁹

⁸ Gibson, 79. Gibson dedicates ample time to explaining the effects of this social intrusion in chapter 5 of his *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*. Legal disputes arose out of a law stating that Spaniards were not to settle, live, or farm/graze anywhere in the province of Tlaxcala, with the exception of seasonal sheep grazing. However, these statutes were often violated by Spaniards living in surrounding areas, in which case complaints were made to the king or to the *audiencia*.

⁹ Gibson, 67-68.

The Tlaxcalans' privileges were noteworthy, but they did not completely trust the increasing Spanish presence in their province. The Tlaxcalans were not alone in petitioning favors or rewards from the crown. Spaniards and Indigenous people alike wrote, drew, or otherwise explained their position in history, why they deserved to be compensated, and why previous promises of compensation needed to be upheld. From among the Tlaxcalans the best-known corpus of documents that serve this purpose is the 1585 *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, a series of more than eighty images meant to convey the totality of the Tlaxcalan involvement in the early conquests of New Spain. This involvement, as shown in the *Lienzo*, included not just defeating their own mortal enemies in Tenochtitlán, but rather a long-term cooperative military commitment to the Spaniards. The *Lienzo* follows the Tlaxcalans in aiding the Spaniards in the Aztec capital city, but it also goes beyond that, depicting Tlaxcalans and Spaniards as brothers-in-arms against Panfilo de Narváez, and in the ensuing conquests as far away as Nicaragua and California.

Gibson argued "privileges were granted in the Spanish world to those who asked for them. If the Tlaxcalans had not brought their conquest services to the King's attention, the king might never have been aware of them. If the Tlaxcalans had not campaigned for the privileges, the privileges would not have been forthcoming."¹⁰ That much debate occurred about exactly what had been promised to the Tlaxcalans is not surprising. Time blurred the specifics of any promises made. Hernan Cortés, accompanied by Malintzin and his soldiers, arrived, battled, and allied with the Tlaxcalans in 1519.¹¹ Over forty years later, after 1562, the *cabildo* formally asserted that Cortés had made the promise, acting on behalf of the king, to exempt the Tlaxcalans from all tribute payments, present them with a number of towns for them to populate, and allow their province to remain theirs, in exchange for military services.¹² Then in 1565 an inquiry was made of living conquistadors to verify the promises made. Although no one clear answer emerged, the *audiencia* (territorial or magistrate's court) agreed that certain rewards and privileges (*mercedes y favores*) were promised. Later, in 1585, the king ordered tribute exemption and other privileges for Tlaxcala.¹³ In events that took more than 60 years, privileges that were likely promised to specific Tlaxcalan leaders came to be perceived as a general accord applying to all of Tlaxcala.¹⁴ The concern then

¹⁰ Gibson, 161.

¹¹ Although it is accepted that privileges were based on military cooperation, this quote from Gibson shows that as the military campaigns continued, interest and participation on behalf of the Tlaxcalans was diminishing. "The records of military alliance indicate also that Tlaxcalan aid was neither continuously given nor unanimously supported within the province . . . In the [later] Alvarado expedition, which has come to be one of the frequently cited instances of Tlaxcalan aid, it is probable that the total combined force of Tlaxcalans, Mexicans, and Cholulans numbered only a few hundred"; Gibson, 159.

¹² A *cabildo* was a local Indian governing body, similar to a town council for elite families that oversaw local issues and intervened in disputes.

¹³ This was not the King's first ruling in regard to Tlaxcala (in reference to Charles I and his successor, Philip II); he had already intervened on multiple occasions. For example, multiple declarations made during the 1500s upheld that Tlaxcala belonged to the Tlaxcalans and that "no Spaniard could legally intrude"; Gibson, 82. Such rulings continued for centuries. The Newberry Library in Chicago has documents dated 1732 – 1808 relating to concessions and privileges granted to the Tlaxcalans; Newberry Ayer MS 1162.

¹⁴ This communal aspect can be seen in the Lilly Tlaxcala Map from the King that addresses the province (*provincia*) of Tlaxcala as a whole, in addition to specific mentions of Don Zacarías Santiago and Alonso Sarmiento; Tlaxcala Map, 1-2. Tlaxcala is referred to as "the noble city" (*esa noble ciudad*), but also as "that province" (*esa provincia*).

became that their rights were not being fulfilled in a timely manner, if at all, in spite of having legal backing. For example, Tlaxcalans still paid tribute in the form of supporting the local *corregidor* (magistrate) or any visiting viceregal appointees, they were actively recruited to participate in building churches, and they also dealt with illegal encroachment of white colonists and their grazing animals.

The Lilly Tlaxcala Map: The Spanish Letter Portion

The Lilly Tlaxcala Map comes from the Latin American-Mexico collection of manuscripts in the Lilly Library at Indiana University, Bloomington. While it contains no clear signature of the king or an assigned scribe, the words “I, the King” (*Yo, el Rey*) and multiple mentions of the “token of good vassals” and “good vassals of my crown” undoubtedly point to the king dictating the letter.¹⁵ The “I” speaking in the letter is someone above the viceroy, as evidenced by the statement, “We send to you my viceregal justices.”¹⁶ In a strong and commanding tone the king states, “Our governor viceroy and general Capitan of New Spain and the court that in it resides as you will see by other decrees we order you to have in your ranks the chiefs of the province of Tlaxcala that have come from these kingdoms to kiss our hands and show us obedience as good vassals.”¹⁷ On the following page, the king continues to esteem the Tlaxcalans, saying: “In regards to the esteem of my loyal vassals of that noble city of Tlaxcala, we would command that you uphold them and see them as conquerors and supporters of my crown . . . the legitimate descendants Don Alonso Sarmiento Guzman Paderes and Don Zacarías de Santiago are due 500 coins (*suelos*) as so ordered from Spain to my kingdoms and territories.”¹⁸ Not only does the king reaffirm their status as conquerors and *hidalgos*, which comes with the distinguished title of Don, but he also promises to

¹⁵ Tlaxcala Map, 1-6. This is not to say that no signatures occur on the document; but in comparison with documents in the Archivo General de Indias, the Lilly manuscript has much less visible authority in terms of signatures. Each folio is signed on the lower left side and is also marked along the top with a series of three identical markings, which could be signatures. None of these are clear, and in accordance with the tradition of royal decrees more likely would be signed by the scribe than the king. What gives this letter authority is the tone of the “*Yo, el Rey*” (I, the King) who is speaking. The last two lines of folio 3 contain the following allusion to a possible scribe: “*por mandado de su magesta[d] Francisco derraros señalado en cincoceis* [illegible in text].”

¹⁶ Tlaxcala Map, 3. “*Mandamos a vosotros mis justicias virrelles.*”

¹⁷ “*Nuestro visorey gobernador y capitán general de la nueva España y presidente del audiencia que en ella reside como veréis por otra nuestra cedula os encargamos que tuviesedes por encomendados a los caciques de la provincia de Tlascala que han venido de estos reinos a nos besar las manos y darle obediencia como buenos vasallos*”; Tlaxcala Map, 5. In my translations or reinterpretations of the transcriptions that appear in Brotherston’s *Footprints*, I have opted to correct some of the grammar to more closely resemble modern Spanish. That said, where comprehension is not affected by changes in spellings, I have attempted to stay as close to the original as possible. No accented vowels appear in the original text with the exception of a nasalized a or o, shown as *ā* or *ō*, respectively. I have opted to replace these with their modern equivalent of a word-final n. For example, *Dō Zacarías* is Don Zacarías in my transcription. It also should be noted that where *ç* was used it has been replaced with an s or z, again to more closely resemble its modern equivalent in spelling.

¹⁸ “*Por quanto a la estimacion de mis vasallos de esa noble ciudad de Tlascala os mandasemos que los ampareis y veais como conquistadores que son y mantenedores de mi corona . . . pueden gozar y de vencer guardados a los hijosdalgo notorios de colar conocido descendientes legitimos de Don Alonso Sarmiento Guzman Paderes y Don Zacarías de Santiago e hijos e hijas nietos deudos quinientos suelos segun fuero de espana de los dichos mis reinos y senorios*”; Tlaxcala Map, 6.

follow up on the matter by sending three *señores* who will take with them their proof and orders (*llevar sus calificaciones y ejecutoria*) to report back to the local *cabecera* of Ocotelulco.¹⁹

In the Spanish text, at least three specific interests are upheld.²⁰ First, specific Tlaxcalans are promised that their actions will be remembered: “forever honored . . . the goods, graces, and deeds they have done will not be forgotten, rather there will be remembrance confirming it, by this, my privilege.”²¹ Second, they are given permission to found new towns under the *cabecera* of Xotelulco (likely Ocotelulco), as follows: “giving you, Don Alonso Sarmiento Guzman Paderes and Don Zacarías de Santiago, the right that you ask to found towns where you would please near the principal town of Xotelulco.”²² And finally, the king offers them continuing support, writing: “and any other obstacle or imposition of fact or of right that any others could impose, of these advise me and you will receive aid.”²³ In its tone and message, the Spanish letter, constituting two-thirds of the total document, is very pro-Tlaxcalan and makes available multiple resources to follow up on the declarations made, most notably the visiting *señores* who will serve as *registradores* (legal observers, similar to notaries), and even the king himself, who asks to be informed if any other obstacles impede the Tlaxcalans from their promised rights.

¹⁹ Ocotelolco and Ocotelulco are used interchangeably throughout this study, as it appears differently in the sources used.

²⁰ To clarify, this is in relation to the rights of three specific Tlaxcalans: those of Don Alonso Sarmiento, Guzman Paderes, and Don Zacarías de Santiago. I have been able to confirm the roles of Alonso Sarmiento and Zacarías de Santiago in the conquest, in Brotherston’s *Tlaxcala*, and on the internet source <http://garyfelix.tripod.com/-GaryFelix/index5H.htm>. They were rewarded with the title “Don” and given a family coat of arms from the king, whereas Guzman Paderes’ role remains unspecified. To date, I have not been able to confirm his role in the history of Tlaxcala.

²¹ “*para siempre jamas onrados . . . los vienes y mercedes y gracias que facian no ce olvidasen mas que vuiese remembranza confirmandolo por este mi privilegio*”; Tlaxcala Map, 1.

²² “*Los dichos Don Alonso Carmiento gusman paderes y Don Zacarías de Santiago dandos la ciencia que pedis para que fundeis pueblos y estancias a donde quiciereis por lo que toca al parage que llaman estama de la caueceta (cabecera) de xotelulco do premise para que lo fundeis y sea priemer calle sera dados*”; Tlaxcala Map, 2.

²³ “*e todo otro cualquier estaculo e inpeoimento de fecho e de derecho y otros cualesquier que vos puedan o pudiesen envargar o perjudicar a lo que dicho es o alguna cosa dello me auseis y despacheis para el reme[illegible]*”; Tlaxcala Map, 1.

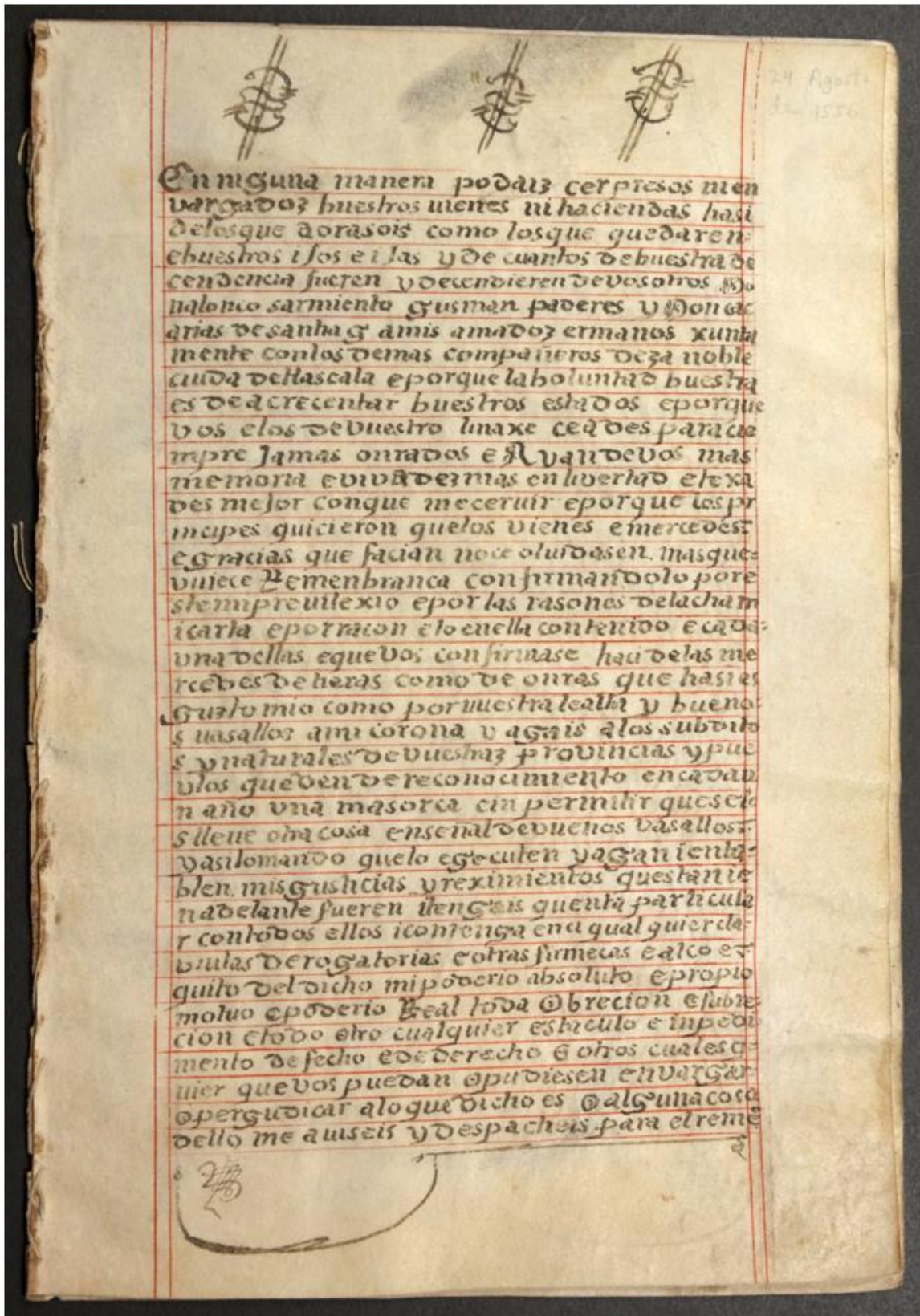


Figure 1. Sample of the Spanish letter portion of the Lilly Tlaxcala Map. Three folios long, with the first and last written in Spanish as in this image, the document today is bound by thread on the far left border, with these Spanish pages surrounding the map/Nahuatl page. Vellum, c. 25 x 36 cm. Used by permission of the Lilly Library, Indiana University.

The Lilly Tlaxcala Map: The Illustration Portion and Nahuatl Text

The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* mentioned earlier has much in common with the Lilly Tlaxcala Map. The introduction of alphabetic writing and an exchange of languages did not immediately replace pictographic writing, which continued well into the seventeenth century. The Lilly Tlaxcala Map, the *Relaciones geográficas*, and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* all demonstrate to varying degrees the survival of pictographic writing in the postconquest period.²⁴ The *Relaciones geográficas* are a series of responses to questionnaires sent out by Phillip II seeking more detailed information about Spain's colonial territories, and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* is a manuscript written by the Tlaxcalans to highlight their history and involvement in the early conquests alongside the Spaniards. Such writing, including the sub-genre of maps, were used for land disputes, land division, current and proposed land use, travel routes, and even histories. Maps, just like alphabetic writing, carry a statement from an author to an audience. J. B. Harley points out, "Most maps speak to targeted audiences and most employ invocations of authority."²⁵ Furthermore, Barbara Mundy claims that the realm of the image was more likely to be used by the Indian, whereas alphabetic writing was a medium more associated with the European: "These 'indios,' unlike Spaniards and Creoles, lived in a world where both ideology and practice pulled the image to center stage."²⁶ Of utmost importance in analyzing this image is to remember that images and writing are not mutually exclusive modes of communication. "The visible marks, whether they be letters, hieroglyphs, or figural representations, operate and carry meaning according to their association with other marks within a structured system of relatedness. This structured relatedness is basically the grammar of the system; it tells us how to read a mark or an image."²⁷

The Lilly Tlaxcala Map is unsigned and undated. The Nahuatl script on the back is also undated and could be a later addition to the image, given the primacy of pictorial writing among the Indians. The image shows tendencies of native painters and mapmakers, reminiscent of the style of Indigenous codices from central Mexico. Specifically, the most recognizable Indigenous element is the footprints, traditionally used to mark roads, paths, or movement. Not to overlook the importance of a possible reference to the four noble houses of Tlaxcala, there are notably four separate sets of footprints. One set contains three footprints, two sets contain four footprints each, and one set contains five footprints. This could be an allusion not only to the royal houses of Tlaxcala, but a possible reference to the order in which they ruled or even a rank and classification of said houses by the painter.

Taking this idea a step further, the set with five footprints, below center and right in the image, is in close proximity to the gilded emblem of the heron which is Ocotelulco's coat of arms. Accepting the relationship between this set of footprints and Ocotelulco allows further geospatial relationships to emerge. If we were to overlay this map with a properly scaled map of Tlaxcala,

²⁴ For more examples of pre- and postconquest pictographic writing, see Gordon Brotherston, *Painted Books From Mexico* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), especially chapters 1, 2, and 8.

²⁵ J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 37.

²⁶ Barbara Mundy, *Mapping of New Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 62.

²⁷ Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 30.

there is an uncanny correlation among the location of the footprints on the illustration and the locations of the ruling cabeceras as they would be seen from an aerial view. Following this line of thought, the locations of the other sets of footprints undeniably correspond with geographic locations of the other ruling cabeceras, namely, Quaihuixtlan, Tepeticpac, and Tizatlan.²⁸ The footprints on the far left, numbering four, correspond to Quaihuixtlan. The other set of four, located in the upper-right of the illustration correspond to Tepeticpac. Finally, the set of three footprints located in the far-right center correspond to Tizatlan. The number of footprints in each location could also refer to an order or preference given in the succession in which they ruled, remembering that local rule would alternate between these four royal houses.²⁹

Also reminiscent of Indigenous codices is the hill in the background of the illustration. The main site, labeled San Matias Tepotomatli, on the side of the large, central church, is an area located at the base of a small set of hills that are immediately northeast of Tlaxcala. At face value it could be simply a hill designating the specific location of land in dispute. However, another interpretation is possible. In the tradition of native map making, as analyzed by Mundy and Brotherston, hills can serve as a logographic name for the place. For example, in some of the *Relaciones geograficas*, the place name for a city is established by placing a distinguishing character upon a hill.³⁰ Mundy points out the example of Tehuantepec, which roughly means “jaguar hill.” The logograph used to signal Tehuantepec is a hill with a jaguar on top. The effect of the image is twofold; not only is the image visual, but it appears in the language also. *Tecuani* means “wild animal” or “jaguar” in Nahuatl, and *tepetl* means “hill.” Combined, *tecuni* plus *tepetl*, we can see how this serves as an example in both visual and oral representations. Other examples occur in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*; one of the elements that constantly changes in the different images is the upper-right hand side, a hill with a distinctive logograph on top. Returning to the Lilly Tlaxcala Map, the hill denotes the place of the tree, reed, or bush, based on the green vegetation.³¹ Brotherston proposes that the pine trees, *ocotl* in Nahuatl, is an allusion to the noble house to which Don Zacarías belongs, that of Ocotelulco.³² The gilded emblem of the heron also represents Ocotelulco’s coat of arms.

²⁸ See Frederic Hicks, “Land and Succession in the Indigenous Noble Houses of Sixteenth-Century Tlaxcala,” *Ethnohistory* 56: 4 (2009): 569–588, which offers an in-depth study of the four noble houses of Tlaxcala and their use of maps in legal cases dealing with land succession, both private and communal.

²⁹ See note 6.

³⁰ The *Relaciones geográficas*, a series of questions, were sent to local authorities in the New World in 1577 and again in 1584, in an attempt to describe and map Spain’s territories throughout the world. These questionnaires, in all or in part, often arrived in the hands of Indians, passed down from the Spanish *alcalde mayor* to the Indian *cabildo*, and then from the *cabildo* to the individual(s) who responded to the questions. The response from Tlaxcala, held in the Hunter Collection at the University of Glasgow, is believed to have come from Diego Muñoz Camargo’s scribe.

³¹ Brotherston only relates the hill to the nearby volcanic mountain Matlacueye (*La Malinche*).

³² Brotherston, *Footprints*, 31.



Figure 2. Folio 2 recto of the Lilly Tlaxcala Map. Notice the footprints, the Tlaxcalan noble Don Zacarías de Santiago, the heron emblem, the churches, and the hill in the background. Vellum, c. 25 x 36 cm. Used by permission of the Lilly Library, Indiana University.

Another Indigenous element in the map, the Tlaxcalan man labeled as Don Zacarías, emphasizes his status as an elite Tlaxcalan. His style of dress, which Brotherston describes as “a lavishly embroidered cape, exclusive to his class,” is completely Indigenous.³³ From the sandals to the cape, and even the Mexican obsidian sword called a *macana* or *macuahuitl*, there is no doubt that he represents the ruling elite within Tlaxcala. Shown in a three-quarters profile pose, different from the typical “hard” profile pose seen in many Indigenous maps and images such as the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, Don Zacarías wears a *tilmatli* cape. Patricia Reiff Anawalt, a specialist on Indian clothing of the time period, says, “The Tlaxcalan *tilmatli* appears to have been almost identical with its Mexica counterpart and, like it, could reflect varying degrees of rank and status The implication is that each *cabecera*, which no doubt was composed of a related lineage or *calpulli*, had its own distinctive dress. It must have seemed to the Spaniards almost like European heraldry.”³⁴ With the knot tied in front, the cape emphasizes Don Zacarías’ high social status: “The usual style was with the knot of the mantle over the right shoulder. Certain nobles and priests, however, apparently were allowed to tie the cloak in the front The *tilmatli* was the principal visual status marker in Aztec society, and its material, decoration, length, and manner of wearing instantly revealed the class and rank of the wearer.”³⁵

The center of the image is dominated by three entities: Don Zacarías, the church, and the heron in Ocotelolco’s coat of arms. Also worth noting is that the *very* center of the image is blank space. The Nahuatl text, examined further below, emphasizes that Don Zacarías is leaving the area shown in the map to his descendants. Contained in a hybridized frame of symbols, with the Indian nobleman, the control symbol of Ocotelolco, and the authority of Christianity (that is, the real and metonymic church), the *mapa*’s illustrator creates a blank spot. This empty space emphasizes that this area is ripe for use; the Nahuatl text even states that a new *cabecera* should be built there. The appropriation, use, and hereditary title of this *terra nullis* would not harm or disrupt anything in greater Tlaxcala.

These Indigenous elements of the map, which would have been instantly recognizable to an informed “reader,” combine with noticeable European-style elements to give us a map that is neither completely European nor completely Indigenous in its style, but rather a combination of the two. For example, amid the Indigenous elements, one overwhelming presence in the image denotes Spain’s biggest export of colonial times: religion. The two churches, labeled San Matias Tepotomatli and San Juan Tetetl, represent the towns or areas that Don Zacarías affirms are his to pass to his descendants. The image of the church, a metonymic device, is representative of a whole town. As with the logographs, similar representations are seen in other maps made by native cartographers in response to the *Relaciones geográficas*.³⁶ This incorporation of different styles and

³³ Brotherston, *Footprints*, 28.

³⁴ Patricia Reiff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing before Cortés* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 67–68.

³⁵ Anawalt, 30. Remember that Anawalt stated that the Tlaxcalan word *tilmatli* and the Aztec *tilmatli* seemed to be used the same way and serve the same purposes. In a larger sense, the Tlaxcalans were culturally very similar to the Aztec (Mexico), and were one of the few groups that lived in such close proximity to the Triple Alliance that was able to resist Aztec rule. However, in a broader cultural sense, both groups were Nahua.

³⁶ Examples of this metonymic representation of a whole town by one of its parts, a church, are found in Mundy, *Mapping of New Spain*, 95, 98, and 120, to name a few.

elements ultimately testifies to two major social events which prompted the making of the map: First, the need to ask for European (the king's) recognition and defense of Don Zacarías' land, by using recognizable symbols that the European could understand; and second, the enduring nature of Indigenous cartography and picture writing.

The Nahuatl text on the reverse side of the illustration is more of a testament and witnesses' verification of the document, rather than an explanation of the *mapa*'s significance. The image was conceived to stand on its own. While it is likely that the map was created after the letter from the King, the final product—the bound three-page Lilly Tlaxcala Map with the illustration—represents a dialogue of images and words. At first glance, the illustration most closely resembles a scenic painting and, to a lesser extent, a map. Elizabeth Hill Boone clarifies that maps of this nature can properly be called *mapas* since they focus on “paintings of the community lands . . . [distinguished] from property plans. For the community *mapas* function as community charters or titles and are heavily historical.”³⁷ She further explains that the different types of documents blend easily together; for example many painted histories can be both historical and genealogical. The image, then, with its powerful visual components, is capable of standing on its own: “Manuscript painting continued to function effectively after the conquest [since] the Indigenous ideas of documentary expression continued strong. To put it simply, the Nahuas continued to think in visual terms and to express ideas pictorially.”³⁸

Given that the image could stand on its own, processes of visual interpretation can further the analysis of the illustration. Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies* explains the concept of coding. Rose points out that in visual content analysis, one “relies heavily on the structure of categories used in the coding process” and that coding is simply “attaching a set of descriptive labels (or ‘categories’) to the images.”³⁹ The illustrator can encode in an illustration certain categories to get the message across to the receiver. Rose sets forth a list of categories used in analyzing visual material.⁴⁰ Notably, almost all of the categories are applicable and noticeable in the Lilly Tlaxcala Map, including world location, unit of article organization (region, nation-state, ethnic group, other), gender of adults depicted, age of those depicted, surroundings of people depicted, wealth indicators, skin color, dress style, and technological type present (simple handmade tools, machinery).⁴¹ This list of coding categories helps us understand the purpose and reception of the map in the *mapa* portion of the Lilly Tlaxcala Map. According to Rose, these categories allow for

³⁷ Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins, *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 181.

³⁸ Boone and Cummins, 158.

³⁹ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Sage, 2007), 64–65.

⁴⁰ Rose, 66. This list was made in reference to photography. A 1993 study by Lutz and Collins to which Rose refers analyzed five hundred ninety-eight National Geographic photos. They also looked at categories not included in the list above: number of photographs including westerners, smiling, aggressive activity, military personnel, or weapons, activity level of main foreground figures, activity type of foreground figures, camera gaze of main person photographed, ritual focus, group size, presence of westerners, urban versus rural setting, male/female nudity, and vantage point. Although this list was intended for analysis of photographic images, I believe it can be applied to visual materials at large, with the obvious exceptions for those categories that do not apply outside of photography.

⁴¹ Rose, 66.

an analysis of what is intended to be portrayed in the image. Briefly following the list above, the important points implied in the image are: a clearly designated geographic location, written on the sides of the churches; the crest of the royal house of Ocotelolco, the heron, to designate the organizational unit (*cabecera*); and gender, age, race, and wealth indicators are all present and easily recognized in the depiction of the Indian man, Don Zacarías, with his dark skin color, hair style, elaborate clothing, and sword. Considering these categories, it becomes even more noticeable that he is from the elite class of Tlaxcalans.

The Nahuatl text on the back of the maps adds to the complexity, hybridity, and richness of the document as a whole. The writing on the back of the map likely came after the image was drawn. I base this assumption on the beginning of the text, which starts, “This . . . painted map was given by your father in Tlaquitlapan to the noble Don Zacarías de Santiago, Castilian, who requests of our great leader king with it the town of San Matias Tepetomatitlan will be the first *cabecera*.”⁴² The verb tense implies that the map already had an established history before the text was written. It continues: “and not want that their descendants to suffer, because he gives them of his own free will all his property and with it they remember his soul and with it I leave them at their sacred place my great lord on the Cross, arms spread out, and I give them all the land that is on the hill and all that is between the land.” In a messianic tone—remember his soul, Lord on the cross, arms spread out—the message confirms that Zacarías de Santiago gave this land to his descendants to do with it what they please, not to be controlled by the encroaching white colonists. The overt way he gives *all* of his property, paired with the religious references to the Savior, helps to elevate Don Zacarías from a noble Tlaxcalan to a savior of his descendants; a type of Christ to rescue their well-being through his sacrifice of land. The note continues, “Our great lord King makes you all nobles and all my children who are born there in San Matias Tepetomatitlan Tiltecatl will become a good place for them to build the *cabildo* He grants you all the crest that you attach to that church I leave you this privilegio . . . when I die with it he will not cause you all suffering . . . and I give these orders and testify here in the *sala de cabildo* . . . before all these nobles.”⁴³ The letter, then, is a last will and testament, instructing Zacarías’ progeny to claim their right to inherit the land and build a *cabildo* there.

⁴² See also Gibson’s appendix VI which comprises a list of Indian Governors of Tlaxcala. Zacarías de Santiago appears on the list as the Indian Governor (a Tlaxcalan noble coming from the house of Tepeticpac) in 1581–82, 1589–90, and 1594. That he is listed as being from Tepeticpac in Gibson is surprising and potentially contradictory to the relationship between Zacarías and Ocotelolco, as shown in the Lilly Tlaxcala Map. The reference to Zacarías as a Castilian in this context most likely refers to his name; instead of using his Indian name, his Castilian name has been used. All of the visual and written evidence in the Lilly Tlaxcala Map indicates that Don Zacarías is a noble Tlaxcalan native, not a Spaniard/Castilian.

⁴³ Brotherston, *Footprints*, 74–76. This translation from Nahuatl was done by Aaron Dziubinskyj.

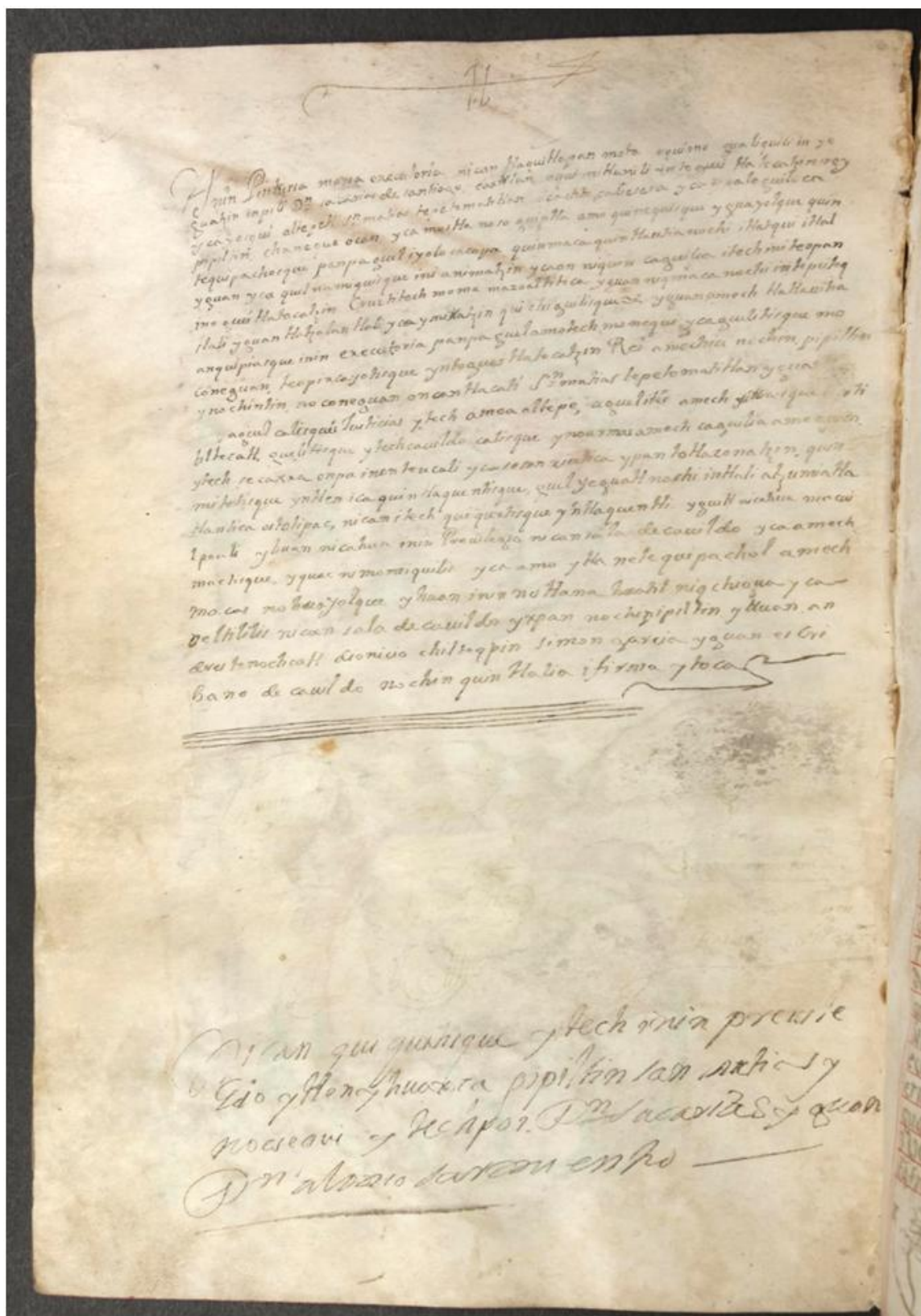


Figure 3. Folio 2 verso. Written in Nahuatl, this explanatory note was likely added to the image sometime after the map's creation. Vellum, c. 25 x 36 cm. Used by permission of the Lilly Library, Indiana University.

A noble Indian man named Don Zacarías de Santiago, likely the same one referred to in the Lilly Tlaxcala Map and letter, is listed as Indian Governor (*gobernador*) in Gibson's well researched list of the succession of Indian Governors, the highest political office, which rotated between the ruling *cabeceras*, the four ruling "houses" of Tlaxcala.⁴⁴ Remember that Tlaxcala was placed directly under the crown, and all political positions were held by Indians until Muñoz Camargo's rule in 1608. The only inconsistency between Gibson's information and the Lilly Tlaxcala Map is the focus on Ocotelolco's importance as the ruling *cabecera*, as evidenced by the large coat of arms in the center of the image. The Don Zacarías de Santiago listed in Gibson is clearly from a different *cabecera*, Tepetícpac. That Don Zacarías de Santiago ruled in 1580 – 1581, then again in 1589 – 1590, and finally in 1594. This ambiguity leads to multiple possible interpretations of the Indian image and text. Perhaps the coat of arms in the image belongs to Tepetícpac, not Ocotelolco; the man could represent a different Don Zacarías de Santiago; or this Don Zacarías, from the Tepetícpac *cabecera*, is the outgoing ruler, leaving the turn to rule to the *cabecera* of Ocotelolco, which succeeded him in all three of his turns as the *gobernador*. The latter seems most likely, given all the indications that point to Ocotelolco, such as the place name glyph of the tree "ocotl" and Brotherston's assertion that the coat of arms clearly belongs to Ocotelolco, while keeping in mind that Don Zacarías de Santiago came from the *cabecera* of Tepetícpac. Following this logic, the possible dates of production for this map would correspond with the times that Don Zacarías left office: either 1582, 1590, or 1594. The *mapa*, then, would postdate the letter by at least twenty years.

Conclusions

Analyzing the material together—considering that the Spanish letter and the illustration with the Nahuatl text on the reverse side are literally sewn together—presents a plurality of voices in accord favoring a similar aim, namely upholding what was promised to the Tlaxcalans. In the Spanish letter, the king of Spain affirms the privileges that Cortés promised the Tlaxcalans: the title of Don; an income; and equally important, autonomy and respect. In the Nahuatl letter, one of the forefathers of Tlaxcala, in a hyper-Christianized tone, affirms his descendants' rights to the land and urges them to build a *cabildo* there. And finally in the map we see a clear designation of ownership, demarcating a continuing indigeneity alongside an increasing European presence—not to mention the possible references to the four ruling houses of Tlaxcala. The Spanish letter must have been produced first and then the map second. In their original format they may not have been sewn together; they may not even have had anything to do with each other. Elizabeth Hill Boone informs us that, "Most surviving censuses, cadasters, and tribute records . . . seem to have entered the Spanish administrative and legal system in some manner, having been gathered by *visitas*,

⁴⁴ Gibson, 224–229, cites multiple archival sources which all corroborate that Don Zacarías de Santiago was from the *cabecera* of Tepetícpac, and not from Ocotelolco. His sources include the *Registro de instrumentos públicos* in Tlaxcala's *Archivo General*, *Historia cronológica de la N.C de Tlaxcala en mexicano*, *Anales Antiguos de México y sus contornos*, and the *Archivo General de la nación* (México).

entered into court cases, and the like.”⁴⁵ They may have been joined together by chance, since they both dealt with Tlaxcala. However, given that both documents mention the same Don Zacarías de Santiago, it seems likely that they were joined on purpose.

That brings me to the most important question: were the Tlaxcalans successful in obtaining what they requested? In spite of this clear legal documentation affirming Tlaxcalan privileges, often those privileges were infringed upon or minimized. Josefina García summarizes this attitude well in the introduction to the 1983 reprint of *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* stating that perhaps the only real privilege was that of not going under the *encomienda* system.⁴⁶ This contrasted to what most other Indians experienced under Spanish rule. The fragmentation of colonial rule was tripartite; crown, viceroyalty, and the *República de Indios* (Indian Government). Each would test the limits of its control by contradicting or ignoring the influence of the others. The now famous saying “I obey, but I don’t comply” (*obedezco pero no cumplo*), reflects this attitude of disdain on behalf of local authorities and magistrates toward the crown’s interference in local matters. However, this complicated fragmentation of power was not the only factor that impeded justice from being done. Equally important was the delay in handling matters that came before the king. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* states, “Royal orders that departed from ordinary Tlaxcalan practice were often disregarded. In other cases, the king’s approval postdated by years or even decades the actual practice of laws in Tlaxcala.”⁴⁷ Thus the Tlaxcalans likely saw more immediate results from their local (Indian) *gobernador* or the viceroy of New Spain, in the event that they needed to go outside the independent Tlaxcalan Indian government, for matters such as encroaching settlers.

In short, although the claims made by Don Zacarías in the *mapa* are supported by the king’s earlier letter, the long-term results of the decree are unknown. Historically contextualizing this decree and the rest of this document among other related documents, as shown throughout this paper, the sad truth arises that claims made by Indians in an Indian-controlled territory, or decrees from a king an ocean away in Iberia, were often not fully respected by the new colonial society of New Spain. This truth is evidenced by multiple claims, by Indians, Peninsulars, Creoles, and Mestizos alike, and multiple decrees from the crown throughout the colonial period. However, royal recognition was sometimes manifested, as in 1563 and 1585 when coats of arms and the title of Don were officially bestowed upon Alonso Sarmiento and Zacarías Santiago, respectively.⁴⁸

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⁴⁵ Boone and Cummins, 179.

⁴⁶ Josefina García Quintana, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, edited by Mario de la Torre (Mexico: Cartón y Papel, 1983), 23.

⁴⁷ Gibson, 65.

⁴⁸ Sixteenth-Century Spanish Grants of Armorial Bearings to Indigenous Mexican Indians Home Page: <http://home.pacbell.net/nelsnfam/mexico.htm>.

The Tower of Babylon: The Creation of Identity in the Aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot

By Errin T. Stegich

To *Englands Gracious God* adref this Prayer;
Great God, who hitherto hast fav'd this Land,
Oh! stretch out still thy all Protecting Hand:
Keep safe our Sovereign from Hell and Rome
And ne'r let *Popery* into *England* come.¹

The discovery and failure of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 has been a topic of much historical analysis and discussion for the past four-hundred years. Countless volumes of history and research have been devoted to the story of the conspiracy, each offering an innovative historiographical approach to the character and demise of Guy Fawkes and his co-conspirators. But what made the Gunpowder Plot so abhorrent was its attempt to destroy the very symbols—as well as the reality—of stability in Jacobean England. The failed conspiracy represented more than an attack on the “royal person” of the king, the royal family, and Parliament; it also constituted an attack on the state. And even though the “symbols” of a stable government continued to exist in England before and after the discovery of the plot, the plot shattered this pretense of security. By attempting to destroy the Houses of Parliament, the physical embodiment of the English governmental achievement, the conspirators effectively sought to destroy what they saw as their contemporary “Tower of Babylon.” The Gunpowder plotters were born Englishmen, natives to the country and government that they desperately sought to destroy, both structurally and physically.

Shortly after the discovery of the plot, the Act for Public Thanksgiving was passed in Parliament; and it cemented the Protestant conviction that their faith was the true faith. English Protestants were convinced that God had delivered both, King and Parliament, safely from the snares of the Devil himself, namely the Pope. With the passing of the Act for Public Thanksgiving, a tradition was started in Stuart England to annually unleash anti-Catholic sentiment on November fifth. It is through these sermons, such as John Donne’s “1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon,” that a type of radicalization and redefinition on subjecthood took place during the seventeenth century;

¹ “Faux’s Ghost: Or, Advice to Papists.” (London: Printed for Mr. Benlkin, in Green’s Renis, 1680), 4.

this process shaped a wary and anxious English identity especially in times of great political and social upheaval. By viewing the Gunpowder Plot from the historical lens of sermons given throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the commemoration of an event such as the “deliverance of the kingdom” from the snares of a Catholic conspiracy. The commemoration of the discovery of the failed plot was shaped most notably by the public sermons preached in the Houses of Parliament and those preached within the city of London itself. The state’s annual definition of treason, and the discussion thereof, is an essential component to understanding the rhetoric and discourse used at the national level in defining the state and notions of sovereignty. By looking at Gunpowder Plot sermons during the first half of the seventeenth century and by examining their language and symbolism at critical junctures of political and social unrest in an event like the English Civil War, it becomes clear that the fifth of November was an event that could be deployed in a variety of circumstances to reinforce the temporal and spiritual authority of the king. The focus on Gunpowder Plot sermons given in Parliament and in the city of London during this period illustrates how the central seat of government sought to commemorate the failure of the Gunpowder Plot as a symbol of the stability of the government and to disseminate that desire to the periphery.

The fifth of November 1605 marked the triumphant deliverance of the English monarchy and Protestantism over Catholicism; this “deliverance” was essential to an anti-Catholic discourse that was developed over the course of the early modern period.² But the rhetoric of treason and the definition of “subjecthood” were not discourses shaped in the seventeenth century alone.³ In fact, the definition of “Englishness” had undergone a significant transformation during the sixteenth century principally during the reigns of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also marked a redefinition of what the word “treason” meant; moreover they stand out as a period that redefined the subject’s relationship to the state—this in turn determined what the symbols of the English government actually meant. The more government sought to control and define what the idea of “subject” meant, the more resistance to the pressures of conformity was expressed. Rebecca Lemon has argued in *Treason by Words*, that crises of treason in the early modern period were really crises of sovereignty, because they called into question the rights of subjects: liberty, law and conscience.⁴ Lemon argues that the state used the threat of

² In the course of just thirty-five years, seven failed regicidal attempts took place against the monarchy; four during the reign of Queen Elizabeth alone. For more on anti-Catholic discourse in early modern England, see Arthur Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourse in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

³ My use of the term “subjecthood” refers to those who were subject to the Crown; this is not to be confused with notions of citizenship as discussed by Patrick Collinson’s essay “The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 69 (1987): 394-424, which argues that the idea of active citizenship in England was socially inclusive by the close of the sixteenth century. Quentin Skinner commented further on the relationship between active citizenship and the control of rhetoric by positing that there “was a particularly close connection between a mastery of rhetoric and capacity for good citizenship,” in his work *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 87. See also Markku Peltonen, “Rhetoric and Citizenship in the Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I,” in *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2007), ed. John F. McDiarmid, 109-128.

⁴ Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare’s England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 5.

treason to justify its own expansion at the expense of the emerging rights of its subjects—this is clearly evident in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.⁵ When King Henry VIII broke from the Roman Catholic Church and passed the Act of Supremacy in 1534, he redefined the idea of treason such that not only could treason be defined by specific physical action against the king or his ministers, treason also could involve an expression of words, an utterance of discontent or disagreement with the king's authority. Given the political and religious instability of this period in Henry VIII's reign, it is not surprising that the monarch sought to effectively quell dissent in his realm. The idea of a "sacred oath" of loyalty to the king was an idea carried over from England's medieval past, and it became a vital aspect of shaping the next hundred and fifty years of England's history especially in terms of defining what the term "English" meant. In the aftermath of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, it necessary for those in power to ensure that the definition of subjecthood embodied both a "national Protestant memory" and, more importantly, a popular recognition of a collective "English" past. What this meant to those who experienced the first half of the seventeenth century, was that the individual relationship between subject and state was defined by a complete and utter denial of England's shared past with what would at the time be considered "popery."⁶

The political and social denial of England's shared past and association with Rome was defined with the issuance of the "Oath of Allegiance" in June 1606.⁷ The "Oath" prescribed in addition to the protection of the king's royal person, that the taker would publically swear to disclose all treasonous acts and conspiracies directed at the king and that no prince, in spite of his relations with the Pope. The Oath of Allegiance was extremely effective in repressing recusancy because it required a public oath to be taken, therefore it is not surprising that the numbers of conformists rose sharply in 1606 shortly after its issuance as harsher fines for recusancy were imposed; additionally, those who failed to publically take the Oath would be found guilty of high treason. The Oath was intended to target those (i.e. Catholics) who believed that heretical rulers could be deposed of or killed by their subjects—this meant that one could not be temporally loyal to the Protestant monarchy while simultaneously being spiritually loyal to the papacy.⁸

⁵ Lemon, 22.

⁶ Ernst Gellner's work on nineteenth-century nationalism sheds some light on this delicate but yet formative relationship between "traitors" and "citizens." Gellner has aptly posited that the relationship between the state and its subjects is formed by notions of nationalism and identity; these shape the formation and course of the state, not the reverse. If Gellner's argument is applied to the conceptualization of subjecthood in seventeenth-century England, his assertion implies that this relationship is shaped by individual perceptions of authority and a reconciliation of consciousness and spiritual conscience to the whole. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 4.

⁷ The *Oath of Allegiance* was the culmination of two bills passed by Parliament: the first, that all persons suspected of recusancy would be guilty of high treason; and second, that recusants were not allowed to remain within ten miles of London unless summoned by the king, they could not practice law or medicine, be in the service of the king, or possess gunpowder beyond the means of personal protection.

⁸ King James I was not the only English monarch to issue a public bond/oath of allegiance during the early modern period. Queen Elizabeth I issued the Bond of Association (1584) and the Act of Association (1587) after the discovery of two failed plots against her royal person—the Throckmorton Plot (1583) and the Babington Plot (1586). Eventually King James I issued a national apology for the Oath of Allegiance in 1608. W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 82.

Upon the first Sunday after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, the first of hundreds of sermons was delivered at St. Paul's Cross in the city of London, which had served as the public stage for all matters of state, both secular and spiritual since the reign of Henry VIII.⁹ The sermon was given by William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester (1603) and a prebendary at Westminster. Barlow played an integral part in the translation of the New Testament epistles in the King James Bible; he was described by his contemporaries as "one of the ripest in learning, of all his predecessors."¹⁰ The context and immediacy of Barlow's sermon made it a bastion of absolutism: it contained numerous references to divine right and to the anointed sovereignty of the King. In Barlow's dedication to the reader, he praised the king for his "wonderfull mercy, in preferuing [the people] from this *terrible blowe* . . . from [the] desperate, dreadfull, and damnable attempt" against the monarchy.¹¹ Of the first points Barlow made clear was that of the sacred pact between God and his anointed kings: the covenant. This was a reference to both the elect Kingdom of Israel (in comparison to England) and to the pact between the holy individual (the subject of the nation) and the state. It is obvious that Barlow appealed to the sensibilities of James I, as he referenced two significant Scottish reformers in the introductory lines of the text, John Knox and George Buchanan; he refers to a "blaft of this triumphing *Trumpet*: wherein, as hee wanted to winde to found out, by particular enumeration, all his feveral Deliverances,"¹² in terms of how both England and Scotland had been delivered from the snares of heretic Catholic queens during the sixteenth century.¹³

According to Barlow, there were two characteristics of "deliverance": the "pluralitie" and the "qualitie" as he relates the recent discovery of the Gunpowder Plot to the story of Cain and Abel. The manner in which the conspiracy was meant to be carried out is described by Barlow as "beast-like," *ferina rabies*,¹⁴ as gunpowder is the invention of the Devil himself. And since the fire would have come from below the Houses of Parliament, it indicates that it was "fent from the infernall pit."¹⁵ If the explosion had been successful, it would have denied the sinners in Parliament the sacrament of repentance. By denying the members of Parliament and the royal family their last rights as members of the Protestant faith (the King of course, was innocent of all sin), the

⁹ Edwin Beresford Chancellor; Edward A. Foord; H. E. Powell-Jones, *St. Paul's Cathedral, Vol. 10* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1925), 128.

¹⁰ Sir John Harrington, *Nugæ Antiquæ: Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers, in Prose and Verse; Written during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, Elizabeth, and King James* (London: J. Wright, 1804), 197.

¹¹ William Barlow, *The Sermon Preached at Paules Croffe, the tenth day of November, being the next Sunday after the Discoverie of this late Horrible Treason* (London: Printed for Mathew Lowe, 1606), A5.

¹² This part of the introduction makes a clear comparison to John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet, Or Against the Rule of Women*, a misogynistic piece intended to warn and disgrace Catholic queens. George Buchanan (1506-1582) was converted to the Protestant cause in Scotland; he served as tutor to Mary, Queen of Scots and later, during the reign of King James VI, was made Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland. Although closely tied to the Scottish monarchy, Buchanan remained a firm believer in the monarchomach cause, those who believed in justified tyrannicide and an early form of "popular sovereignty," or, social contract government. Barlow, B1.

¹³ Queen Mary I of England; Mary, Queen of Scots.

¹⁴ *Ferina*: flesh of wild animals; *rabies*: frenzied.

¹⁵ Barlow, C3-C4.

explosion would have been a “*Baptifmum sanguinis*, . . . a *Holocaust*,” a sacrifice to the wrath of God—all would have been condemned to Hell.¹⁶

The conclusion of Barlow’s sermon returns to a similar rhetoric used by supporters of divine right. He compares the members of Parliament to the stars in the heavens—for they represent the light of the realm—the conspiracy, as it was carried out in darkness indicates the work of the Devil; Barlow states, “A *Realme* without a *Monarch*, as the *Skie without the Sunne*, is a clowde of darkneffe of confufion.”¹⁷ Harkening back to the ancient world, Barlow recounts the story of the Falerians in Plutarch’s *Lives* and their ignorance of the traitor within their city walls who sought to turn them over to the Roman emperor Marcus Furius Camillus.¹⁸ Camillus, because he was a man of honor, did not take the city through the betrayer’s treachery as rightful victory could only be honorably earned either through open war, edict, or law. The Gunpowder Plot conspiracy was most dishonorable because it sought to gain through treachery and designs that could only be carried out by a “vermin of the basest fort, a very *Tenebrio*, the *flave* of darkneffe.”¹⁹ When Guy Fawkes was discovered in the basement vault, it was as if God himself had presented the traitor and the rest of the conspirators to the light of the kingdom. Finally, Barlow refers to the gospels, specifically that of *Mat. 7[24:27]*; and it is here that Barlow offers perhaps the most poignant analogy of the entire sermon in terms of the symbols of English government. He contends that the conspirators built their foundation upon grains of sand while Parliament was built upon a foundation of rock: it could withstand the blow because the King was anointed by God, “hee is a King, and that he is *Gods King*,” he (James I) is a sacred person; moreover that “the liues of the whole *Nation* are contained in the *Kings person*.”²⁰

When Parliament reassembled in late January 1606, a bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Montagu. After delivering a compelling speech on the deliverance (clearly inspired by Barlow’s sermon just months before), Montagu proposed that there should be an official commemoration of the fifth of November, to remind all Englishmen that God had acted in favor of the Protestant faith by delivering them from what now had become a Catholic, and more importantly foreign, conspiracy. The bill was passed with little contention and was signed into law before any of the plot conspirators were executed. The “Act for a Public Thanksgiving to Almighty God every Year on the Fifth of November” became a statute, fostering an early form of English-Protestant nationalism that united Protestant Englishmen against the threat of a foreign Catholic conspiracy to assassinate a legitimate monarch.

As one of the most prominent writers in contemporary Jacobean England, John Donne became an Anglican priest in 1615 (mostly at the personal persistence of King James I); six years later in 1621, Donne was appointed to the position of Dean at St. Paul’s Cathedral. The following year, Donne composed a sermon that was intended to be delivered on the fifth of November in the

¹⁶ *Baptifmum*: baptism; *sanguinis*: from/of blood.

¹⁷ Barlow, D1.

¹⁸ Fl. 396–367 B.C.

¹⁹ *Tenebrio*: meal worm. Barlow, D.

²⁰ “Therefore everyone who hears these words of mine and puts them into practice is like a wise man who built his house on the rock. The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house; yet it did not fall, because it had its foundation on the rock.” *Matthew* 7:24–25. Barlow, D4; E2.

public churchyard, but it was “delivered inside the Cathedral on account of bad weather.”²¹ But what makes Donne’s sermon intriguing to the discussion of the conceptualization of subjecthood in Jacobean England is that it was commissioned by King James I shortly after the issuance of his *Directions to Preachers*. The audience of Donne’s 1622 Gunpowder Plot sermon was explicitly taught examples of duty and obedience from one King James I’s selected clergymen; they were taught that duty included trusting the king and the rhetoric used by his Church. Donne’s position as Dean placed him in an extremely prominent position to achieve the ecclesiastical obedience that King James I sought as it was declared that:

noe preacher of what title or demoniac[i]on soever shall presume from henceforth in any Auditory within this kingdome to declare, lymit, or bound out by way of positive doctrine in any lecture or sermon, the power prerogative jurisdic[ci]on Authoritie or Duty of Sovereigne princes, or otherwise meddle with theise matters of State, & the references between princes & their people, than as they are instructed and presided.²²

Donne’s Gunpowder Plot sermon, although delivered on the anniversary of the fifth of November, was never published during the reign of King James I: it remained unpublished until 1649 when it was printed as “Sermon XLIII” in Donne’s *Fifty Sermons* by legal issue.²³

In terms of the rhetoric used in 1622 Thanksgiving sermon, Donne used similar language to that of Barlow. After a lengthy discussion of the kingdom of Samuel in the Old Testament, maintaining that a monarchy was best fitted for governance because it was what God had prescribed for the Kingdom of Israel. He states, “a kingdome vnder another head beside the king, is not a kingdome, as ours is,” clearly marking that no true kingdom of God, of the elect could be godly whilst still subject to a foreign prince, most pointedly, the pope.²⁴ Donne also makes reference to the tragedy of regicide in lands subject to the papacy, he recounts the death of “the French *Henries*,” who despite their tolerance in the religious turmoil of their reigns were “good to [Catholics],” but it did not “rescue eyther of them, from the knife.”²⁵ Donne maintains that it is the duty of the king’s subjects to remain faithful in both their speech and in the spirit for the king “is that breathe, that life,” and therefore all such things within the kingdom belong to him and commands that an honest subject will “speake good of his name.”²⁶

Donne’s 1622 sermon reserves the notion of deliverance until the last few hundred lines of the speech:

²¹ Jeanne Shami, *John Donne’s 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1996), 11.

²² King James I of England, *Directions for Preachers*, as printed in *King James VI and I: Selected Writings*, 383.

²³ Ironically, John Donne’s *Fifty Sermons* was published after the execution of King Charles I. Shami, 4.

²⁴ John Donne, *MS Royal 17.B.XX*, as printed in Jeanne Shami’s *John Donne’s 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon*, lines 233-246; 251-255; and 320-326.

²⁵ Henry III of France, assassinated by Jaques Clément, a fanatical Dominican friar, in 1589; Henry IV of France, murdered by François Ravallac, a Catholic zealot, in 1610. Two unsuccessful attempts were made at the French monarchy in the late sixteenth century: one in 1593 by Pierre Barrière; another in 1594 by Jean Châtel. Donne, lines 650-652.

²⁶ Donne, lines 848-852.

so god did not shake vs with the danger, till he established vs with the deliuerance. and by his Seruant and our Soueraine, the blessed meanes of the disouery, and the deliuerance, he hath directed vs in all apprehensions of dangers, to rely vpon that Wisedome in Ciuil affaires of state.²⁷

This passage asserts that no such conspiracy would have (or could have) existed had it not already been predetermined that King and kingdom would be delivered from the treachery of the conspiracy. The sermon claims that it was because of King James I's wisdom in secular affairs that he foresaw and prevented the plot from being successful; this denies Barlow's retelling of the discovery in the vault was insightfully triggered by the appearance of the "Monteagle Letter."²⁸ The implications are two-fold: first, that the king (James I) was solely responsible for the "deliverance" of his kingdom from the plot; and second, that it is the duty of an English subject not to publicly or privately utter any words that could be considered treasonous or seditious.

But what does Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot sermon tell us about the final few years of the reign of King James I? We must take a step back and revisit the year 1614, the year of the "Addled Parliament."²⁹ One of the greatest problems King James I faced upon his accession to the English throne was his interaction with Parliament. Because of the on-going dispute between King and Parliament over the rights to impositions and monopolies, there was never any resolution of the kingdom's finances and debt. After the dissolution of Parliament in 1614, James I ruled England on his own with substantial success; it was only because of the outbreak of the Thirty Years War that Parliament was once again called during his lifetime in 1621. The anniversary of the fifth of November coincides with the dissolution of James's third Parliament, and Donne's sermon expresses a clear definition of the king's prerogative in all affairs, both public and private.

The national government used the failure of the Gunpowder Plot as an instrument of recalling an English-Protestant past during the first half of the seventeenth century. The commemoration of the plot provided an annual temporal and spiritual reminder of how close the kingdom and government had come to destruction; this was tactic that would increasingly become more important during the English Civil War. As more radical tracts of political and social thought

²⁷ Donne, lines 1355-1362.

²⁸ Much debate continues over the authorship of the "Monteagle Letter." Many scholars suspect the author is Francis Thresham, the brother-in-law of William Parker, Lord Monteagle. The letter reads as follows: "My Lord, out of the Love I bear to some of your friends I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you as you tender your life to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament, for God and man hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement but retire yourself into your country where you may expect the event in safety, for though there be no appearance of any stir yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned because it may do you good and can do you no harm for the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt this letter and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it to whose holy protection I commend you." Printed in James Sharpe's *Remember, Remember: A Cultural History of Guy Fawkes Day* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 58.

²⁹ The "Addled Parliament" met for a mere eight weeks between April 5 and June 7, 1614. For a larger discussion of the role of the House of Commons and the development of a national revolutionary party and nationalism during the reign of King James I, see Williams M. Mitchell, *The Rise of the Revolutionary Party in the English House of Commons, 1603-1629* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958); for more on the failures of the Addled Parliament and its interaction with a national discourse and confrontations with King Charles I of England, see Thomas L. Moir, *The Addled Parliament of 1614* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

began to be published by the middle of the seventeenth century, it is not surprising that the English government under Charles I used the collective memory of the conspiracy to hearken back to an era in which the world seemed “more stable.” This state-sponsored mentality became especially crucial during a period of great political and social upheaval that called into question the legitimate authority of the king over his subjects.

It can easily be argued that the reign of James I’s successor, his second son Charles I, was one of the most turbulent in all of English history. The dispute over the prerogatives and rights of the king over Parliament from the time of his father’s reign plagued Charles and eventually resulted in the onset of the Bishop’s Wars in Scotland (1639-1640), the establishment of the Long Parliament (1640-1660), and the outbreak of the First English Civil War (1642-1646). As the war became more radicalized during the years of 1645-1653, there was a “great overturning, questioning, and revaluing of everything in England”—this allowed for more radical ideas to emerge because the press was not censored but it was heavily controlled by the Parliamentary government.³⁰

The annual Gunpowder Plot sermon in 1646 was delivered in the House of Commons³¹ by William Strong, a member of the Assembly of Divines.³² Strong was chosen as one of the additional divines after he was forced to flee his home at Dorsetshire for London after it had been raided by “cavaliers.” Strong was described by his contemporaries as both a “godly, able, and faithful Minister of Christ,”³³ and “so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study . . . so eminently qualified for all the duties of the ministerial office, that he did not know his equal.”³⁴ Strong’s dedicatory is wrought with “Puritan-esque” symbolism by referring to the sinfulness of the English people: “[two] great evils God hath blamed in his people in all Ages, unthankfulneffe for mercies, and wantoneffe under them.”³⁵ Strong’s preamble compares England before the civil war to a state much like ancient Babylon. He describes the justice of God and recalls his “former judgments” that delivered the people of Israel to Zion. This is one of the first mentions of Zionism in comparison to the English state: it clearly implies, by way of analogy, that it is the right of Englishmen to self-determination—thereby legitimizing the efforts of the Parliamentary cause.

³⁰ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Group, 1972), 14. For a further discussion of the other side of the debate on the role of the government and censorship during the First Civil War, see Anthony Milton, “Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England,” *The Historical Journal* 41/3 (September 1998), 625-651.

³¹ St. Paul’s Cross Cathedral had been destroyed in 1643 by the Puritans. Although the specific date of its destruction is unknown, it would be fair to assume it was destroyed after the issuance of *Licensing Order of 1643* on June 16.

³² The Assembly of the Divines (1643-1649) had been appointed by the Long Parliament to restructure the Anglican Church to make it more “uniform.” The assembly became effective by law without the consent of Charles I, and it represented part of the Puritan faction in the Houses. The Assembly of Divines, although it had some Puritan leanings, did fairly represent other religious factions including Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Erastians.

³³ Benjamin Brook, *The lives of the Puritans: containing a biographical account of those divines who distinguished themselves in the cause of religious liberty, from the reformation under Queen Elizabeth, to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, Volume III* (London: Printed for James Black, 1813), 197.

³⁴ Obadiah Sedgwick, “Strong’s funeral sermon” as printed in Brook, 197.

³⁵ William Strong, *The Commemoration and Exaltation of Mercy delivered in a sermon preached to the Honourable, the House of Commons, at Margarets Weftminster, Novemb. 5. 1646. Being the day of their publike thanksgiving, for that ominent and Ancient Mercy, the Deliverance of them, and the whole Kingdome in them, from the Popijh and Hellijh Conspiracy of the Powder Treason* (London: Printed for Francis Tyton, 1646), A2.

Strong also wrote that with a return to “our old fins, we can expect nothing but an utter destruction, that as to *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*, God should leave us no remnant nor escaping”; in other words, a reversion to an absolutist state (and one that was less “puritan”) would bring destruction to both the community of believers and to the entire kingdom.³⁶

Strong’s 1646 sermon was written during a period that saw a laxity in censorship despite governmental efforts to supervise the publication of documents relating to ecclesiastical affairs; it is one of the first Thanksgiving sermons to claim that:

Our [England’s] Enemy being the greatest Monarch of the Earth, and we in as low a condition as could bee, *prisoners in a pit, dry bones, wormes*, who none loved . . . in this condition we had been for seventy years . . . and seemed *ad mancipium nati, home-borne slaves*, who had not only lost our liberty, but our hope too.³⁷

This passage relates that the current (Parliamentarian) government had delivered the kingdom from the bondage of a tyrannical monarchy—it was a new type of Protestant “deliverance” inspired both by Puritan militarism and millenarianism. Millenarianism, or the belief in Christ’s Second Coming and a Kingdom of Heaven that will last for one-thousand years, was a religious doctrine that gained significant popularity during the English Civil War and was essential to Puritan dogma during the early modern period. For this reason, it seems almost self-evident that there would be references to the Book of Revelation in Strong’s sermon, referencing the “*scarlet coloured beast, [that is] arrayed in scarlet coloured garments*” clearly a reference to the papacy.³⁸ This type of language represents a significant departure from Gunpowder Plot sermons of the earlier part of the century. As Donne had begun his 1622 sermon with a quote taken from the Book of Lamentations, verse 4:20: “The breath of our Nostrills, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pitts.”³⁹ Strong’s 1646 sermon, uses the very same reference, but instead of asserting that the king is the “light of [England’s] eyes,” Parliament was now the “light” of the nation.⁴⁰

For England, the first half of the seventeenth century marked a period of social and political instability despite governmental and ecclesiastical measures aimed at maintaining and suppressing dissent and resistance to authoritative institutions. The Gunpowder Plot revealed that a real threat existed against King James I’s absolutist-Protestant monarchy. Mark Kishlansky has argued that the seventeenth century of Stuart rule clarified the role of the monarchy, the development of central institutions of state, and the position of the governing elites.⁴¹ Two revolutions were

³⁶ Strong, B2.

³⁷ *Ad mancipium nati*: were born to the possession of his slave (kingdom). Strong, B2.

³⁸ Strong, C5.

³⁹ John Donne, *MS Royal 17.B.22*, as printed in Jeanne Shami’s *John Donne’s 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon*, 45.

⁴⁰ A widely-held belief, especially among Fifth Monarchists in England, held that the year 1666 marked the start of the Apocalypse. Events like civil war, rebellion, plague, famine, and fire were tell-tale signs of Christ’s Second Coming. See N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 164-168; K. Krabbenhoft, “Syncretism and Millennium in Herrera’s Kabbalah,” in M. Goldish, ed.; R. H. Popkin, ed., *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture* Vol. I, *Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World* (Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2010), 65-76; Strong, C3.

⁴¹ Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603 – 1714* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1996), 338.

necessary for this achievement to take place to effectively alter the relationship in England between the Crown and its subjects. Reactions to laws and acts passed by Parliament during the first half of the century clearly show that the central government (both royal and Parliamentary) was simultaneously seeking to establish itself as the supreme authority in all matters of politics, society, and religion while defining a conceptualization of the ideal English “subject.” It also shows, that until the end of the seventeenth century and with the Glorious Revolution in 1688, that England’s transformation from a medieval state was a slow and agonizing metamorphosis—it took a civil war, the execution of a king, the experiment of a commonwealth, and the abdication of a king, to re-secure stability in the realm. And while the Gunpowder Plot was commemorated annually by Parliamentary statute, the language and discourse surrounding notions of sovereign and subject underwent a similar metamorphosis, constantly changing to fit the rhetoric necessary to legitimize the rule of those in power.

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The Triumph of Appetite: Authority and Jonsonian Excess in Bartholomew Fair

By Jay Simons

In Act 4, scene iv, of *Bartholomew Fair*, several characters participate in “vapours,” a game that consists of contradicting whatever the previous speaker says. In response to a statement made by Quarlous ending with the word “exceedingly,” Wasp retorts, “No exceeding neither, sir,” at which Knockem declares, “No, that vapour is too lofty” (4.4.110-112).¹ Taken in the context of the play as a whole (and granted meaning, which is absent in the game of vapours), this is a telling exchange, for the denial of excess is “too lofty” to be a tenable position in the world of *Bartholomew Fair*. The fair is a nexus of appetite—“for food, for sex, for novelty, for triumph over others.”² And with appetite comes consumption, and, inevitably, in this unrestrained environment, excess consumption. The vapours game is itself an exercise in excess, a game that, played well or poorly, encourages both verbal and physical violence. Wherever one turns in the *Fair*, one is confronted by excess of one kind or another.

A play bloated by such excess would seem to be fertile ground for a biting satire against consumption. *Bartholomew Fair* is not this kind of play; so what is it? It is a satirical comedy, to be sure, one that targets Puritans, the enemies of the theater. Robert Watson sees Jonson’s shift from targeting his rivals to attacking the opponents of theater as a reaction to his realization that he had been supporting the Puritan’s position with his criticism of the absurdities of his fellow playwrights.³ This assessment may be true, but it does not account for the triumph of appetite we see in *Bartholomew Fair*. Puritans may be the enemies of excess, and many forms of consumption, but their objections are not the only ones overthrown in the play. In fact, figures of authority are even more prominent satirical targets. All the major figures of authority (one of them a Puritan)

¹ All references to the play are to the edition by G. R. Hibbard (London: A & C Black, reprint 1991) and will be given parenthetically in the text.

² David Bevington, Introduction to *Bartholomew Fair*, in *English Renaissance Drama*, ed. David Bevington, et. al. (New York: Norton, 2002), 964.

³ Robert Watson, *Ben Jonson’s Parodic Strategy: Literary Imperialism in the Comedies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), chapter 6, “*Bartholomew Fair*: The Theater of Forgiveness and the Forgiveness of Theater,” 139. Watson believes the failures of the play’s authority figures stem from their attempts to rewrite the play and to take on authorial roles, not from appetite and excessive consumption, as I argue in this essay.

see their authority undermined by excess. A better explanation for the unusual dynamics of the play is to be found in Jonson's own contradictory stance. As Bruce Boehrer puts it, Jonson "live[s] in two worlds at once." On the one hand, Jonson sees himself as a moral critic, an instructor of the upper classes. Much of his satire is based on this supposition. On the other hand, patronage exigencies require him to promote and even participate in the conspicuous consumption of the upper classes.⁴ In the authority figures of *Bartholomew Fair*, we see the tension between these two positions played out; nowhere else in Jonson do appetite and consumption so thoroughly trump authority. This overthrow of authority in the cases of Wasp, Busy, and Overdo is what makes this play less harshly satirical than other Jonsonian comedies, and "more of a celebration of *la comedie humaine*."⁵

Jonson's language itself often seems to be bursting with excess. Volpone's exultant cry after some successful swindling, "Why, this is better than rob churches, yet, / Or fat by eating, once a month, a man" (1.5.91-92) is classic Jonson.⁶ Such phrases abound in *Bartholomew Fair* as well. For example, Ursula's threat to Mooncalf, "I'll both baste and roast you till your eyes drop out" (2.5.64-65), comparing him to one of her pigs, echoes the cannibalistic excess of Volpone's exclamation. However, in *Bartholomew Fair* this kind of language functions differently than it does in earlier plays, where it contributes to satirical characterizations of morally corrupt characters. The evils of moral degradation are softened in the play, and the characters who attempt to establish themselves on the high ground see it crumble beneath their feet. Quarlous is the closest thing to a center of moral authority, but even he is flawed. I conclude, with Watson, that "it is appropriate that a play so resistant to the controls of moral precisionism would have no precisely moral controlling figure." Bevington argues that Quarlous, Winwife, and Grace "occupy the needed point of view of cultural sophistication in Jonsonian comedy."⁷ However, not even these characters remain aloof from the fair, a place that enables Grace to be bought and sold, like a commodity, in a manner better suited to her liking. Ultimately, there is no point of view that is not subsumed or otherwise tainted by the materialism of the Fair. The three main authority figures—Wasp, Busy, and Overdo—function like satirist figures, denouncing the Fair's excess and folly. However, in their zeal to censure and control appetite, they end up becoming butts of Jonson's satire.

Wasp, tutor to the foolish Cokes, has many of the qualities of a Juvenalian satirist. Irascible, embittered, he is quick to chastise his charge, and anyone else he feels to be deserving of his ire. Wasp has the name, the attitude, and the language: "A resolute fool you are, I know, and a very sufficient coxcomb" (3.4.36-37); "this is scurvy, idle, foolish, and abominable" (1.4.29-30); "you are an ass, sir" (3.5.213). The contentious and cantankerous Wasp never hesitates to voice his harsh disapproval. Cokes, whose folly is the most frequent target of Wasp's censure, epitomizes the unrestrained consumer. At Leatherhead's shop he begins by asking for "six horses" (3.4.67), and moves on to purchase "three Jew's trumps; and half a dozen o' birds, and that drum—I have one

⁴ Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets: Ben Jonson and the Digestive Canal* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 98-99.

⁵ David Bevington, "The Major Comedies," *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 85.

⁶ *Volpone*, in *English Renaissance Drama*, 679-771.

⁷ Watson, 168; Bevington, "The Major Comedies," 86.

drum already" (3.4.69-70). Wasp ironically urges him on to "buy the whole shop, it will be best; the shop, the shop!" (3.4.74-75). This is exactly what Cokes ends up doing, telling Leatherhead, "I'll buy both it [the shop] and thee too" (3.4.131-132). The acquisitive Cokes suggests that he can buy even human beings at the Fair, a linguistic excess (to accompany his consumerist excess) akin to the lines alluding to cannibalism already mentioned. His "inability to discipline his appetite" seriously inhibits Wasp's ability to control him, evidencing the disruptive effect of appetite on authority in the play. Wasp's failure to control his pupil (and ineffectiveness as a Juvenalian satirist) lies in the fact that Cokes's follies are not vicious crimes.⁸ The naïve young man, while not undeserving of criticism, is dealt with too harshly by his overseer. As it turns out, it is not Cokes's unrestrained consumerism, but Wasp's own unrestrained aggression, that leads to the tutor's downfall.

Wasp reveals that he is not immune to the attractions of the Fair, eagerly participating in the game of vapours. The game is entirely congenial to his personality, and he plays it perfectly. Perhaps a little carried away in its disputatiousness, Wasp insults the watch and is taken into custody. The one-time castigator of folly is himself subjected to correction; his appetite for dispute, strengthened by his gorging on vapours, lands him in the stocks. When Cokes finds out, Wasp's power over him is gone, and Wasp knows it. "[T]he date of my authority is out," he sighs, for "He that will correct another must want fault in himself" (5.4.89-91).⁹ If we imagine this sentiment coming from Jonson's own lips, we may begin to see the logic behind the universal forgiveness of *Bartholomew Fair*.

An incident involving Jonson himself may have served as a model for Wasp's overthrow. Not long before writing *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson had been serving as tutor to a son of Sir Walter Raleigh. While on a tour of the continent, the boy got Jonson so drunk that he was able to have him carted through the streets of Paris, unable to stand. Jonson's humiliation, the direct result of overconsumption, shows up in the similar immobilization of Wasp (in the stocks), who has overindulged in vapours. In the character of Wasp, Jonson may be expressing his own position as author of *Bartholomew Fair*: "He that will correct another must want fault in himself."¹⁰ There is

⁸ The buying and selling of human beings is a common practice in the play; Grace Wellborn, as the ward of Justice Overdo, is commodified, as are Punk Alice and the women persuaded to become prostitutes (Win and Mistress Overdo). For an analysis of both these circumstances and of women as a figure for the marketplace in *Bartholomew Fair* and Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, see Shannon Miller, "Consuming Mothers/Consuming Merchants," *Modern Language Studies* 26.2/3 (1996): 73-97, especially 86-95; Boehrer, 191. As Watson puts it, "The problem for Wasp is that the childishly likeable Cokes does not really seem in danger from any mortal sins," 149.

⁹ See George E. Rowe, *Distinguishing Jonson: Imitation, Rivalry, and the Direction of a Dramatic Career* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 149: "Wasp's ability to watch over Cokes is based upon the apparent gap between his abilities and intellect and those of the fool he is supposed to protect—a gap that gradually erodes as the play progresses and Wasp proves himself at least as foolish as his young companion: he becomes, like Cokes, mesmerized by the sights of the fair—in this case, the game of 'vapours.'"

¹⁰ Kirk Freudenburg, *The Walking Muse: Horace on the Theory of Satire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 211-216, describes the satirist's portrayal of himself as a "low-life," or the equal of those he attacks, as a strategy for enhancing his credibility. The satirist's "own humiliation is central to his mission of leveling and exposure," 212. But this is not exactly what is happening with Wasp, who is not the agent of his own humiliation, which negatively affects his credibility. Inasmuch as Wasp's humiliation recalls Jonson's, Jonson is bringing himself down to the level of the humiliated authority figures in his play, who are themselves brought down to the level of the basest characters.

criticism of Puritans, as always, but the play's rampant excess, a fault of Jonson's as well, goes largely unpunished. The authority figures, who succumb to various appetites, are humbled, but not harshly condemned. Cokes is thoroughly gulled, but most of the self-indulgent denizens of the Fair come out unscathed. Watson believes that "Wasp's humiliation . . . partly represents Jonson's repression of his own censorious tendencies," and that Wasp's relinquishment of his rule parallels "the author's decision to surrender his satiric absolutism at the end of *his* play."¹¹ Jonson's decision not to punish the excesses that had been accruing throughout the play is indeed a departure for the great satirist. Aware of the ability of appetite to undermine authority, the conciliatory (and appetitive) gesture of a supper invitation represents the triumph of appetite in the play. Finding fault in himself, Jonson cannot become like the hypocritical Puritans he disparaged by attempting to correct the same fault in others. The only other route he can take in a play like *Bartholomew Fair* is to celebrate the foibles of humanity, its failures and appetites.

The play's atmosphere of consumption logically begets a number of scatological allusions. Boehrer notes that "Jonson's fair abounds with alimentary entertainment that is always distilling into various kinds of excreta. The poet seems determined to make his characters urinate, defecate, sweat, weep, and drool where they eat."¹² For example, both Win and Mistress Overdo go to Ursula's booth in order to urinate. Significantly, Wasp's favorite insult is "a turd i' your teeth." This expression, suggestive of the consumption of human waste, is especially appropriate to the environment of the Fair. In a place where almost everything is consumable, even excrement, the excess, non-digestable product of consumption, is presented as an item of consumption.

The appetitive nature of the Fair appeals to would-be consumers, not the least of whom is the Puritan hypocrite Zeal-of-the-land Busy. He does not resemble any recognizable type of satirist; rather, he seems to represent the compromised satirist who does not practice what he preaches. As such, Busy is a lot like Jonson, engaging in the very excess he preaches against. Jonson, though, abandons his standard critical, authoritative position in *Bartholomew Fair*, thereby distancing himself from hypocritical characters such as Busy. The Puritan's authority is actually undermined before the play begins, for his true nature is already known. Knockem recognizes Busy and his clan as "right hypocrites, good gluttons" (3.2.107-10), amenable to gorging themselves on pig and ale. Because of his notorious hypocrisy, Leatherhead can tell him "here's no man afraid of you, or your cause" (3.6.99). Right before Busy makes his first appearance, we learn from Littlewit that he is "fast by the teeth i' the cold turkey-pie i' the cupboard, with a great white loaf on his left hand, and a glass of malmsey on his right" (1.6.32-34). The character who rails the most against fleshly temptation is the one who indulges in it the most.

Faced with Win's feigned longing to eat pig at the Fair, Busy (unsurprisingly) judges the consumption of pig permissible, but initially refuses to allow it to take place at the idolatrous Fair. However, this "conclusion . . . runs against the authority of appetite that dominates this play-

However, the lack of an authorial persona like the one in verse satire makes any application of this strategy to Jonson's play imperfect.

¹¹ Watson, 150. Boehrer makes similar claims for Wasp as "a study in self-caricature," 192. The Induction provides an instance of more straightforward self-satire, with Jonson, through the Stage-Keeper, criticizing his own theatrical tendencies. See Freudenburg, 21-33, for self-parody as a satiric strategy and a source of humor.

¹² Boehrer, 190.

world.” Just as importantly, it runs counter to his own appetite, and he must revise it. He does so in his proclamation that “we may be religious in midst of the profane, so it be eaten with a reformed mouth” (1.6.67-68). A further endorsement for the venture, according to Busy, is the opportunity to demonstrate publicly “hate and loathing of Judaism” (1.6.89). Thus he justifies his intention to “eat exceedingly” (1.6.90-91) amidst the various excesses of the Fair.¹³

When Busy’s group comes to Ursula’s tent, Littlewit notices a sign featuring the head of a pig. He reads, “Here be the best pigs, and she does roast ‘em as well as ever she did,’ the pig’s head says” (3.2.62-63). Knockem picks up the notion of the pig actually speaking these words: “The oracle of the pig’s head, that, sir” (3.2.65). Here the pig, the focus of the appetitive Fair, is invested with the authority of an oracle.¹⁴ Busy, of course, cannot directly acknowledge the oracular authority of a pig, suggestive as it is of a travesty of Christian prophecy. Neither can the group *look* for pig, Dame Purecraft admonishing Littlewit for giving in to “the vanity of the eye” for doing so (3.2.66). Characteristically, Busy finds a way to circumvent reliance on the potentially corruptive senses of sight and hearing, in order to locate roast pig:

your mother, religiously wise, conceiveth it may offer itself by other means to the sense, as by way of steam, which I think it doth, here in this place. Huh, huh!

BUSY *scents after it like a hound*

Yes, it doth. And it were a sin of obstinacy, great obstinacy, high and horrible obstinacy, to decline or resist the good titillation of the famelic sense, which is the smell (3.2.71-76).

Busy has almost certainly already smelled the pig, and hastens to rationalize in order to satisfy his stimulated appetite as soon as possible. In so doing, he brings himself down to the animalistic level of the pig, becoming “*like a hound*.”¹⁵ Later, after glutting himself on pig and ale, he is figured as a horse by Knockem: “Now his belly is full, he falls a-railing and kicking, the jade” (3.6.44-45). Sated, he can focus his energies against the Fair, zealously denouncing its wares and turning over Joan Trash’s baskets of gingerbread (3.6.26-98). Littlewit, hungry for more of the Fair’s attractions, greases Leatherhead’s palm in order to get Busy thrown in the stocks. Without the encumbrance of Busy’s professed hatred of the Fair’s idols, he and Win can take in its sights unmolested.

Knockem describes Busy’s consumption: “two and a half he ate to his share [of pig]. And he has drunk a pailful. He eats with his eyes, as well as his teeth” (3.6.46-48). This exaggerated account of Busy’s appetite draws attention to the fact that not all consumption in the play is strictly food-related. As Littlewit tells Win earlier in the scene, “You may long to see as well as to

¹³ Watson, 152; Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, in *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), say that Busy “makes a pig of himself in his sophistical defense of his own appetites,” 64.

¹⁴ See Stallybrass and White, especially 62-66, for the central importance of the pig in the Fair and the play.

¹⁵ See note 13. See also Boehrer, who focuses attention on the permeability between human and animal in Jonson’s plays. Thomas Tracy, “Order, Authority, Shakespearean History, and Jonsonian Comedy,” *Ben Jonson Journal: Literary Contexts in the Age of Elizabeth, James, and Charles* 11 (2004): 104, comments on the social body in the play as “a body of flesh and blood epitomized by Ursula the pig-woman, in whom the instability of the boundary between human and animal seems to be suggested.”

taste" (3.6.12), encouraging her to feign a desire "to see some hobby-horses, and some drums, and rattles, and dogs, and fine devices," most importantly, the performance of the puppet play he wrote (3.6.5-9). Boehrer observes that "The appetitive theme of the play is manifest and pervasive, encompassing much more than the quotidian act of eating."¹⁶ Pig may be the focal point of the Fair, but the puppet play is the centerpiece of *Bartholomew Fair*, as much an object of consumption as the roast pig. Busy initially voices strong objections to the puppet play, per the Puritans' standard objections to theater. It is during his combative dispute with Leatherhead and one of his puppets that Busy is most strongly characterized in terms of appetite. He accosts Leatherhead, "I have long opened my mouth wide, and gaped . . . as the oyster for the tide, after thy destruction" (5.5.19-20), unwittingly describing a posture of greedy consumption. Likewise, the language of his appeal to "zeal" to "fill me, fill me, that is, make me full" (5.5.39) betrays his gluttonous tendencies. While he is arguing with Puppet Dionysius, his proclamation, "I am zealous for the cause—" is completed by Leatherhead, "[a]s a dog for a bone" (5.5.70-71). Again, Busy's Puritanical zeal is turned against him, as he is reduced to an appetitive animal. His principal objection to the puppet performance, that "the male among you putteth on the apparel of the female, and the female of the male" (5.5.88-89) is confuted when Dionysius reveals that he is "biologically" neither male nor female. His objection answered, he desires the show to go on, "For I am changed, and will become a beholder with you!" (5.5.105-106). Busy "is bested in a dispute by a mere puppet and, too quickly for such a zealot, succumbs to a way of life obviously more to his liking."¹⁷

Despite being a Puritan, Busy bears some resemblance to Jonson in the indulgence of his appetites. Busy's fondness for food and drink is one shared by Jonson, "a famous fat man and legendary drunkard."¹⁸ The character of Busy may in fact be an expression of Jonson's anxiety about being like the Puritans he scorned, who participated in the very excess that they denounced. If this is the case, the forgiveness of excess in *Bartholomew Fair* takes on a self-reflective character, with Jonson questioning his right to condemn the failings of which he himself was guilty. To avoid the danger of hypocrisy, he must withhold criticism of appetite and consumption, allowing excess to go unpunished, except to the extent to which it undermines the authority of certain characters, and Jonson's authority as satirist.

As much as Busy gives lip service to an anti-Fair stance, he ultimately indulges in its pleasures as much as almost anyone. Justice Overdo, on the other hand, comes to the Fair with the sincere intention of rooting out "enormities." A judge, he sees himself as a detached observer of the Fair's iniquities. As such, he plays the role of a Horatian satirist who distances himself from the corruption of the city by retreating to the country, from whence he can criticize this corruption. However, Overdo botches this role, as he consistently misinterprets what he witnesses in the Fair. Additionally, the distance between him and what he observes turns out to be an illusion; he "recognizes the importance of this distance, though not its impossibility within the world of the play."¹⁹ Overdo is widely known, and his authority acknowledged, throughout the Fair. Even the

¹⁶ Boehrer, 190.

¹⁷ Barry Targan, "The Moral Structure of 'Bartholomew Fair,'" *Discourse: A Review of the Liberal Arts* 8 (1965): 280.

¹⁸ Boehrer, 84.

¹⁹ See Watson, 165, where Watson claims that the efforts of Jonsonian characters like Overdo "to play the heroes of melodramas have made them the fools of satiric comedies"; Rowe, 148.

bawd Whit apparently respects the Justice, claiming “I am te vishest man, but Justish Overdo, in all Bartholmew Fair now” (3.2.5-6). After hearing Leatherhead threaten Joan Trash with his name, Overdo rejoices that “my name is their terror yet” (2.2.26). He believes his authority will be enhanced by his stoical suffering in the stocks, that “it will beget a kind of reverence toward me, hereafter, even from mine enemies, when they shall see I carry my calamity nobly, and that it doth neither break me nor bend me” (4.1.28-31). Throughout the play, he looks for substantiation from numerous classical authorities (including his “friend” Horace), his familiarity with which also distances himself from the less educated throng at the Fair. It is emblematic of how his authority plays out, though, that a madman, Trouble-All, is the one for whom Overdo’s warrant is the be-all and end-all of authority. Overdo himself enters the Fair disguised as a madman, and it does not take long for his distance from the “enormities” of the Fair to be proven illusory.

Soon after getting his first taste of the Fair’s viciousness, Overdo determines to “wind out wonders of enormity” (2.2.110-111), just as Busy winds out pig. The former is not looking to satisfy the same physical hunger as the latter, but pursues an appetite more befitting a distanced spectator. Seemingly taking a cue from Busy, Overdo figures his relation to the Fair in olfactory terms, circumventing a potentially dangerous reliance on sight and sound. However, these are the very senses upon which he relies, senses which prove to be injuriously unreliable. Overdo’s visual and aural relation to the Fair is best understood not literally, but through a metaphor of consumption appropriate to his environment: Overdo takes in “enormities” not to digest them, but with the intent of purging, of regurgitating them for all to see and denounce (with the result of enhancing his reputation as an authoritative judge).

Overdo’s first error is to mistake the cutpurse Edgworth for an honest man. Attempting to rescue him from bad company, Overdo brings to his attention “the fruits of bottle-ale and tobacco” (2.6.1). In the process, he turns himself into one of the Fair’s spectacles, with Cokes eagerly listening to what he has to say. Wasp, however, annoyed by his preaching and believing he may have been the one who had just picked Cokes’s purse, responds by beating the disguised Justice (2.6.5-142). By this point, it is clear that the role of detached observer is entirely untenable in this environment. Yet Overdo sticks to his plan, “come what come can—come beating, come imprisonment, come infamy, come banishment, nay, come the rack, come the hurdle, welcome all” (3.3.35-37). And more adversity soon does come, as he is again suspected of stealing and is thrown in the stocks (3.5.192; 4.1.33). Mistress Overdo helps raise the cry against him, calling him “a lewd and pernicious enormity,” unknowingly using Overdo’s own words against him (3.5.203-204). She is a believer in her husband’s authority, invoking it in an attempt to stop the violence occasioned by the vapours game (4.4.99-100). Wasp objects, implicitly undermining her husband’s authority by verbally abusing her and calling her “Mistress Underdo” (4.4.133). This allusion to sexual appetite foreshadows her fall into prostitution, a circumstance significant to the climax of the play.

When Overdo decides he has “discovered enough” iniquity, he brings the puppet play to a halt by revealing his true identity (5.5.109-115). Ideally, at this point he would direct “the action cunningly towards a last scene in which confusion will be reduced to order, vices punished, goodness rewarded, and society left purged and regenerate.”²⁰ However, his misinterpretation of

²⁰ Anne Barton, *Ben Jonson, Dramatist* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 204.

the Fair ensures that this scene goes terribly wrong for him. The coup de grace comes when his metaphorical regurgitation of “enormities” (as misdirected as his incessant regurgitation of platitudes) is interrupted by his wife’s literal one: “*MISTRESS OVERDO is sick, and her husband is silenced*” (5.6.65).²¹ The vomiting of his wife, dressed as a prostitute, is the ultimate silencing and trumping of authority by appetite and excess, following on the heels of Busy’s silencing by a puppet, and echoed by Wasp’s “I will never speak . . . again, for aught I know” upon realizing he no longer has Cokes’s marriage license (5.6.100). Fittingly, it is not a series of trials but a universal supper invitation that ends the play. The appetitive atmosphere of the Fair will be reconstituted at the Justice’s house, in a gesture that effectively absolves the excesses of the play.²²

Quarlous’s admonition of Overdo to “remember you are but Adam, flesh and blood! You have your frailty. Forget your other name of Overdo, and invite us all to supper” (5.6.93–95) sounds as though it could be directed at Jonson himself. It may be that Overdo’s agreement to invite everyone to supper is representative of Jonson, “the searcher after and corrector of enormity, coming finally to this larger understanding of life.”²³ This understanding seems to have to do with a greater acceptance of his own frailties, leading to the softening of his satirical impulse in *Bartholomew Fair*. Jonson as a detached judge of humanity here acknowledges that he is a lot like some of the people he castigates, as Overdo realizes he cannot keep his distance from the sordid activities of the Fair, and agrees to extend the supper invitation. Everyone is flawed, everyone eats, all is forgiven.

The play’s anti-appetite authority is dissipated in a feast that will “drown the memory of all enormity” (5.6.96–97). Paradoxically, the Fair’s excesses are to be extinguished by an act of indulgence. However, the ultimate force of the feast is not to cancel out consumption, but to bring out the shared humanity of the authority figures who had attempted to curb consumption throughout the play; an inhumane act, Jonson here suggests. For the characters of *Bartholomew Fair* are most human when they are full of the gusto of appetite. It is no mistake that at one point all three authority figures are in the stocks simultaneously. All three controllers are controlled, in a moment when the Fair’s gluttonous appetite may have full, unrestrained expression. *Bartholomew Fair*, as a whole, seems expressive of anxieties Jonson may have had concerning his own appetites and self-control, anxieties embodied in Wasp, as the irascible Jonson who nursed bitter rivalries, who killed a fellow actor, and who lost control of his charge due to overindulgence; in Busy, as the potentially hypocritical Jonson, who could not hide his gluttony; and in Overdo, the Jonson who finds himself implicated in the “enormities” he would condemn. With this in mind, perhaps the supper invitation is not just about celebrating flawed humanity, but is also about moderating the excessive appetites of the Fair in a more controlled environment, one reminiscent of that in “Inviting a Friend to Supper.”²⁴ Ultimately, though, the play is not about control; rather it is about

²¹ Boehrer believes this act can potentially be seen in political terms, as “a rebellion—or at least a rejoinder—aimed at the head of the body politic by the belly, with the head—Overdo—deprived of its articulateness by the untimely reappearance of the belly’s contents,” 198.

²² Jonson’s poem, “Inviting a Friend to Supper,” displays tensions similar to those in *Bartholomew Fair*. Boehrer remarks that “the temperance the poem represents proves highly unstable,” a comment that could be applied to characters such as Busy and Overdo, as well as to Jonson himself; 87.

²³ Targan, 278.

²⁴ See note 22.

the failure of control and the triumph of appetite. The brunt of Jonson's satire is directed against the overbearing authority figures who attempt to suppress appetite and thereby "fail to participate in the forgiving spirit that distinguishes this . . . satiric city-comedy from its predecessors." Indeed, there seems to be a progression from the harshly punitive *Volpone* (1605) to the slightly more forgiving *The Alchemist* (1610) to the absolute absolution of *Bartholomew Fair* (1613). In this play, "the satirical voice . . . takes on a playful, self-reflexive . . . character," electing to allow appetite to go unchecked, injecting the play with a large dose of Jonsonian *joie de vivre* very distinct from his previous mode of detached criticism.²⁵ The fact that Jonson chose not to include the play in his *Workes* suggests that he did not take it as seriously as his other plays, that it did not carry the same weight or project the image he wanted for himself.²⁶ Its scaled-back satirical voice and celebration of appetite certainly makes it unique among his plays. If Jonson lives in two worlds, the isolated, authoritative sphere of his drama and poetry, and the consumption-oriented one represented by his masques, the latter is the one inhabited by the characters of *Bartholomew Fair*, who, along with Jonson himself, witness the failure of authority and the triumph of appetite.

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²⁵ Watson, 170; Boehrer, 200.

²⁶ Stallybrass and White assert that the inclusion of *Bartholomew Fair* "would certainly have compromised the haughty individuation of the classical to which Jonson so avidly aspired," 78. Rowe, in contrast to my argument, sees the play as Jonson "giv[ing] his audience what it wanted," his capitulation "more the result of frustration over the failure of *Catiline* than a sign of a change in attitude . . . if [*Bartholomew Fair*] seems more genial and good-humored than some of his earlier works, its geniality is a function not of acceptance but of disillusionment," 155.

Political Discourse and Ethnic Differencing in Diego Velázquez's Philip III and the Expulsion of the Moriscos

By Aisha Motlani

Diego Velázquez' *Philip III and the Expulsion of the Moriscos* (1627, destroyed 1734) portrayed one of the most controversial episodes from Spain's early modern history—the eviction between 1609 and 1614 of more than three hundred thousand Christians of Muslim descent. Yet the painting has never been fully discussed in light of this event. Nor have scholars offered compelling reasons why Philip IV commissioned the work.¹ By drawing on the methodology of Jonathan Brown and John Elliot, I will relocate the *Expulsion* within seventeenth-century discourse surrounding the expulsion of the Moriscos.² In doing so, I will show that through the painting Philip IV sought to quell the criticism leveled at his father's expulsion of the Moriscos and recast it within dynastic terms. I will also examine the painting in light of other seventeenth-century portrayals of the Moriscos to investigate how the *Expulsion* spoke to the ideals and prejudices of the ruler and the ruled during the reign of Philip IV.

The Painting and its Setting

Velázquez's *Expulsion* was the winning entry in a competition ordered by Philip IV among his court painters. It was prominently displayed in the Hall of Mirrors, a royal reception room at the Alcázar in Madrid, until a fire destroyed the palace and much of its artwork in 1734. All that remains of the painting is a description by the eighteenth-century art historian Antonio Palomino.³ According to his account, the armored figure of King Philip III occupied the center of the

¹ Scholarship addressing the *Expulsion* includes Veronique Gerard, "Philip IV's Early Italian Commissions," *Oxford Art Journal* 5, No. 1 (1982): 9–14; Steven N. Orso, *Velázquez, Los Borrachos, and Painting at the Court of Philip IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) and Mary Crawford Volk, "Rubens in Madrid and the Decoration of the Salón Nuevo in the Palace," *The Burlington Magazine* 122, No. 924 (March 1980): 168–180.

² Jonathan Brown and John Huxtable Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

³ Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 146–147.

composition, pointing with his baton to a troop of men, women, and children being led away by soldiers to some vessels and a stretch of seascape in the distance. Beside him sat the allegorical figure of Spain, holding a shield and arrows in her right hand and blades of wheat in her left. Beneath her feet was dedicatory inscription that congratulated Philip III for his “successful expulsion of the Moors.”⁴ An oil study by Vicente Carducho of his own competition entry also survives, and shows armed soldiers surveying a large group of Moriscos boarding a vessel. The exiles include male and female Moriscos, as well as children and the elderly, and behind them lies an empty stretch of seascape.⁵

The *Expulsion* was part of the Hall of Mirrors’ carefully calibrated iconographic program, whose focal points were four portraits of the Spanish Hapsburg kings. Titian’s portrait of *Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg*, which commemorates the monarch’s defeat of the Protestant League, occupied the east wall of the room. Located on the north wall, facing the Plaza de Palacio, was the *Expulsion* and Titian’s *Allegorical Portrait of Philip II*, celebrating the victory of the Holy League over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto in 1571. On the west wall was Rubens’ *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV*, which shows the horse-mounted king followed by a Native American squire, underlining Spain’s dominion over the New World. These portraits were interspersed with an evolving collection of paintings celebrating religious and mythological themes.⁶

In his 1986 study of the Alcázar, Steven Orso argues that the *Expulsion* and other paintings in the Hall of Mirrors comprised “an extensive proclamation of the glorious achievements of the Hapsburg rulers.”⁷ Although he notes the incongruity of a deportation scene among the other depictions of the Hapsburg kings’ military triumphs, he does not explore its implications.⁸ Nor does his study consider how the Hall of Mirrors’ functioned as a setting for courtly ritual and diplomatic reception, or how the festivities that took place in the outlying Plaza de Palacio may have impacted the painting’s meaning and reception. I propose to address these omissions by examining Velázquez’s painting in light of the political, ideological, and ethnic discourse that surrounded the expulsion.

The Expulsion of the Moriscos in Seventeenth-Century Discourse

In April 1609, Philip III ordered the expulsion of the Moriscos, Christians of Muslim descent that had converted to Catholicism following decrees issued by Ferdinand and Isabella in the early sixteenth century. The expulsion was carried out in successive stages throughout Spain between 1609 and 1614, starting in Valencia, which was home to the largest concentration of Moriscos. The

⁴ Ibid., 146.

⁵ For Carducho’s sketch see Sarah Schroth and Ronni Baer eds., *El Greco to Velázquez: Art during the Reign of Philip III* (Boston : MFA Publications, 2008), 37.

⁶ For Rubens’ *Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg* (Madrid, Prado), Titian’s *Allegorical Portrait of Philip II* (Madrid, Prado), and Velázquez’s copy of Rubens’ *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV* (Florence, Uffizi) see Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*, ills.16, 17, and 39.

⁷ Palomino, 89.

⁸ Palomino, 87.

majority of Moriscos were deported to the Northern coast of Africa, although some are reported to have settled in Turkey and southern France.⁹

The specter of expulsion had been raised a number of times before Philip III's reign. Ferdinand and Isabella had used the threat of deportation to coerce resistant Muslims into converting to Christianity. Moreover, during Philip II's reign (1527-1598) the Council of State had recommended expulsion following the 1568 rebellion of Granada amid fears that the Moriscos were planning another revolt. These fears were exacerbated by rumors that the Moriscos were in league with rival nations, ranging from the Ottoman Empire to the Kingdoms of France and England.¹⁰

Among the chief proponents of the measure during Philip II's reign was the Archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, who lamented the failure of benign paths of conversion and called instead for more drastic measures. Drawing on fears that the Moriscos comprised a threat to Spain's national security, Ribera described the Moriscos as "dual pillars of heresy and treason," warning Philip II "that if your Majesty does not order a resolution to this matter...I will see in my days the loss of Spain."¹¹ However, much to Ribera's chagrin the resolution was suspended in the face of overwhelming opposition. This was partly due to economic concern that expelling the Moriscos would rob Spanish landowners of some of their most profitable vassals.¹² It may also have been attributable to changes in Philip II's foreign policy in the late sixteenth century, which saw a shift in focus from the Islamic world towards the Protestant north.¹³

Arguments in Favor of the Expulsion

Undeterred, Ribera continued his campaign against the Moriscos during Philip III's reign (1598-1621), and was joined in his efforts by other staunch proponents of the expulsion, including the Dominican theologians Jaime Bleda, Damián Fonseca and Pedro Aznar Cardona. They combined biblical exegesis with popular prejudices to promulgate the religious and racial malfeasance of the Moriscos. A common trope among proponents of the expulsion was to use the terms Morisco and "Moro" interchangeably.¹⁴ This served two ends. One was to underline the religious and racial difference of the Moriscos, pre-empting ideological concerns over the maltreatment of baptized Christians. This also helped to relocate the expulsion within the history

⁹ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500 – 1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 209.

¹⁰ Hillgarth, 207-208. The Mediterranean war against the Ottoman Empire was at its peak during the 1560s, culminating in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.

¹¹ Ribera to Philip III, December 1601, Colegio de Corpus Christi, Archivo del Patriarca, I, 7, 8, Moriscos I, 27(4), quoted in Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan De Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568 – 1614* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 128.

¹² Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain* (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 299.

¹³ Ehlers, 107.

¹⁴ Grace Magnier, *Pedro De Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 137-138.

of Spain's Reconquest. Ribera described the measure as being "of the same esteem as would be to conquer and win Spain anew," linking it to past victories over the Muslims.¹⁵

To underline the ideological imperative behind the expulsion and lend the measure doctrinal support, proponents of the expulsion located it within biblical tradition. Ribera compared Philip III's expulsion of the Moriscos to "The liberation of his people by Moses...and the victory over the Philistines of David."¹⁶ Carmelite minister Marco de Guadalajara recast King Philip II as Abraham, who "had two sons in his Catholic Kingdom," one representing "the legitimate Christian children of the Mother Church and beautiful Sarah, and the second son, bastard and traitor who are the Moriscos descended from Hagar."¹⁷

Opposition to the Expulsion

The vehemence of the pro-expulsionists' campaign indicates the degree of opposition elicited by the proposed measure. Much of this opposition emanated from the ecclesiastical community, including Dr. Esteban, Archbishop of Orihuela, and Don Feliciano de Figueroa, Archbishop of Segorbe. In a letter to the Franciscan Fray Antonio Sobrino, Figueroa stated, "the king, our lord, cannot expel from Spain the baptized Moriscos of this kingdom, knowing full well that they will go to Africa and become manifest apostates of their baptism."¹⁸ Even Philip III's confessor, Fray Luis Aliaga, stated "it would be terrible to drive baptized people to Barbary and thus force them to turn Moor."¹⁹ Alternatives were offered in lieu of the expulsion, including renewed evangelization efforts and greater collaboration with senior members of the Morisco community in order to bring them more fully into the Christian fold.²⁰ Bleda and Ribera's claims that such techniques had proven fruitless were met with the criticism that previous conversion efforts had been improperly administered and were rendered ineffective by the ill treatment and castigation of the Moriscos on the basis of their "New Christian" status and their alleged heresy.²¹ The inquisition lawyer and *arbitrista*²² (seventeenth-century Spanish reformer), Martín González de Cellorigo, supported these charges, stating "one cannot fail to attribute certain negligence for the carelessness which [the clergymen] seem to have shown towards their sheep." He further argued that "if these people had

¹⁵ Colegio de Corpus Christi, I, 7, 8, Moriscos I, 27 (3), fol. 27, as quoted in Ehlers, 141.

¹⁶ Ribera to Philip III, Dec. 1601, Colegio de Corpus Christi, I, 7, 8, Moriscos I, 27 (4), quoted in Ehlers, 141.

¹⁷ F. Marco de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsion y Justissimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona, 1613), quoted in Israel Burshatin, "The Moor in the Text: Metaphor, Emblem, and Silence," *Critical Inquiry* 12, No. 1, "Race," *Writing, and Difference* (Autumn, 1985): 113-114.

¹⁸ P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsion* (Madrid: Mapfire, 1992), 505, quoted in Magnier, 13.

¹⁹ Quoted in Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 111.

²⁰ Mary Luisa Candau Chacón, *Los Moriscos En El Espejo Del Tiempo: Problemas Históricos e Historiográficos* (Huelva, Spain: Universidad de Huelva, 1997), 137.

²¹ Candau Chacón, 138.

²² For a fuller definition of this term, see Richard L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile, 1500 - 1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

had teachers to illuminate them with the truths of our faith, their natural intelligence would have replaced the blindness of their false sect.”²³

This combination of anti-Islamic sentiment and charitable purpose is also apparent in the writings of one of the expulsion’s most prominent opponents, Pedro de Valencia, crown minister to Philip III. In his *Treaty Concerning the Moriscos* (1605–6) Valencia condemns the Islamic faith, and the cultural differences of the Moriscos, but he also argues against the notion that the Moriscos were guilty by association with their Moorish ancestors.²⁴ He insists on a more humane treatment of the Moriscos, asking his reader “what Christian could there be that could bear to see in the fields, and on the beaches such a large crowd of baptized men and women, who were calling out to God and to the world that they were Christians?” Valencia also highlights the Moriscos’ right to individual trial and opposes blanket judgments of their collective guilt, criticizing the fact “that people were taking their children and their property from them out of greed and hatred, without listening to them or judging them in court.”²⁵ Clearly Valencia believed the Moriscos could become better integrated into Catholic society once they relinquished their syncretic practices. He opposed the two-caste system of Christianity that resulted from the *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) statutes that had been implemented since the sixteenth century and had helped to “other” the Moriscos and other converts to Christianity. Valencia argued that through intermarriage with old Christians such measures would be rendered obsolete and would propagate “Christian charity, unity, harmony, and peace within the state.”²⁶

Others opposed the expulsion on economic grounds. The Moriscos comprised a cheap and highly valued labor force, and also yielded high tax revenues to the landed nobility, who made repeated entreaties to Philip III to abandon expulsion. Even the king’s favorite, the Duke of Lerma, was initially opposed to the measure, which would rob him of laborers to tend his estates in Valencia.²⁷ In fact, historian Henry Kamen claims that opposition towards the expulsion was so staunch that the Council of State’s vote in 1609 to expel the Moriscos comprised an “astonishing volte-face.”²⁸

The Outcome of the Expulsion

Numerous racial, economic, and political motivations lay behind this volte-face, a thorough discussion of which is beyond the purview of this paper.²⁹ Suffice it to say, criticism of the measure

²³ M. Gonzalez de Cellorigo, *Memorial al Rey sobre asesinatos, atropellos e irreverencias contra la religion cristiana, cometidos por los moriscos por el licenciado Martín González de Cellorigo* (1597), quoted in Magnier, 12.

²⁴ Magnier, 293.

²⁵ Pedro de Valencia, *Humanistas españoles: Pedro de Valencia, Obras completas*, IV/2 *Escritos sociales, Escritos políticos*, ed. R. González Canal and H. B. Riesco Alvarez (León: Universidad de León, 1999), 106, quoted in Magnier, 292.

²⁶ Valencia, *Obras completas* IV/2, 123, quoted in Magnier 284.

²⁷ See Schroth and Baer, *El Greco to Velázquez*, 117; and Ehlers, 128.

²⁸ Kamen, *Spain, 1469 - 1714: A Society of Conflict* (London: Longman, 1983), 220.

²⁹ For example, Antonio Feros ascribes it to Philip III’s desire to distract attention from his unpopular treatise with the Dutch in the Truce of Antwerp. See Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598 - 1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 299.

continued even after the event, as its effect on Spain's already struggling economy become increasingly apparent. One of the chief concerns at the time was the continuing decline of Spain's population levels. In his *Conservación de Monarchia*, published in 1626, during the reign of Philip IV, Fernández de Navarrete unequivocally ascribes the decline in population to the large scale expulsion of Jews and Moriscos.³⁰ Although today the expulsion is recognized as one of many factors that helped to precipitate this decline, there is little doubt that the eviction of a substantial portion of the country's labor force had a significant impact on the rural economy and population levels in many parts of the nation. This was particularly true in the kingdoms of Valencia, Aragon, and Murcia, which were home to the largest concentrations of Moriscos.

The effect of the expulsion on Valencia is well documented. According to the 1609 census, the Moriscos comprised one third of the kingdom's population, and their expulsion led to what James Casey calls "an upheaval of colossal dimensions."³¹ Vast stretches of the kingdom lay unoccupied, causing one traveler to describe it as "a rustic woodland prowled only by beasts for a century."³² The kingdom of Valencia's economic and population decline worsened during Philip IV's reign, and efforts to invigorate its economy through resettlement were hampered by the steep rents imposed by the Valencian nobles. Moreover, the expulsion robbed the kingdom of a valuable force of cheap labor, exacerbating the decline in agricultural production, and further increasing the reliance on the foreign import of such commodities as wheat throughout the nation.³³ Thus Bleda's vow that the expulsion would reinvigorate economy and boost agricultural output proved contrary to the reality facing many parts of Spain at this time.

Nor can the expulsion be credited with putting an end to Spain's religious and ethnic anxieties. It may have marked the official demise of Spain's Morisco population, but in reality many Moriscos remained, having earned exemption on the basis of mixed marriages or by proving the authenticity of their faith. Three thousand Morisco children are believed to have remained, inspiring much debate concerning the best course of their instruction.³⁴ Remaining Moriscos continued to be targets of the Inquisition, and they were among the penitents ritually castigated during the *autos da fe* ceremonies that continued to take place in the public spaces around Spain, including Madrid's Plaza de Palacio and Plaza Mayor.³⁵ The zeal for *limpieza de sangre*, purity of blood, also remained strong during Philip IV's reign, even affecting Velázquez himself. Scholars have recently suggested the artist spent much of his life attempting to assert his old Christian lineage.³⁶

³⁰ Pedro Fernandez Navarrete fl. 1621, *Conservacion De Monarquias y Discursos Politicos* (Madrid, 1626), 71.

³¹ James Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 6.

³² Antonio Joseph Cavanilles, *Observaciones sobre la Historia Natural, Geografia, Agricultura, población y frutos del Reyno de Valencia*, 1795-7, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1958), II. 42, quoted in Casey, 6.

³³ Cavanilles, 79.

³⁴ Those who were allowed to remain after the expulsion included Moriscos who had married Old Christians, as well as those who had lived amongst them for two years or more. Children under the age of four were spared, and in Valencia one Morisco family in six was allowed to remain. See Ehlers, 145.

³⁵ Lea, 374-375.

³⁶ Tiffany Tanya, "Lightness, Darkness and African Salvation: Velazquez's Supper at Emmaus" *Art History* 31, no. 1 (2008): 33-56.

The moral implications of evicting baptized Christians continued to garner criticism both at home and abroad. Cardinal Richlieu of France described the measure as an act of unsurpassed barbarity,³⁷ and it is worth noting the decree was never ratified by the Pope, despite Bleda and Fonseca's numerous journeys to Rome to garner support for the measure. In Spain, Navarrete stated that "it is a most malign policy of state...for princes to withdraw their trust from their subjects." Echoing the sentiments of Valencia, he lamented the castigation of the Moriscos and argued that if "a way had been found to admit them to certain honors and to avoid keeping them under the brand and stigma of infamy...it would have been possible for them to enter through the door of honor into the temple of virtue."³⁸

Reframing the Expulsion

This then begs the question: why did Philip IV enlist the talents of his most eminent court artists in portraying such a contentious event—one that had, and continued to be, a source of political controversy and was attended by great economic woe in many kingdoms of Spain? In light of the discourse surrounding the expulsion, and its outcome, the theme hardly seemed an obvious choice for commemorating the excellence of the Hapsburg Empire's stewardship over Spain.

Brown and Elliot's seminal study of the Buen Retiro, Philip IV's pleasure palace, offers a clue to the king's choice of the expulsion of the Moriscos to celebrate his father's reign. In their discussion of the Battle Paintings in the Hall of Realms Brown and Elliot argue that these works not only commemorated Philip IV's victories at Genoa, Jülich, Rheinfelden and elsewhere, but also helped to "vindicate the regime of his minister," the count-duke of Olivares, who could claim credit for them as the king's favorite and trusted advisor.³⁹ I propose that Velázquez's *Expulsion*'s served a similar purpose. Through it Philip IV sought to vindicate his father's expulsion of the Moriscos, recasting it as a bold and successful measure that had helped secure the safety and religious purity of the nation. I also propose that the painting used many of the rhetorical devices employed by proponents of the expulsion in order to achieve this end.

Palomino's account of the painting supports this reading. He notes that its inscription lauded Philip III's "successful Expulsion of the Moriscos," and described him as "fosterer of peace and justice" and "preserver of the public order."⁴⁰ This echoes the effusive praise showered upon the monarch by apologists for the expulsion like Aznar Cardona, who ascribed to him such illustrious epithets as "protector and defender of the Spiritual Paradise of the Christian Church, guardian and pacifier of the state, defender of the oppressed," clearly articulating the connection between a ruler's stately and religious obligations.⁴¹ The placement of the allegorical figure of Spain "to the right of the King," further accentuated this point, emphasizing the visual and figurative unity between king and nation.

³⁷ Lea, 363.

³⁸ Navarrete, 72.

³⁹ Brown and Elliott, 178-179.

⁴⁰ Palomino, 147.

⁴¹ Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fols. 80r-81v, quoted in Magnier, 165.

The dress and deportment of the figure of Spain further supports my thesis that Velázquez's painting sought to reframe the expulsion as a successful measure. According to Palomino, the allegorical figure was represented as "a majestic matron . . . holding in her right hand a shield and some arrows, and in the left some blades of wheat."⁴² In Cesare Ripa's influential seventeenth-century handbook, *Iconologia*, abundance was represented by maiden carrying wheat in one hand and a cornucopia of flowers and fruit in the other. It is quite likely that the blades of wheat held in Spain's hand also conveyed the promise of plenitude.⁴³ This takes on added significance in light of the crisis in agricultural output that was facing many parts of Spain at this time, particularly the decline in wheat production which was exacerbated by the expulsion of the moriscos.⁴⁴ Velázquez's painting may have transformed this scarcity into a symbol for spiritual salvation that was garnered through the king's careful preservation of the state's religious sanctity. The proponents of the expulsion attempted a similar feat, portraying the economic impact of the expulsion as a necessary sacrifice that would ultimately secure the welfare of the nation.⁴⁵ Even Navarrete, despite his reservations regarding the treatment of the Moriscos and their expulsion, enumerated the worldly and spiritual gains that Philip III's predecessors had secured by placing the salvation of their land over their economic gains.⁴⁶ *The Expulsion* might have advocated a similar argument, highlighting the success to be gained from placing salvation over economy.

Velázquez's painting also recast the expulsion as a military conquest. This is supported by the military garb of both Philip III and the allegorical figure of Spain, who was "dressed in Roman armor," and held "in her right hand a shield and some arrows."⁴⁷ It is further supported by the painting's iconographic setting. By placing Philip III's eviction of an unarmed community of baptized Christians alongside the more tangible military conquests of Charles V and Philip II, Philip IV sought to reframe the expulsion as an ideological victory befitting the Spanish Hapsburg Empire's illustrious history. This is similar to the rhetorical devices employed by proponents of the expulsion, who attempted to elevate the act by resituating it within the Reconquest past, describing it as being "of the same esteem as would be to conquer and win Spain anew."⁴⁸ When seen in this light, we can perhaps read Philip III's expulsion as the fulfillment of the mandate to "do better" conferred upon Philip II's offspring in Titian's *Allegorical Portrait*.

Differencing the Morisco "Other"

In order to highlight the probity of Philip III's expulsion of the Moriscos, Velázquez had to clearly portray them as the culpable "other" to Catholic Spain's sanctified "self." Palomino's account

⁴² Palomino, 146.

⁴³ This is further supported by the fact that Velázquez was known to own a copy of Ripa's book. For the significance of wheat in Ripa's book see Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia; Overo Descrittione Di Diverse Imagini Cavate Dall'Antichità, e Di Propria Inventione* (Hildesheim, Germany: G. Olms, 1970).

⁴⁴ Casey, 79.

⁴⁵ Ehlers, 130; and Lea, 366.

⁴⁶ For example, in his discussion of Ferdinand and Isabella's expulsion of Jews and Moriscos, see Navarrete, 77.

⁴⁷ Lea, 366-368.

⁴⁸ See note 11.

of the *Expulsion* offers clues to how the artist effected this differencing. According to his description, Philip III occupied the center of the painting and “to the right of [him]” was the female personification of Spain. They represented the clear protagonists in the painting, while the Moriscos comprised a mass of human misery, “a troop of men, women and children being led away in tears by some soldiers.”⁴⁹ Their wretched deportment would have stood in marked contrast to the majestic and militaristic aura surrounding the king and Spain, both of whom were clad in armor. This visual disparity between Christians and Moriscos is also evident in Carducho’s study for his own completion entry, in which the Moriscos are represented as a distinct mass, whose anxious gazes and bedraggled clothing contrasts with the self-assured and upright posture of the on-looking soldiers. The inscription in Velázquez’s painting, which commended Philip III for preserving “the public order” through the “expulsion of the Moors,” affected the racial and religious differencing of the Moriscos. By reminding the viewer of the Moriscos’ Islamic lineage, it underlined their religious and ethnic difference, echoing the theological anti-Morisco polemics of Ribera, who referred to the Moriscos as Moors, not Spaniards or neophytes, thereby representing them as a separate race.⁵⁰

Significantly, this racial and religious differencing is also evident in the other royal portraits in the Hall of Mirrors. For example, in Titian’s portrait of Philip II the dress and deportment of the Turk occupying the far left corner of the canvas contrasts starkly with the upright pose and elevated posture of Philip II. His downcast gaze and defeated posture, exposed torso and bound hands are a potent reversal of the power and privilege wielded not only by the figure of Philip II but also by the cherubine figure of Don Fernando reaching towards the winged figure of victory. There is no mistaking who is the ruler and who is the ruled; the demarcation between the victor and the vanquished is as unambiguous as the visual contrast between the conquering European king and the dark-skinned Turk.

Moreover, Velázquez’s representation of the Moriscos within the same visual field as these depictions of the racial or religious “other” encouraged the viewer to visually conflate the Moriscos with immediate threats to Catholic Spain’s religious and political hegemony, including the Ottoman Turks, the indigenous populations of the New World, and the Dutch protestants (symbolized by the symbol of heresy trampled beneath the hoof of Philip IV’s steed). In doing so, it highlighted their collective culpability and reminded its audience that the state and the faith still required protection from enemies.

The Morisco Plight

However, there are aspects of Palomino’s description of the *Expulsion* that suggest that Velázquez’s painting did more than underline the racial and religious inferiority of the Moriscos. According to Palomino’s account, Velázquez rendered the Moriscos as an assembly of “men, women, and children being led away in tears.” This contrasts with reports of the Moriscos erratic and violent behavior that were disseminated by the proponents of the expulsion. A similar

⁴⁹ Palomino, 146–147.

⁵⁰ Ehlers, 140, 150.

rendering of the Moriscos is apparent in Vicente Carducho's portrayal of them as a wretched huddle of women, children and the elderly, whose deep-socketed, forlorn glances and bedraggled clothing contrast with the calm demeanor of the soldiers. In his sketch, the Moriscos are divested of any weapons or other traces of menace or defiance, while the Catholic soldier in the foreground is armed to the hilt, his spear pointing emphatically upwards in a potent symbol of authority.

Pere Oromig's *The Embarkation of the Moriscos in the Port of Valencia* (1612-1613) offers an even more poignant portrayal of the Moriscos' plight.⁵¹ Although it was commissioned by Philip III as a visual document of the expulsion, the painting underlines the human impact of the event. *The Embarkation* conjures up an atmosphere of tumultuous activity, in which the Moriscos are being haphazardly conveyed to merchant vessels in the distance, or else patiently awaiting departure while keeping guard of the modest bundles that comprise their worldly possessions. Under a leaden sky that portends a storm, with mountains looming darkly in the distance, a group of richly dressed women, presumably old Christians, receive the entreaties and farewells of the departing Moriscos with magnanimity. A short distance behind them sits a Morisca surveying the embarkation scene while comforting the child seated beside her. To her right an infirm Morisco, apparently too weak to make the journey, is carried to the sea by two young men. These scenes appear strategically located front and center, serving as the emotive axis of the surrounding activity.

If the sole intent of these artists was to vindicate the expulsion, why are the Moriscos displayed in such a pitiable state? The Moriscos' wretched deportment may have served to emphasize their knowledge of their culpability, as well as heightening the value of the country they have lost. Indeed, the portrayal of the Moriscos in Carducho's study brings to mind the penitential procession of the *auto da fé*, with the figures displaying their sorrow as the symbol of their guilt. The fact that Moriscos continued to be tried in this manner in the Plaza de Palacio lends particular poignancy to this visual parallel.

Israel Burshatin's commentary on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century anti-Muslim diatribes offers another possible clue to Velázquez's tearful depiction of the Moriscos. He argues that works by Cervantes, among others, sought either to emasculate the Moriscos or demonize them, "laugh[ing] away whatever trace of old Hispano-Arab splendor might remain in the Morisco" or "recast[ing] wretched Moriscos as ominous brethren of the Ottoman Turk."⁵² Velázquez's *Expulsion* may have served a similar end, dispelling the aura of martial prowess ascribed to the Moriscos' Moorish ancestors. His image of subjugated Moriscos would no doubt have contrasted with the idealized portrayals of moors that prevailed in early modern Spanish literature, for example Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *Love after Death*.

Through its tearful portrayal of the Moriscos, the *Expulsion* may also have sought to underline their moral and physical enfeeblement, qualities that were commonly cited in anti-Morisco polemics. Indeed, these polemics often sought to emasculate the Morisco male in order to assert his inferiority. Mary Elizabeth Perry relates an account by a sixteenth-century chronicler who

⁵¹ For Pere Oromig's *Embarque de los Moriscos en el Grau de Valencia* (Valencia, Colección Bancaja), see *La Expulsión de los Moriscos del Reino de Valencia* (Valencia: Fundación Bancaja, 1997), 51-53.

⁵² Burshatin, 99.

attributed “a certain softness in [the Morisco males’] bodies,” which rendered them weak in combat and which he attributed to their bathing rituals. He argued that their bath fed their yearning for “excessive pleasure, from which there proceeded idleness and other deceits and evil dealings which they inflicted on one another to sustain their customary ease.”⁵³ These alleged “evil dealings” included sodomy, for which the Moriscos were often tried by the Inquisition. According to Perry, portraying Moriscos as “flabby and effeminate sodomites and pedophiles” may have served to “discredit their masculine reproductive and military powers.”⁵⁴ Furthermore she interprets prohibitions regarding the carrying of knives and other statutes that were imposed upon the Moriscos as an effort to “feminiz[e] the defeated Muslims, stripping them of their masculine markers.”⁵⁵

While none of these paintings explicitly implies the Moriscos’ sexual deviance, it is quite credible that Velázquez’s tearful depiction of the Moriscos may have ascribed to the notion of Muslim “softness,” and further offset this through the magisterial mien of the figure of Spain and Philip III, dressed in armor and “pointing with his baton.”⁵⁶ The painting’s proximity to the downtrodden figure of a Turkish soldier in Titian’s *Allegorical Portrait* may have further exemplified this idea of an enfeebled Islamic force, inviting viewers to conflate these images of the vanquished Muslims.

Contempt and Compassion

The pitiable portrayal of the Moriscos in the *Expulsion* also speaks to the ambivalence that colored seventeenth-century attitudes to the expulsion. This is nowhere more evident than in Cervantes characterization of Ricote and his daughter Ana Félix in book two of *Don Quixote*,⁵⁷ with its curious combination of contempt and compassion towards the Moriscos. Cervantes invites the reader to question the ubiquity with which the “wicked expulsion” was enacted, and to commiserate with Ricote at the passing of a measure that “threatened the hapless souls of [Ricote’s] tribe with such severity.”⁵⁸

However, Ricote and Ana are also especially effective witnesses to the veracity of many of the accusations leveled against the Moriscos. In keeping with the religious vituperation of Bleda and Ribera, Ricote and Ana characterize the majority of their race not as true Catholics but as “phony, public ones.”⁵⁹ Ricote even goes so far as to describe the decree as a “mild and moderate punishment,” and he affirms prevailing rumors of the Moriscos’ treasonous nature by calling the measure a divinely inspired answer to the “disgustingly absurd schemes [his] people were

⁵³ Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 47.

⁵⁴ Perry, 59.

⁵⁵ Perry, 47.

⁵⁶ Palamino, 146-7.

⁵⁷ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra and James H. Montgomery, *Don Quixote*, Revised edition (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009), 715-717 and 773-776.

⁵⁸ Cervantes, 715

⁵⁹ Cervantes, 774

planning.”⁶⁰ In fact, Ricote and his daughter appear deserving of pity only because they gladly renounce their Moorish ancestry, both in speech and behavior. Moreover they exhibit a decorous reverence to the bounds that separate “Christians of long standing” from neophytes like themselves.⁶¹ Therefore, Cervantes’ treatment of the Moriscos does as much to justify the expulsion as it does to evoke pity at its outcome. It also echoes other well-worn prejudices against the Islamic faith, characterizing the Turks as a murderous, indolent lot who drink to excess and lust after beautiful men and women.⁶²

It is possible that through his tearful depiction of Morisco men, women, and children, Velázquez invested his work with a similarly bivalent tone, casting the Moriscos both as a threat to Spanish sanctity and as objects of pity. We do not know Velázquez’s own position on the expulsion of the Moriscos.⁶³ However, we do know that the artist was amply capable of offering nuanced depictions of the religious and racial “other,” as is evident in his rendering of the Protestant Dutch in *Surrender at Breda* (1634-5), and the African slave in *Supper at Emmaus* (1617/18).⁶⁴

Conquest and Compassion⁶⁵

Velázquez’s *Surrender of Breda* offers another plausible motive behind Velázquez’s tearful depiction of the Moriscos. The painting commemorates the surrender of the Dutch city to Philip IV’s forces, led by the Spanish general Ambrosio Spinola. Like the *Expulsion*, it turns what was considered by some to be ill-conceived plan into a resounding victory. At the center of the painting is the inclined figure of Justin of Nassau, handing the keys to his city to his victor. His movement is countered by Spinola, whose compassionate gesture emphasizes the clemency and benevolence of the monarch, in whose service this conquest has been enacted.⁶⁶

Perhaps through his tearful depiction of the Moriscos Velázquez also sought to underline the clemency of the Hapsburg princes, highlighting both their pious conquest and their Christian compassion. This notion of triumphalism tempered by religiosity is evident in the painting’s inscription, which enumerates the extent of Philip III’s empire—his dominion over Belgium, Germany and Africa as well as his Christian and kingly virtues of “fosterer of peace and justice, preserver of the public order.”⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Cervantes, 716.

⁶¹ Cervantes, 719

⁶² Cervantes, 773 and 775

⁶³ Although we do know of his familial and professional ties to Pacheco, with whom the humanist Pedro de Valencia was also connected.

⁶⁴ Velázquez’s *Surrender at Breda* (Madrid, Prado) can be seen in Brown and Elliot, 186. For *Supper at Emmaus* (Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland) see Tiffany, 33.

⁶⁵ This term is borrowed from Perry’s discussion of the Count of Priego’s description of the Moriscos arriving from Granada to Seville following the 1570 decree of Philip II that the Moriscos be dispersed throughout Spain. Perry notes the “odd mixture of conquest and compassion” inherent in this report. See Perry, 1-2.

⁶⁶ Brown and Elliot, 187-189.

⁶⁷ Palomino, 146-147.

Seventeenth-century debates on the proper function of kingship lend further weight to the idea that the *Expulsion* sought to underline the conquest and compassion of the Hapsburg kings. Particularly relevant is Valencia's discourse on the ideal monarch as "*El Rey Pastor*." In a speech written for his patron, the second duke of Feria, Valencia stated that the most sovereign kings should "play[ing] their part not as masters but as under-shepherds," who will have to account to a higher authority for "the harm or loss of the least lamb of the flock."⁶⁸ In doing so he drew on popular conceptions, as well as classical and biblical exemplars like David and Cyrus the Great of Persia, of the king as a good shepherd tending to his flock. Although in the *Expulsion* Philip III is dressed as a victor, not a humble shepherd, Velázquez's portrayal of the Moriscos as "a troop of men, women and children being led away in tears" may have sought to evoke the twofold-ideal of the King as vanquisher and as a good shepherd, prepared to make necessary sacrifices for the greater good of his flock.

In this paper, I have relocated Velázquez's *Expulsion* within seventeenth-century discourse surrounding the measure. In doing so I have shown that the painting allowed Philip IV an opportunity to vindicate his father's expulsion, portraying it as a moral obligation and an ideological victory. Moreover, through careful analysis of surviving accounts of the *Expulsion* as well as other seventeenth-century artistic and literary depictions of the event, I have examined how the painting spoke to the racial and religious discourse of its day, including Spanish Christians' ambivalent attitudes towards the Moriscos, as well as their Moorish past.

This ambivalence would have been especially apparent in the painting's physical setting in the Alcázar. The *Expulsion* celebrated an event that sought a decisive end to the Islamic presence in Spain, yet its location in a former Moorish fortress served as a tangible and enduring testament to this legacy. The same could be said of the Moorish-inspired mock battles that took place in the Plaza de Palacio outside the palace. While one might argue the building and these customs embody the circumscription of their Islamic heritage within the larger context of Catholic triumph, they also suggest a lingering admiration for aspects of this heritage. In any case, such a setting would no doubt have heightened the poignancy of Velázquez's portrayal of the dispossessed inheritors of Spain's Islamic past.

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⁶⁸ Magnier, 368.

The Cessation of Miracles and the Nature of Hobbes' Erastianism

By A. I. Jacobs

What follows is an initial foray into a larger project that attempts to capture the political dimensions of the so-called 'debate on miracles' in seventeenth-century England. In particular, this essay is concerned with Thomas Hobbes' treatment of miracles in *Leviathan*. While most scholars have attended to *Leviathan's* miracles as a means of divining Hobbes' private religious beliefs, here I treat them as indicators of Hobbes' *ecclesiological* position, contrasting Hobbes' understanding with those of the 'Erastian' writers with whom he is often categorized.¹ Like Hobbes, Erastians in the 1640s were concerned to deflect the *jure divino* pretensions of clericalists. Also like Hobbes, these Erastians deployed variations of the Protestant doctrine of the cessation of miracles as a means to neutralize those claims. Hobbes' account differs from his contemporaries, however, in his refusal to endorse a specific account of sacred history; one in which the cessation of miracles occasioned a transfer of coercive powers from Christ's ministers to Godly magistrates. Hobbes likely departed from the standard Erastian line, in my view, to avoid falling into argumentative conventions that could be repurposed to clericalist ends. By aligning *Leviathan's* miracles with these earlier accounts, we can deepen our understandings of both Hobbes and also of the changing nature of the problem of religious authority in mid-seventeenth century England.

It is a relative commonplace that the denial of miracles and other forms of immediate divine activity was a key characteristic of eighteenth-century rationalism and natural religion. Equally well known is that debates over the status of the miraculous emerged first not in the 'Age of Reason,' but rather in the first century of the Protestant reformation. In the early years of the reformation, Catholics argued that the miracles of Rome demonstrated that it was Christ's true church, and scornfully inquired whether reformers had any comparable miracles of their own. The response was the gradual development of the doctrine of the cessation of miracles: the claim that miracles

¹ Some recent works discussing Hobbes as an Erastian include Jeffrey Collins, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially 11-57; Johann Sommerville, *Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), 127-134; Sommerville, "Hobbes, Selden, Erastianism, and the History of the Jews," in *Hobbes and History*, ed. Tom Sorrell and G. A. J. Rogers (London: Routledge, 2000), 159-187; Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 122-128.

belonged to the age of the apostles alone, and that any subsequent wonders in the world were nothing more than impostures, delusions, or outright diabolic works.²

What we have, then, are two moments in which miracle discourse performed specific polemical functions. In the first century of the reformation, to deny the occurrence of miracles was to straightforwardly deny the religious authority of the Catholic Church. Two hundred years later, the purpose was to make rhetorical war on revealed religion. The problematic that currently interests me is the ideological work miracles were doing in the interim, after reformers had established the cessation doctrine as an inter-confessional armament but before the English avant-garde had turned away from the idea of an interventionist deity altogether. I argue that in the 1600s the miraculous provided English Protestants with one of many idioms for conceptualizing and contesting state power. The cessation of miracles became a tool in intra-protestant debates over the role of magistrates in religious reform, a framing device to discuss Godly Politics in secular time. The crux of those debates was how Christians ought to conduct themselves in politics when God had, at least in some immediate sense, stopped speaking. The resulting framework provided an ideological schema in which a variety of actors could justify their positions as necessary consequences of the unfolding of sacred history.

The Miracles of *Leviathan*

In this essay, I explore some of these issues via Thomas Hobbes' discussion of miracles in *Leviathan*, comparing it with other 'Erastian' applications of miracle discourse from the previous decade. As we shall see, Hobbes' remarks on miracles reflect unease with the arguments earlier Erastians had used to ground the magistrate's power over religious matters in sacred history. Nonetheless, discontinuity can be just as instructive as continuity. In my estimation, it appears likely that Hobbes *consciously* avoided adopting existing Erastian argumentative practices. He did so because he detected a certain fluidity between clericalist and anti-clericalist ideological vocabularies.

Miracles, according to Hobbes, issue from an interaction between God's immediate activity on earth and the fickle psychology of human beings. Miracles are the works of God that generate wonder, either due to their novelty or because their audience is ignorant of the causal processes underlying them. This, however, implies that miracles are necessarily open, polyvalent events. An eclipse or a rainbow, for example, might appear a miracle to one but not to another. The superstitious will assign miraculous origins to phenomena that wiser men would understand as purely natural occurrences. Complicating matters further is Hobbes' stipulation that true miracles are always *purposive*. They are God's means of 'vouching' for a particular divine messenger: "It

² D. P. Walker, "The Cessation of Miracles," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (London, Mississauga, and Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1988), 111-124; Peter Harrison, "Miracles, Early Modern Science, and Rational Religion," *Church History* 75, No. 3 (2006): 493-519; Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 21-50; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 226-232. Though these ideas are to be found in outline in the works of Luther and Calvin, Walker argues that the doctrine became securely part of mainstream Protestant orthodoxy only in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Walker, 111-112.

belongeth to the nature of a miracle, that it be wrought for the procuring of credit to God's messengers, ministers, and prophets, that thereby men may know, they are called, sent, and employed by God, and thereby be the better inclined to obey them."³ Miracles are thus a form of divine communication that aims at conferring legitimacy on speakers. In Hobbes' formula, a prophet delivers a message purported to have come from God, and then God performs a miracle to demonstrate his approval.⁴ "A miracle is a work of God, (besides his operation by the way of Nature, ordained in the Creation) done, for the making manifest to his elect, the mission of an extraordinary Minister for their salvation."⁵

Miracle claims, then, are a means for a speaker to accrue power, and thus the question of how one properly assesses such claims is necessarily a political one. Men determine strange events to be truly miraculous principally on the basis of their own ignorance, and the social consequence is that those of greater knowledge and experience may pretend miracles in order to gain control over the credulous and naïve: "Such is the ignorance and aptitude to error generally of all men, but especially of them that have not much knowledge of natural causes, and of the nature and interests of men; as by innumerable and easy tricks to be abused."⁶ By playing on the ignorance of their audiences, astrologers, ventriloquists, and amateur magicians might ascend to the status of popular prophets. Consequently, while real miracles are markers of Divine approval, most supposed miracle workers are likely to be merely con artists in search of prestige and power.

This would appear an insoluble difficulty. Miracles are one of God's means of communicating with the elect, but miracle *claims* are mostly a means for the nefarious to control the credulous. At various points in *Leviathan*, Hobbes proposes several ways out of this problem. At times, Hobbes forcefully argues with the mainstream of English Protestant thought that miracles have ceased.⁷ Contemporary miracle claims are uniformly dubious and, according to Hobbes, demand a ruthless scrutiny: "We must both see [the miracle] done, and use all means possible to consider, whether it be really done; and not only so, but whether it be such, as no man can do the like by his natural power, but that it requires the immediate hand of God."⁸ Additionally, Hobbes argues that we ought to measure the truth of miracle claims by the conformity of a speaker's message with accepted doctrine.⁹ One may hear stories about supposed miracles, Hobbes avers, and a private man

³ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 301. All subsequent citations are from this edition.

⁴ It should be pointed out that Hobbes emphasizes the fact that it is God, and not the prophet, that performs miracles. "And from this definition, we may inferre; First, that in all Miracles, the work done, is not the effect of any vertue in the Prophet; because it is the effect of the immediate hand of God; that is to say, God hath done it, without using the Prophet therein, as a subordinate cause." Hobbes, 303.

⁵ Emphasis in original, Hobbes, 303. The novelty of this notion should not be overstated. Evidentialist understandings of miracles, as Peter Harrison informs us, became a relatively common attitude in the reformation era, where different religions were conceived as discrete packages of propositional statements that required miracles to adjudicate between them. Harrison, "Miracles, Early Modern Science, and Rational Religion," 501-504.

⁶ Hobbes, 304.

⁷ Hobbes, 259.

⁸ Hobbes, 305.

⁹ "There be two marks, by which together, not asunder, a true Prophet is to be known. One is the doing of miracles; the other is the not teaching any other Religion than that which is already established," Hobbes, 257.

can privately think whatever he likes about them.¹⁰ The *power* associated with miracle claims is what troubles Hobbes, and in this respect we are not to trust our “private Reason.” Regardless of whether one determines it credible or dubious, in any case of purported miracles, one ought to defer to the “Publique Reason” of “God’s Supreme Lieutenant,” the sovereign power.¹¹ Hobbes’ solution to the problem posed by miracle claims, then, is a solidly Erastian one: We defer to the sovereign on questions of miracles because to do otherwise risks giving social power to ambitious charlatans, thereby dividing sovereignty and starting down the long road to civil war.¹²

The Cessation of Miracles and Civil War Erastianism

Hobbes was not the only Erastian who deployed miracle discourse as a means for rebuffing these sorts of ambitions during the civil war era. For polemicists such as Thomas Coleman, William Prynne, and William Hussey, writing in the mid 1640s, the cessation served as a tool with which they could justify the control of the magistrate over religious matters as the consequence of specific events in sacred history.¹³ The principal opponents of these civil war Erastians were English and Scottish Presbyterians. In early 1645, the Presbyterian-dominated Westminster Assembly forwarded a plan to parliament that would give ministers exclusive control over admission to the sacraments. Moreover, they insisted that this power of excommunication had been divinely ordained. The Apostles, the Presbyterians claimed, had instituted excommunication as a means to keep the sacrament pure and therefore to give ruling elders the same power was merely to be consistent with scripture.¹⁴

¹⁰ “A private man has alwaies the liberty, (because thought is free,) to beleieve, or not beleieve in his heart, those acts that have been given out for Miracles, according as he shall see, what benefit can accrew by mens belief, to those that pretend, or countenance them, and thereby conjecture, whether they be Miracles, or Lies,” Hobbes, 306.

¹¹ Hobbes, 306.

¹² “When Christian men, take not their Christian sovereign, for God’s prophet; they must either take their own dreams, for the prophecy they mean to be governed by, and the tumor of their own hearts for the Spirit of God; or they must suffer themselves to be led by some strange prince; or by some of their fellow-subjects, that can bewitch them, by slander of the government, into rebellion, without other miracle to confirm their calling, than sometimes an extraordinary success and impunity; and by this means destroying all laws, both divine and human, reduce all order, government, and society, to the first chaos of violence and civil war,” Hobbes, 299-300.

¹³ In particular, the pamphlets I use here are William Prynne, *A Vindication of Foure Serious Questions of Grand Importance Concerning Excommunication and Suspension from the Sacrament* (London, 1645); Thomas Coleman, *Male dicis maledicis. Or A brief reply to Nihil respondens. Also, the Brief view, briefly viewed. Being animadversions upon a namelesse authour in a book, called, A brief view of Mr. Coleman his new model* (London, 1645); William Hussey, *A Plea For Christian Magistracie: or, an Answer to Some Passages of Mr. Gillespie’s sermon, Against Mr. Coleman* (London, 1646). A fuller account would, of course, require some discussion of Selden, Whitelocke, and Lightfoot, but in the interests of space I have limited myself to the explicit Erastian targets of Gillespie’s *Aaron’s Rod Blossoming*.

¹⁴ The most thorough account of the Erastian controversy at the Westminster Assembly is George Yule, *Puritans in Politics: The Religious Legislation of the Long Parliament, 1640-47* (n.p.: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1981), 149-207. Others are W. M. Lamont, *Puritanism and the English Revolution*, vol. 2, *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603-1660* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 106-135; Lamont, *Marginal Prynne, 1600 – 1669* (London: Routledge, 1963), 149-174; W. S. Crowley, “Erastianism in the Westminster Assembly,” *Journal of Church and State* 15, No. 1 (Winter 1973): 49-64; John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 267-292.

One strain of Erastian argument against these *jure divino* claims focused on establishing the uniqueness of the early Christian Church. If the Presbyterians wished to point to practices and offices that supposedly descended directly from the era of the Apostles, Erastians set about re-describing the early Church in terms that stressed its inimitability. One way to assert this singularity was to emphasize the role of supernatural powers in the first years of Christianity. The primitive Church, the Erastians claimed, had been gifted with powers of prophecy, speaking in tongues, healing, and other miracles. The reason such gifts had been necessary, in the Erastian view, was that the Church at that time had lacked the support of the civil government. Miracles were thus a kind of divine emergency politics, the purpose being to preserve the true religion before it had fully established itself. “At that time,” according to Hussey, “there were workers of miracles which did supply the defect of civil magistracy.” With the conversion of the Roman emperors, however, Christianity gained the support of the civil government, and the extraordinary assistance provided by miracles was no longer necessary. “After, when nations were converted . . . there will be no more use of miracles.”¹⁵

This admonition applied in particular to powers of correction and exclusion from the sacrament. A key Biblical text justifying the supposedly *jure divino* status of excommunication was 1 Corinthians 5:5, where Paul advises the church at Corinth on how to deal with a member who had been sleeping with his father’s wife. Paul avers that the Church must “deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved on the day of the Lord Jesus.” While Coleman simply stated that the passage “takes not hold on my conscience for excommunication,” Prynne argued that it referred not to mere exclusion from the sacrament but rather a quite literal and miraculous *delivery unto Satan*, “so as the Devill thereby might actually possesse, macerate, *torment and afflict his flesh*.” Further, according to Prynne, “This kind of delivering men over to satan was peculiar onely to the Apostles, and some others in that age, but ceased since, and so cannot be drawne into practice among us.”¹⁶

Hobbes shared the anti-Presbyterian animus of the Erastians, and certainly believed that peace depended on magisterial control of religious policy. He did not, however, endorse this reading of early Christianity in *Leviathan*.¹⁷ The obvious question is why, if Hobbes shared the overall aims of the Erastians, did he neglect to take up their account of the cessation? I would suggest that Hobbes detected a deep instability of the Erastian line of argument. While the cessation story could be used to justify the magistrate’s exclusive control over religious coercion, it could under

¹⁵ Hussey, 29.

¹⁶ Emphasis in original. Coleman, 25; Prynne, 8. See also Hussey, 4. Johann Sommerville has pointed out that this particular argument goes back to Erastus himself, and was expressed semi-regularly in the first half of the seventeenth century. Sommerville, *Thomas Hobbes*, 196, note 42. For Erastus’ discussion, see Thomas Erastus, *The Theses of Erastus Touching Excommunication*, ed. Robert Lee (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Bell, 1844), 119–136.

¹⁷ As Professor Sommerville has noted, in some respects, Hobbes actually sided *against* the Erastian interpretation. Sommerville, “Hobbes, Selden, Erastianism, and the History of the Jews,” 176–177. In *Leviathan*, Hobbes clearly expresses that 1 Corinthians 5:5 is a reference to excommunication: “And thence it is that St. Paul calleth Excommunication, a delivery of the Excommunicate person to Satan. For without the Kingdom of Christ, all other Kingdomes after Judgment, are comprehended in the Kingdome of Satan,” Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 350.

other circumstances just as easily be accommodated to Presbyterian clericalism.¹⁸ And indeed it was. In order to see how, we must turn our attention from the debates over Church government to the parallel controversy concerning religious toleration.¹⁹ By the mid 1640s, the surging power of the independents in parliament and the growth of radical sectarianism in the parliamentary army convinced many commentators that England had become a seething hotbed of heresy.²⁰ The great question was what, if anything, the state ought to do about it.

While many opponents of toleration, such as Samuel Rutherford and Thomas Edwards, emerged out of the same camp that pushed for *jure divino* excommunication, horror at the growth of sectarianism drew a much wider following. Indeed, one of the most influential anti-tolerationist tracts of the late 1640s was Prynne's *The Sword of Christian Magistracy Supported*.²¹ In the course of the toleration debate, anti-tolerationists espoused what was in essence a more elaborate version of the same story told by the Erastians. According to Prynne, Edwards, and Rutherford, without the direct assistance of God, early Christianity would have been torn apart by internal heresies not unlike those plaguing contemporary England. To protect the true religion from extinction, God had endowed the Apostles with wondrous abilities, which they had used to stamp out blasphemy and maintain order. According to Edwards, "in the Primitive times when there were extraordinary gifts in the Church, of Miracles, &c, and immediate Answers and Revelations by Apostles and Prophets, then the Church needed not so much the helpe of the Magistrates and the civill sword."²²

Thus both Erastian and anti-tolerationist variants of the cessation story interpreted the ability to work miracles as a specifically *coercive* power. Miracles stood in for delinquent magistrates, protecting the true religion and punishing the false. In the Erastian variant, the transfer of coercive power from miracle-working ministers to civil magistrates necessarily implied a parallel change of Church government. In the anti-tolerationist version, by contrast, the conversion of magistrates simply indicated the historical moment when people with temporal powers became *members* of the Church. Ministers no longer exercised extraordinary gifts not because God had transferred their

¹⁸ See Johann Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots: Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 187-188.

¹⁹ On the toleration debate see Yule, 208-234; John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (London: Longman, 2000), 143-146; Coffey, "The Toleration Controversy during the English Revolution," in *Religion in Revolutionary England*, ed. Christopher Durston and Judith D. Maltby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 42-68.

²⁰ See, for example, Thomas Edwards' hysterical catalogue of supposed heresies, *Gangraena*. Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena, or, A catalogue and discovery of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of the sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years as also a particular narration of divers stories, remarkable passages, letters, an extract of many letters, all concerning the present sects: together with some observations upon and corollaries from all the fore-named premises* (London: 1646).

²¹ William Prynne, *The sword of Christian magistracy supported . . .* (London, 1647); Thomas Edwards, *The casting down of the last and strongest hold of Satan . . .* (London, 1647); Samuel Rutherford, *A free disputation against pretended liberty of conscience . . .* (London, 1649).

²² Edwards, 129-130. Rutherford is less overtly historical: "That which the servants of God doe in an extraordinary impulsion of the Spirit, in the case of the sinfull neglect of the lawfull Magistrate, or when there is no Christian Magistrate to doe it, that must be the ordinary constant duty of the Magistrate, especially when that turns away wrath from the Land, and is taken as acceptable service to God, as if the ordinary Magistrate had done it," Rutherford, 232.

coercive power, but rather because He had relieved them of the burden of punishing every blasphemer that crossed their path. That happy responsibility now fell to the magistrate, presumably under the advisement of his properly orthodox ministers. This was the emphasis that made the difference. In the debate over Church government, divisions could arise over the location of coercive power. Yet on the issue of toleration, even Presbyterians could countenance the magistrate's power over religion, since clerics would be the ones resolving questions of orthodoxy. In short, while telling a virtually identical story about the cessation of miracles, one version placed the magistrate at the head of the Church, while the other rendered him (or perhaps her) merely its punishing sword.²³

Hobbes and the Cessation of Miracles

The ease with which a particular set of Erastian arguments could be made amenable to clericalists, of course, does not indicate that the ideological space between the two positions was insubstantial. Their conflict was real, and arguably very much at the heart of the English Revolution. It also suggests that if Hobbes was aware of the parallel arguments for the power of the state in religion and the assertions that the magistrate must use that power to eradicate heresy as specified by ministers, he might have seen not two arguments, but one. The crux of that argument was that the early Church had constituted a kind of sovereign power, and for Hobbes, the notion that ministers could ever legitimately possess such powers independent of the state was a conceptual impossibility. In his view, the sovereign *always* held a monopoly on violence, regardless of whether or not he was a Christian.²⁴ The indivisibility of sovereignty was the consequence of the very nature of political society and the original contract, and recognizing one's state of obligation required only the exercise of natural reason.²⁵

This contradiction may help to illuminate the absence of the conventional Erastian interpretation in Hobbes' account of miracles. In Hobbes view, the Apostles were not primitive heretic hunters. Rather, their office had been to teach, to proclaim the coming Kingdom, and nothing more.²⁶ "They had nothing of Power, but of Perswasion."²⁷ Their *real* authority derived from "wisdom, humility, sincerity, and other virtues," and early Christians followed them "out of Reverence, not by Obligation."²⁸ Excommunication, while it existed in the primitive Church, was

²³ Gender-neutral language is necessary here, as one of Prynne's principal examples of a Godly magistrate was Elizabeth I.

²⁴ Hobbes, 414.

²⁵ This, in and of itself, was *not* an original reading of the basis of political authority. As Professor Sommerville has demonstrated, the mainstream of early Stuart absolutist thought was predicated on the attempt to establish the indivisibility of sovereignty primarily by natural arguments, with historical examples or analogies serving primarily as illustrations. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots*, 51-54.

²⁶ Hobbes, 341.

²⁷ Hobbes, 361.

²⁸ Hobbes, 479. This picture of the Apostles as the pacific bearers of the Gospel has striking similarities with the one advanced by the sects. For instance, the leveler pamphleteer William Walwyn wrote in 1644 that the Apostles had used "no meanes but argument and perswasion to alter or controle" the opinions of the Saducees; William Walwyn, *The*

nothing more than an admonishment to the faithful to avoid those engaged in sinful behavior, a perpetual but utterly innocuous power usually practiced by congregations rather than individual ministers.²⁹ Hobbes thus appears to have intentionally avoided the Erastian version of the cessation story because it implied that coercive power was a moveable good, and that at one time it had been the property of clerics.

Moreover, Hobbes was equally concerned to argue that sovereigns retained the right to interpret religious doctrine relevant to public order even after they began converting to Christianity. "This Right of the Heathen Kings, cannot bee thought taken from them by their conversion to the Faith of Christ . . . And therefore Christian Kings are still the Supreme Pastors of their people, and have power to ordain what Pastors they please, to teach the Church, that is, to teach the People committed to their charge."³⁰ Hobbes thus closed the door that other Erastians had left open, by insisting that the power to interpret as well as execute religious duties belonged to the sovereign power.

We might ask, then, if for Hobbes the cessation did not serve as a means of grounding magisterial authority, then what was the significance of his statements that miracles have ceased? While Hobbes did not espouse any particular doctrine with regards to the cessation, he certainly remarked on the matter. In his discussion of demonology and exorcism in the early Church, Hobbes suggested, "It is probable" that the cessation of miracles had occurred because of the loss of virtue in Christian pastors. "Those extraordinary gifts were given to the Church, for no longer a time, than men trusted wholly to Christ, and looked for their felicity only in his kingdom to come; and consequently, that when they sought authority, and riches, and trusted to their own subtlety for a kingdom of this world, these supernatural gifts of God were again taken from them."³¹ Hobbes thus inverted the conventional Erastian formula of sacred history. The end of miracles, far from the moment where the civil arm triumphantly took up its role as the Church's sword, was part of a narrative of the Church's corruption in history, which for Hobbes began astonishingly early.

In this sense, Hobbes' account of miracles tells us something both about *Leviathan* itself as well as the political vicissitudes of the moment in which Hobbes produced it. First, the cessation trope, far from the exclusive property of Erastian thinkers, appears to have been part of a cultural framework shared by virtually all the actors involved in the fierce debates over religious legislation in the 1640s. Erastians and Presbyterians may have had diametrically opposed aims when it came to Church government, but they spoke fundamentally the same political language and, on key points, their arguments could coalesce into a single case for religious coercion. In this sense, it appears that the cultural vocabulary of the civil war era was itself a contested ideological terrain. Polemical disputes over religious policy were in part about yoking shared cultural materials, particularly the awesome figure of the Godly magistrate, to distinctly partisan ends. This could certainly be

Writings of William Walwyn, ed. Jack R. McMichael and Barbara Taft (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 128-129.

²⁹ Hobbes, 348-354.

³⁰ Hobbes, 372.

³¹ Hobbes, 445.

accomplished, but only at the cost of allowing a degree of fluidity between one's own position and those of one's opponents.

Second, this ideological fluidity provides further insight into Hobbes' overall project in *Leviathan*. It is often said that Hobbes enjoyed deriving heterodox conclusions from orthodox premises. His account of miracles suggests that he was equally capable of the reverse—arguing for easily recognizable ideological positions in highly unorthodox ways. Indeed, one could reasonably assert that Hobbes' principal worries in *Leviathan* were the terms of political and religious argument themselves. The cultural vocabularies and shared narratives of his contemporaries were unreliable guarantors of civil peace. Thus, while Hobbes' aim of annexing religion to magistracy was commensurate with other Erastians, the account of miracles in *Leviathan* appears to be carefully crafted to accomplish that task without adopting conceptual frameworks that could lend themselves to clericalist reinterpretation. It seems fair to suggest that everywhere Thomas Hobbes looked in contemporary English political argument, he saw slippery slopes with clericalist swamps at the bottom. It may well be that much of his originality, in religion as well as politics, stems from his struggles to avoid them.

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Oratory and the Politics of Public Speech: Milton and Civil War Polemic

By Helen Lynch

In these western parts of the world, we are made to receive our opinions concerning the Institution, and Rights of Common-wealths, from *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, and other men, Greeks and Romanes . . . And because the Athenians were taught . . . that they were Free-men, and all that lived under Monarchy were slaves; therefore *Aristotle* puts it down in his *Politiques* (*lib.6.cap.2*), *In democracy, Liberty is to be supposed: for 'tis commonly held, that no man is Free in any other Government* . . . And by reading of these Greek, and Latine Authors, men from their childhood have gotten a habit (under a falseshew of Liberty,) of favouring tumults, and of licentious controlling the actions of their Sovereigns . . . with the effusion of so much blood; as I think I may truly say, there never was anything so deerely bought, as these Western parts have bought the learning of the Greek and Latine tongues.

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chapter xxi¹

Like many of his contemporaries, Hobbes located the source of the civil strife that had torn the country apart in the 1640s in the inflated modes of speech and flawed, misapplied theories of political democracy inherited from classical antiquity. Whether the effects were viewed with approbation or suspicion, all agreed that this was a period of heightened eloquence: for some, the relentless magniloquence was testimony to the greatness of the ideas at stake and the talents of the participants; for others, like Hobbes, it was a key to the aberrations in the political theory and practice of the period. In his own lifetime, Hobbes declares, “*folly and eloquence concur in the subversion of government*,” for, in their desire to resurrect “ancient” forms of polity “the common people” have been “drawne away by the eloquence of ambitious men, as it were by the witchcraft of Medea.”² Depicting the populace as deluded females—Pelias’ daughters—and the perpetrators as engaging in “witchcraft,” Hobbes genders factious and seditious language in a period when women were beginning to participate in public speech, to prophesy and polemicize within the nonconformist congregations and on their own behalf.³

¹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: Revised Student Edition*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 149–150.

² Thomas Hobbes, *De Cive*, trans. H. Warrender (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), XII. xiii, 155–156.

³ Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women’s Writing 1649 – 1688* (London: Virago Press, 1988). See also Sharon Achinstein, “Women on Top in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Revolution,” in *Feminism and*

The premise of the paper is that the debaters of this period had a preoccupation with all forms of oratory, that, even when not setting down speech originally given orally, the writers of the time thought of themselves as orators, often explicitly so, and of their interventions as public speech. Thus the period saw a pamphlet war which, for all the possibilities raised by the medium of print, was nevertheless conducted under the sign of spoken utterance, and the emergence of a print culture preoccupied with the *idea* of orality.⁴ Even though its manifestations appeared in written form, the print culture of the period engaged in a debate about the nature of public debate, deployed self-conscious speech about speech, in which the imagined scene of utterance – whether as *locus* of the biblical sermon or as *forum* and *areopagus*—and an audience of putative listeners was often vividly depicted.

This was a period highly conscious of, and indeed obsessed with, questions of language, evidenced not least in the wide-ranging philological projects and plans for linguistic reform which characterize the age. Within the political sphere, all sides express a pervasive anxiety concerning the nature and uses of language and its effects, who was getting to speak, and whose language was being listened to. In the context of the Civil War, those debating the future rights of Englishmen—and for whom “the Norman yoke of an unlawful power,” in place since “that unhappy conquest” rendered their enslavement a literal condition—frequently invoke the exclusion of the slave from citizenship, and thus in a state of being, as Aristotle describes both slaves and beasts, *aneu logon*, without speech.⁵ In the Putney Debates, a “slave” is conceived not primarily as someone who is not paid for his labour, or even as another man’s property to be bought and sold, but as a being with no voice, with no vote in the election of those who shall rule over him. Colonel Thomas Rainborough’s now well-known rhetorical question encapsulates this:

I would fain know what we have fought for—for a law which denies the people the franchise? And this is the old law of England, and that which enslaves the people of England: that they should be bound by laws in which they have no voice at all!⁶

If the restrictions on the franchise proposed by Ireton and others are accepted, he declares, “rich men only should be chosen” and the current injustice whereby “five parts of the nation—the poor people—are now excluded” would continue:

Renaissance Studies, ed. Lorna Hutson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Marcus Nevitt, *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640 – 1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁴ Regarding orality and literacy, Ong observes that the birth of classical rhetoric, or rather the birth of the debate about rhetoric in fifth-century BCE Greece, which gives rise to the body of work that formed the basis of the fascination of Roman and later ages with the subject, coincides with the advent of writing. Hence a science or an art—a *techné*—of speech occurs at precisely the intersection with the emergence of the literacy which will supersede it. Milton and his contemporaries found themselves situated at the apogee of a Renaissance humanist education which encompassed Platonic and Aristotelian scepticism, as well as Roman enthusiasm for rhetoric. Ong suggests that people always become fixated on orality as they are losing it—or as the means of losing it appears—or in the period of transition from one medium to another. The seventeenth century perhaps constituted a similar or related moment in human history to that of Greece in the fifth century BCE, this time in relation to print rather than writing—a time which saw an explosion of printed matter and a resurgence of politics, of potential democracy and actual republicanism with a consciously classical point of reference.

⁵ Richard Overton and William Walwyn, “A remonstrance of many thousand citizens: 7 July 1646,” in *The English Levellers*, ed. Andrew Sharp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 45; Members of the New Model Army and Civilian Levellers, “Extract from the debates at the General Council of the Army, Putney: 29 October 1647,” in *The English Levellers*, 102; Pol., I.1253a1-18; NE, 1142a25, 1178a6.

⁶ New Model Army, 111.

Then, I say, the one part shall make hewers of wood and drawers of water of the other five, and so the greatest part of the nation be enslaved [...] What shall become of those many men that have laid out themselves for the parliament of England in this present war, that have ruined themselves by fighting, by hazarding all they had? They have now nothing to say for themselves.⁷

By highlighting muteness and exclusion as the primary condition of slavery, and given the economic element in the requirement for participation in the proposed franchise, Rainborough manages to equate one definition of slavery with the other, the voteless man with the hapless individual who must carry out physical labour, without recompense, for another. Consent, then, is invariably characterized as oral, as “voice” and “say,” with its opposite, tyrannical oppression, as silencing:⁸

If these men must be advanced, and other men set under foot I am not satisfied. If their rules must be observed, and other men that are not in authority silenced, I do not know how this can stand together with the idea of a free debate.⁹

Unlike for Hobbes, however, the solution for polemicists writing in the 1640s and 50s is not less but *more* speech, specifically of the right kind from the right people, whether it be the “good Commonwealths language” advocated by Nedham, the virulence of Milton’s “tart rhetoric”(CPW, I.901) in defence of his country, or the jarring, “tarter” discourse proposed by Walwyn and Overton to break through the complacency of the “old jingle of the bishops” and the bemusing and obfuscating “mistie” glamour of the king or Presbyterian idolatry.¹⁰ Against the “negative voices” of opponents, the “ravening wolves” and servile, “prowling varlets” of the episcopal church or predatory presbyters, there must never be, as Milton has it in *Lycidas*, “nothing sed.”¹¹ The antidote to the mute violence of tyranny is conceived of as a *virtuous* silencing—and then shall the mouths of those be stopped that scandalise you and us as endeavouring anarchy or to rule by the sword—and the apt reply to the “scoffing Ishmaelites” is the liberating force of laughter—that other vocal production of which, like speech, the ancients noted animals to be incapable, a curative, positive anti-language of derision and hilarity, a meet and final reply to the lies and distortions of the enemies of truth and freedom.¹²

⁷ New Model Army, 118.

⁸ The *Oxford English Dictionary* appears to signal in the late seventeenth century a crucial moment in the usage of “to say” and “to have a say” in its transition from meaning “to vote,” to exercise an actual vote (a sense it had held since the Middle Ages) to the later sense of “to express an opinion,” often for purely therapeutic purposes, with no necessarily concrete effect. Interestingly, the first cited proponent of “say” in the milder and slightly derogatory sense that the term later assumes, maintaining this meaning into the nineteenth century and beyond, is Roger L’Estrange in 1692: “He had no sooner say’d out his Say, but [etc]”(Fables ci.95). A similar trajectory is observed in the use of “voice” or “to have a voice,” as signifying a vote.

⁹ New Model Army, 124.

¹⁰ Marchamont Nedham, *The excellencie of a free state* (1656), reprint ed. (London, 1767), 14; Overton and Walwyn, 45; Walwyn, “Toleration justified and persecution condemned: 29 January 1646,” in *The English Levellers*, 11.

¹¹ Overton and Walwyn, 43; Richard Overton, “An arrow against all tyrants: 12 October 1646,” in *The English Levellers*, 64. See also CPW, III.575, VII.443, 446; Line 129, in John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems* ed. Stella P. Revard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009).

¹² Several hands, “An agreement of the people for a firm and present peace upon grounds of common right and freedom: 28 October 1647,” in *The English Levellers*, 100. Walwyn, too, writes to “stop the mouths of such calumniators”; “Gold tried in the fire: 4 June 1647,” in *The English Levellers*, 86; Gerard Winstanley, “A new-years

As Milton avers, it is in all likelihood for the robust response to any “proper object of indignation” and the prelatial “cheat of soules” that “those two most rationall faculties of humane intellect *anger and laughter* were first seated in the brest of man” (CPW, I.664). Milton’s laughter in Heaven at the confusion occasioned by worldly hubris in the disaster of Babel (PL, XII.59–62), and the derision of Europe which he foresees if the English choose “a captain back for *Egypt*” in 1660 (CPW, VII.363), are in the same “veine of laughing” (CPW, I.663). For, as the Psalm has it, “He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh. The LORD shall have them in derision,” and retributory anger is not far behind: “then severe/Speak to them in his wrath, and in his fell/And fierce ire trouble them.”¹³ In short, both more speech and more listening is required, and, as Walwyn and Overton warn, the people’s representatives “shall hear from us more frequently than you have done.”¹⁴

Milton both participates in and is politicized by this process, styling himself as just such a redefined classical and prophetic orator within it. Writers of all political and religious persuasions, however, at times evince alarm at the multiplicity and conflicting purposes of those oratorical interventions, whether spoken or printed, and experience opposing voices as inflammatory, sophistical and misleading. The view of oratory as a wholesome influence, inducing order and acceptance of a natural hierarchy, envisaged in the rhetorical handbooks of the previous century is gone.¹⁵

I want to look now at a particular ‘system’ of images prevalent in the polemical literature, derived from classical republicanism and its notions of citizenship and public speech, but equally attractive to those who believed that a new political dispensation would render their country a New Jerusalem as to those who hoped to model a commonwealth according to the ideas of “those illustrious Greeks and Romans whom we particularly admire.”¹⁶ For the Greeks especially, the public domain was completely the opposite of the domestic or household realm, and only the male, free citizen could cross the threshold, leaving behind the sphere of compulsion, force and necessity to experience and express his freedom in the political world. To be a citizen was to be wholly divorced from considerations of survival and labour and from those—women, children, slaves, domestic animals—associated with such activities (including, in the case of the Greeks but not always of the Romans that of manufacturing and trade and the exchange of money). Foreigners were denied citizenship, and those captured in war were often enslaved, deemed incapable of the political virtue of courage by having accepted captivity rather than death.¹⁷

Readers of Milton and the polemical writing of the seventeenth century will be familiar with the recurrent derogatory use of terms like “childish,” “boys,” “babies,” “unmanly,” “womanish,” “slavish,” “wild beasts,” “wolves and beares,” or “sheep” and “asses,” “barbarians,”

gift for the parliament and armie (1650),” in *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writing in Stuart England*, ed. David Wootton (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986), 332.

¹³ Psalms 2:4. Milton’s translation of Psalm 2, lines 9–11, in *Complete Shorter Poems*. For retribution and laughter, see also Winstanley, “A new-yeers gift”, 331: “Well, all I shall say to these men that enjoy the earth in reality, and tell others they must enjoy it in conceit, surely your judgement for the Most High sleeps not; the law of retaliation like for like, laughing for laughing, may be your portion.”

¹⁴ Overton and Walwyn, 45.

¹⁵ See, for example, Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577), facsimile ed. (Menston: Scholar Press, 1971), “Epistle”, (Aij) and Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) (London, 1584), “Preface”, (Avii).

¹⁶ CPW, IV.550–51

¹⁷ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (1958; reprint Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

“cannibals,” and the like in berating either the “sluggardie” of the people, or the depravity of their opponents. I argue, however, that these are linked by a very specific context. For these are all categories denoting non-citizens of the Greek *polis* and to some extent those excluded from the Roman republican *vita activa*.¹⁸ In the attempt to rescue Milton from the charge of misogyny, it is sometimes pointed out that he uses images of animals or children as much as derogatory terms like “effeminacy” against those who fail to embrace their public role, whether through weakness or “slothfulness.”¹⁹ However, these are part of the *same* cluster of images, being alike groups that are excluded from the *polis*, considered incapable of adequate speech and, by a circular and self-confirming logic, denied access to the only realm in which meaningful utterance is possible.

Although the classical resonance of these metaphors had especial currency for political radicals, it is clear that for all sides in the debate, the fluidity and ease of association of this web of images, allowing all objects or practices of detestation to be pulled in under one rubric, and the mere mention of one or linking of two drawing with it associations of the others, enables the formation of a descriptive system which operates with cumulative force. In short, they constitute a subliminal rhetoric, with powerful effects to move an audience.²⁰ Whether viewing themselves as Athenians or Romans surrounded by barbarians or the Israelites encompassed by hostile, idolatrous tribes (or both), polemical writers found imagery of the non-citizen derived from classical republicanism peculiarly attractive, partly because of its adaptability, reversibility, and ease of combination with biblical images and preoccupations.

Milton’s equation of boys, women, enslavement and ovine mammals is well known from his description of the qualities desired and induced by monarchy in its subjects: “softest, basest, vitioussest, servilest, easiest to be kept under; and not only in fleece, but in minde also *sheepishest*”(CPW, VII.460). Opposing “manly confidence”(CPW, II.343) and “the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government”(CPW, VII.424) with the “painted freedom, [...] fit to coz’n babies”(CPW, III.236) and the “effeminate and Uxorious” qualities of softness and servility (CPW, III.421), evokes the dependency and passivity of those “more like boyes under age then men” (CPW, VII.427), easily attracted to baubles and bright objects, swayed by

¹⁸ The role and resonance of powerful female figures in Roman as distinct from Greek politics, especially the figure of the Roman matron, has been interestingly discussed in literary and political representation, and in relation to female rulership, in Carole Levin and Patricia Ann Sullivan, eds., *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); and Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 234-273. See also Patricia Parker, “Spelling Backwards,” in *Rhetoric, Women, and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (London: Routledge, 2007).

¹⁹ Gina Hausknecht, “The Gender of Civic Virtue,” in *Milton and Gender*, ed. Catherine Gimelli Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21.

²⁰ This imagery is almost invariably concerned with speech, with rhetoric itself: either those “negative voices,” the pernicious non-speech of opponents, or the “tarter,” harsher, “dolorous or a jarring blast” (CPW, I.803), and “sharp, but saving words” (CPW, I.598) required to counteract it. This discordant response is deemed necessary not simply to match the hideous din and gabble, the violent, ill-natured virulence of the opposition. However unpleasant the sound of the non-speech of opponents, it is its undifferentiated quality—whether the “buzz” of the state theologues” (Nedham, *The excellencie of a free state*), “jangling opinions” (CPW, I.684) or “clamor and malicious drifts”(CPW, III.238)—which renders it above all a sedative. For these writers, the overriding fact of such non-discourse is that it does not engage the rational faculty, while offering superficially pleasing “objects” to delight the sense, mesmerising or lulling the hearer into passive and childish acceptance, continually meeting (low) expectations, as Milton will subsequently claim for the “jingling sound of like endings” in his Note on “The Verse” of *Paradise Lost*.

“timorous and softning suggestions”(CPW, II.263), guilty of “sluggish fearfulness” and “the sloth of thir own timorous capacities”(CPW, II.341). Children, too, cry out and bellow for what they don’t understand, and demand freedoms they are incapable of sustaining.²¹

“Not to be babies, but to be men in good earnest”(CPW, II.352) requires classical attributes, and behind this intersection of infantilising effeminacy with tyranny and slavery lies the Greek paradigm of the Oriental Despot, a figure fully in play in Milton’s reference to a “perfet Turkish tyranny”(CPW, III.312) and in his famous depiction of Satan “High on a Throne of Royal State, which far/Outshone the wealth of *Ormuz* and of *Ind*” in Pandaemonium, with the Sultan to be glimpsed beyond ‘*Satan* exalted sat’ (PL, II.1-2, 5).²² As Aristotle makes clear, the tyrant himself is the least free of all his people, being governed entirely by necessity, driven by fear for himself and his family and dependent on the most vicious and servile of his lackeys. Such a man is no better than a beast, as Milton, echoing Aristotle and Cicero, insists: “he that bids a man reigne over him above Law, may bid as well a savage Beast.”²³ The same trope appears in Parker’s depiction of the Prince who loses sight of the people as the source of his power as no more than a “sottish prisoner” sitting amid his luxurious dishes like Nero “overcharged with unbounded seigniory,” or beneath a sword of Damocles, “bound with golden fetters, and yet [...] not so much perplexed with the weight, as inammor’d with the price of them.”²⁴

Though slavery induces servility in the peoples subjected to it, classical and seventeenth-century opinion insisted that some peoples were more innately slavish than others. Aristotle asserted that “barbarians are by natural character more slavish than Greeks (and Asiatics than Europeans),” which explained their tendency to “tolerate despotic rule without resentment” (Pol., III.xiv.1285a16). Parker declares that “Asia being more rich and fertile, bred a people more effeminate and disposed to luxurie, and so by consequence more ignoble, and prone to servilitie”²⁵ while Milton adds the Jews to this list, who “especially since the time they chose a King against the advice and counsel of God, are noted by wise Authors much inclinable to slavery” (CPW, III.202-3).²⁶ Parker cites Plutarch on “unmanly Slavish customs among the Persians” and notes that, as a whole, ‘the *Asiaticks* were ever extreemly despicable in the eyes of

²¹ Whatever shifts might be taking place in the contemporary conception of childhood and understanding of children (see Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Oxford: Polity, 2001) 19-102), for Milton it remains primarily a humiliating and dependent state, its status determined by classical designations. The qualities of sluggishness, sloth, and timorousness that Milton particularly identifies as childish and feminine constitute for him the polar opposite of the classical political virtue of courage. For the people’s tendency to behave “like a sort of clamouring & fighting brutes, broke loos,” and to “shew themselves to be by nature slaves, and arrant beasts; not fitt for that liberty which they cri’d out and bellow’d for,” see CPW, III.581.

²² Identification of the architecture and interior decor of Pandaemonium with ornate structures associated with worldly power—and visited by Milton on his travels in Italy—in Florence, Venice, Rome, and absolutist France have been variously advanced. However, none of these locales pre-empt the Asiatic tyrant element in the portrayal of Satan’s enthronement, while from Milton’s point of view the Pope is in any case an Oriental despot, an incarnation simultaneously of Judaical and Babylonish rule, and associated with the old papal/corrupt imperial locale of Constantinople, now appropriately in the hands of the Turkish Sultan.

²³ CPW, III.206. Cf. Pol., III.xvi.1287a23; Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (London: Harvard University Press, 1913), III.32.

²⁴ Parker, *Jus populi*, 21.

²⁵ Parker, *Jus populi*, 48.

²⁶ Milton is careful to specify that the ancient Christians and the Jewish Church in its virtuous form were alike opposed to “arrogancies, or flatteries” of such titles as “Sov’ran Lord, natural Lord, and the like”(CPW, III.202).

more magnanimous nations, especially the Greeks, for adoring and prostrating themselves with so much devotion before their Princes.”²⁷ As ever, the formal gesturing of political and idolatrous self-abasement is the defining feature of servility that focuses these specimens of seventeenth-century ‘Orientalism’ in their continuation of the classical. In an environment that exhibits a confluence of the familiar elements, Satan, for all his democratic and oratorical posturing, is the imprisoned and bestial Asiatic tyrant amid the splendour of “*Barbaric Pearl and Gold*,” effeminate, slavish followers and his own “insatiate” condition (*PL*, II.4, 8).

In Milton’s well-known passage, therefore, the link between Oriental despotism and imagination is clear, with richness, aesthetic excess, and ornament inseparable from art as pride. Milton might want to say a certain type of imagination rather than imagination *per se*, though it is undeniable that the elements in this description are powerfully stimulative to the imagination for both poet and reader. The passage, however, points us towards Satan’s two defining productions: “Vain Warr” and “proud imaginations” (*PL*, II.9, 10). The war is empty, pointless and without effect, as well as originating in personal vanity, while the false creations and artifices generated by pride are just as vacuous and unreal.²⁸ It is not just in provision of food that the landscape of the East is excessively generous, since “the gorgeous East with richest hand/Showrs on her *Kings Barbaric Pearl and Gold*” (*PL*, II.3–4), precisely the kinds of glittering objects that draw the eye and distract the sense, above all that tempt the unmanly—whether feminized or infantile. The proximity of such empty baubles, like the “land more rich and fertile” of Parker’s account predisposes men to such servile and effeminate ways. The place itself *breeds* them thus. The landscape of the Orient is itself feminine, with her jewels and her almost excessive fecundity, and such a mother, too giving, too indulgent, produces unmanly children, raised on rewards too easily gained, unschooled in the realities of the fallen world and unused to the sweat of the brow. The East, in short, makes a bad mother precisely because of her excessive maternal impulses—and a corrupting mistress since she assumes all too easily the maternal role over men already groomed to accept this. As mistress, then, she effects a dangerous role-reversal by acting as the provider to men, showering them with gifts of gems, while as a mother she represents the polar opposite of “that honest poverty, which is the mother and nurse of modesty, sobriety, and all manner of virtue.”²⁹

Finally, the description does not simply illustrate the confluence of these familiar elements in the single image of Asiatic tyrant. The derogatory use of terms such as “fantaisie,” “phantastick imaginations and vain conceits” is common in the political writing of Milton and his contemporaries, again often in association with complaints against the rituals and display of the king’s authority, the “mistie cloud” of royal prerogative, the obfuscating glamour and false “mystery of kingship” with which “the people are overborne.”³⁰ Milton, though, has an interest in proving that there is another kind of imagination than that of empty display and pride, and in service to a higher reality altogether, that there is a language of “poetry and all good oratory” distinct from seeming beauty and persuasion, an arrangement of words which come from

²⁷ Parker, *Jus populi*, 48–49.

²⁸ As in Parker, this state proceeds from the ruler’s failure to understand the source of his, or in this case all, power.

²⁹ Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, ed. T. West (Indianapolis, 1990), 350, cited in Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 97.

³⁰ Overton and Walwyn, 42.

another source and speak to a different imaginative faculty. The combination of images which this paper explores in fact takes us to the heart of Milton's political and linguistic project.

List of Abbreviations

- CPW* *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-82), 8 volumes in 10.
- PL* John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).
- Pol.* Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. T. A Sinclair, revised by Trevor J. Saunders (London: Penguin Books, 1981). All references are given using Bekker numbers.

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“The Wretched Queen of Love”: Court Politics and Sexual Intrigue in John Blow’s *Venus and Adonis*

By Beth Hartman

Venus has long been considered the goddess of love and beauty.¹ A quick Google search for “Venus” yields 53,700,000 results, and Venus.com, *not* Venus the planet, appears on top of the cyber pile. During the English Restoration, artists, authors, and composers also were aware of Venus’s sexual power when they invoked her name. Broadside ballads, medical texts, and so-called “whore dialogues,” like “Venus in the Cloister” (1683) and “School of Venus” (1655), relied on the goddess of love to deliver a variety of sexually-charged messages, often of political import.² As historian Rachel Weil notes, commentaries regarding the activities of the court and the state of the nation frequently employed explicit sexual metaphors and highly sexualized imagery as ways of either critiquing or supporting the monarch.³ Weil argues that “[t]he lines between court and

¹ Quoted text in the title is taken from John Blow’s *Venus and Adonis*, Act III, line 17. John Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, Purcell Society Edition Companion Series, ed. Bruce Wood (London: Stainer and Bell, 2008), xxxv.

² Andrew Walkling argues that “political allegory was central to the functioning of high culture in seventeenth-century England, and we would be doing ourselves a grave disservice by not at least attempting to read any such work from the period in this way, particularly if there is reason to suspect that the work was written for presentation at court.” Walkling, “Political Allegory in Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas*,” *Music and Letters* 76 (1995): 541. Among musicologists, Walkling’s argument is not without critics (see Walkling, “Political Allegory,” 540, footnotes, for a summary and list of scholars involved in the debate). A voice of reason seems to be Amanda Winkler, who recognizes the importance of investigating the possibility of political allegory in Restoration era music, while realizing the likelihood of multiple interpretations and meanings. In her recent article concerning an early eighteenth-century song contest involving the myth *The Judgment of Paris*, Winkler states, “I do not seek a detailed allegory whereby every musical gesture or rhetorical flourish of the libretto had a double meaning. The reading I propose is general and straightforward; by identifying the role the myth played in Restoration culture, I extrapolate a range of meanings Congreve’s *Judgment of Paris* would have held for theatre-going early eighteenth-century Londoners. I also address the issue of musical and dramatic performance, demonstrating how they can create or subvert political meanings.” Winkler, “‘O Ravishing Delight’: The Politics of Pleasure in ‘The Judgment of Paris,’” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15 (2003): 16.

³ See Rachel Weil, “Sometimes a Scepter is Only a Scepter: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England,” in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 130–133. For a contemporary perspective on court life and politics in the early years of the reign of Charles II,

country, the regime and its opponents, and sexual puritanism and sexual libertinism were more hazy and complicated than the traditional stereotypes suggest . . . [I]t was possible to attack sexual libertinism and religious skepticism by associating both with political tyranny and absolutism rather than with opposition to the monarchy."⁴

Music could also serve as a vehicle for voicing praise, disgust, or some combination of the two.⁵ In this paper, I aim to show that political allegory in John Blow's masque *Venus and Adonis* relied on discourses concerning sexuality and women and on the figure of Venus. As the epitome of the "dangerous woman," and the goddess most often associated with corporeal, sexual pleasures, Venus's relationship to the "body politic" of Charles II warrants a closer look; on her body, political lines were drawn, opposing viewpoints re-enacted, warnings re-sounded.⁶ A complete analysis of Blow's masque must also take into consideration the original actors and actresses, both on and off the stage; the libretto, with attention given to highly sexualized moments; and the musical language of the masque.

The (Sexual) Politics behind the Music

Of particular import to the current study is James Winn's identification of the librettist as Anne Kingsmill, and the indication on the principal manuscript of the first performers.⁷ Mary Davies, who played Venus in the premiere of the masque in the 1680s in the presence of the king,

see Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Henry Benjamin Wheatley, presented by Project Gutenberg, <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/webbin/gutbook/lookup?num=4200>.

⁴ Weil, 132.

⁵ For more on the seemingly contradictory combination of praise and disgust in Restoration era political texts, see Weil, 125-153. While political allegory is not necessarily unique to Restoration England, in this paper I focus on this time period, and on the court of Charles II in particular, because it was during Charles's reign—and for Charles's enjoyment—that John Blow wrote *Venus and Adonis*.

⁶ Rachel Weil states "narratives about the king's body, its powers and vulnerabilities, its healthy and unhealthy states and its relationship to the body politic, provided writers with a way of dramatizing their deepest concerns," 142. In similar fashion, Mary E. Fissell offers insight into gendered relations of power, and the symbolic marriage of the "head of state" to his subjects: "All relations of power—between monarch and his/her subjects, a bishop and his flock—were analogous to the relations between a man and the family he headed. A husband who could not maintain good order in his household would not be able to govern any community effectively. In other words, at the heart of relations of power was man and wife." Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2.

⁷ Despite the numerous extant sources for *Venus and Adonis*, they come with many problems, including no extant autograph, and no definitive information regarding the date or location of the first performance of the masque, although Bruce Wood, Richard Luckett, and others have argued convincingly that the first performance took place in 1682. For more information on *Venus and Adonis* sources, see especially Richard Luckett, "A New Source for 'Venus and Adonis,'" *The Musical Times* 130 (1989): 76-79; and Andrew Walking, "Court, Culture, and Politics in Restoration England: Charles II, James II, and the Performance of Baroque Monarchy," (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1997), 300-375. James Winn has identified the likely librettist as Anne Finch, but this, too, was a mystery until very recently. See Winn, "'A Versifying Maid of Honour': Anne Finch and the Libretto for *Venus and Adonis*," *The Review of English Studies* 59, no. 238 (2007): 67-85.

was no stranger to the stage.⁸ A former professional actress, Mistress Davies had had an active stage career until she met Charles II; she retired from the stage not too long after she and Charles began their affair, and although we are not certain of the birth date of their daughter, Mary Tudor, it is possible that Mistress Davies stopped performing during pregnancy or after the birth of Lady Mary.⁹ In any case, Mistress Davies left the stage a year after her 1667 appearance in Davenant's revised version of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, only to return in 1675 in a private production of *Calisto*, which was the only other major court masque besides *Venus* to be produced during Charles's reign. *Calisto* was produced at the request of the Duchess of York (the wife of the Duke of York, the future King James II), who was an avid music-lover. Anne Kingsmill, our librettist, would later become a "Maid of Honor" to the Duchess.¹⁰ This is a post she would hold until her marriage to Heneage Finch in May of 1684.¹¹

Significantly, the Finches, with their close ties to the court, were Royalists. When Anne Kingsmill married Colonel Finch, she left her position at court, as it would have been considered unfitting for a married woman to continue to serve in this capacity. Her husband, who was from a known Royalist family, remained in service to the court as the "Groom of the Bedchamber," up through James II's reign.¹² They were members of the courts of both Charles II and James II, and they expressed their loyalty to the Stuart court. After the "Bloodless Revolution" of 1688, during which James II was forcibly relieved of his duties as king and William and Mary became the new rulers, both Heneage and Anne refused to swear their allegiance to the new monarchs despite the fact that James II was Catholic and the Finches were Anglican.¹³

⁸ Again, the exact date and location of the first performance is unknown. But given that *Venus and Adonis* was subtitled "A Masque for ye Entertainment of ye King," and given the existence of documented events—including the king's and Blow's travels, major political events like the "Exclusion Crisis" (1678-1681), the king's death in 1685, and the likely birthdate of Mary Tudor—scholars have safely assumed that it was composed for the court and was performed sometime during the early 1680s. See especially Wood's comments in the Purcell Society edition. Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, xi-xxii.

⁹ See Walkling, "Venus and Adonis: The Politics of Consensus," in "Court, Culture, and Politics," 329-348.

¹⁰ Winn's line of thinking is worth quoting here, and also explains why we would not have been privy to this information before, especially during Kingsmill's own lifetime: "The anonymous libretto for John Blow's *Venus and Adonis* (c. 1683) may be the work of Anne Kingsmill, later Anne Finch, who was a Maid of Honour to the second Duchess of York at the time it was performed. Earlier musical dramas originating in that court, such as *Ariane* and *Calisto*, also have mythological plots, pastoral interludes, and an emphasis on female characters. While at court, Finch began a translation of Tasso's *Aminto*, a pastoral drama resembling *Venus and Adonis*. 'The Grove', a partially blotted manuscript poem 'Written when I was a Maid of Honour,' has close verbal parallels with the musical work. A Maid of Honour would have reasons to conceal her authorship of this delicately erotic libretto. Finch later remarked that she had been careful not 'to lett any attempts of mine in Poetry shew themselves whilst I livd in such a publick place as the Court, where every one would have made their remarks upon a Versifying Maid of Honour.' Her efforts to efface or conceal later works with close resemblances to the opera suggest that she remained determined to cover her tracks. Numerous verbal parallels exist between *Venus and Adonis* and later works by Finch, and if some of the phrases are conventional, their frequency points to Finch as the author of *Venus and Adonis*." Winn, 67.

¹¹ For more on Anne Kingsmill and the development of her relationship with Heneage Finch, see Barbara McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry: A Critical Biography* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 21-29.

¹² McGovern, 29.

¹³ McGovern, 54-57.

Between Mary Davies and Anne Kingsmill, we are faced with some perplexing questions. That Mary Davies played the part of Venus seems to be of some significance, especially given that her only other known court performance at this time occurred at the behest of the Duchess of York. And what are we to make of the presence of Lady Mary Tudor, one of Charles II's illegitimate children, onstage, alongside her mother, in the role of Cupid? What, if anything, were John Blow—whose personal politics are currently unknown—and Anne Kingsmill, a known Royalist, trying to convey to their courtly audience members, including the King?¹⁴ Given court gossip—as Samuel Pepys noted in his diary, his wife thought Mistress Davies was “the most impertinent slut in the world”—and the King's current mistresses—the Duchess of Portsmouth and the actress, Nell Gwyn—it is likely that both the King and members of his court took notice of the onstage, visual reminders of the King's escapades.¹⁵

Indeed, Charles II is well-known for his numerous affairs and the illegitimate offspring he fathered. While some of his subjects embraced libertinism, others were skeptical about Charles's promiscuity, and whether or not his behavior in the bedroom would affect his ability to rule.¹⁶ Pepys, for instance, thought the King's mistresses were getting more attention than they deserved: “[Captain George Cocke] tells me, speaking of the horrid effeminacy of the King, that the King hath taken ten times more care and pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemayne and Mrs. Stewart . . . than ever he did to save his kingdom.”¹⁷

Perhaps Blow's and Kingsmill's Venus, Mary Davies, not only served as a representation of Charles II's affairs, but also as a veiled warning to both the king and his loyal followers. In particular, the Duchess of Portsmouth's higher class position, her association with Louis XIV, and the fact that she was Catholic, may have raised suspicions.¹⁸ A lower-class actress, like Nell Gwyn

¹⁴ Unfortunately, very little is known about John Blow's personal politics. Given that Anne Kingsmill was a Royalist, it is possible that Blow was as well, although admittedly we currently have no way of knowing this. Thus, in the absence of definitive information regarding Blow's politics, I aim to show that Blow's *Venus and Adonis* contains complex commentaries on the current state of affairs, and that the combined forces of musical and sexual language are the communicative vessels of these (sometimes mixed) messages.

¹⁵ Pepys, <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/4/1/8/4185/4185.txt>. The excerpt from the diary reads: “That she [Pepys's wife] did sit near the players of the Duke's house; among the rest, Mis Davis, who is the most impertinent slut, she says, in the world; and the more, now the King do show her countenance; and is reckoned his mistress, even to the scorne of the whole world.” Amanda Winkler sees the onstage presence of the two Marys in a potentially positive light, as a moment of celebration of Charles's sexual activities: “Charles's dalliances seem to be celebrated in that two of those directly involved with his extra-marital activities were featured players in the masque—his mistress and his illegitimate daughter.” Winkler, “Gender and Genre: Musical Conventions on the English Stage, 1660-1705” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2000), 277.

¹⁶ Weil, 125-153.

¹⁷ Pepys, <http://www.pepysdiary.com/archive/1667/06/24/>.

¹⁸ For more on the King's mistresses, and the Duchess of Portsmouth and Nell Gwyn in particular, see Charles Carlton, *Royal Mistresses* (Andover and Danvers: Taylor & Francis, 1990), especially 71-78. The relationship between Charles II and Louis XIV was a complicated one, involving Charles's exchange of political neutrality for money during an anti-French, anti-Catholic, anti-absolutist time. For more information regarding the relationship between Charles II and Louis XIV, see John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (New York: Phoenix Press, 2000).

or Mary Davies, might not be taken seriously by Charles II, but the French Catholic Duchess might wield some power.¹⁹

If both Blow and Kingsmill were, in fact, Royalists critical of Charles II, their criticisms would have needed to be framed as objections to his behavior and the people with whom he associated—namely, his mistresses. As Amanda Winkler has pointed out, to criticize the King directly would have meant career suicide, if not an actual death sentence.²⁰ Nonetheless, in the first court performance of *Venus and Adonis*, Charles's sex life was on display for the members of his court to see. His personal life also became political when he elevated mistresses to positions of power within his court, as was the case with Lady Castlemaine and the Duchess of Portsmouth. The motives of these women, and the notion of their sexualized bodies coming into contact with the head of state, may have been a cause for concern for some of the king's subjects. And the repercussions of the mistresses' long-term relationships with the King—mouths to feed and stipends to pay—were tangible.

As Andrew Walkling asserts, in the dramatic productions of the seventeenth-century English court the male hero commonly represented the monarch, and, indeed, this seems to be a possibility in *Venus and Adonis*.²¹ Concerning Venus, however, Walkling and I disagree. Walkling insists that Venus represents England, arguing that Catholic-sympathizing Charles (Adonis) should take heed, because Protestant England (Venus) might rally against him and cause a second Civil War.²² A more likely choice, to my mind, is that Venus may represent a composite of the King's mistresses. Because of the prominence of the King's mistresses in his court, and the anxiety their presence caused among opponents *and* supporters of the monarchy, I think it no large leap to place these mistresses allegorically in John Blow's masque as Venus, with Charles II playing opposite them as Adonis. With this configuration, Blow and Kingsmill would have been relatively free to criticize the monarch indirectly through his associations with women of ill repute. Additionally, Blow and Kingsmill could appear to be praising Charles II by adopting the language of libertinism; the erotic

¹⁹ Both Mary Davies and Nell Gwyn were apparently, at one time or another, involved with the Second Duke of Buckingham, who hoped to get closer to the King through their affairs. Therefore, politics and power played a part in their relationships with the king as well, and while the Duke of Buckingham never really succeeded, both Davies and Gwyn benefited financially from their time with the King, as did his other mistresses. The financial well-being of Charles's mistresses provided yet another anxiety trope in Restoration England, with some questioning how Charles could continue to support so many mistresses and still manage to run the country. See Charles Beauclerk, *Nell Gwyn: Mistress to a King*, (New York: Atlantic Monthly, 2005), 121–122.

²⁰ Winkler, "Gender and Genre," 277.

²¹ Walkling, "*Venus and Adonis*: The Politics of Consensus," 420; and "Political Allegory," 553. Amanda Winkler argues against this notion, saying that because Adonis in Blow's *Venus and Adonis* is such a weak, effeminate character, this would be seen as insulting to Charles; Winkler, "Gender and Genre," 277.

²² Walkling, "*Venus and Adonis*: The Politics of Consensus," 421–429. For a very similar argument, see Ken McCleod, "Narrating a Nation: Venus on the Late Seventeenth-Century Stage," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 11/1 (1995): 1–22. Amanda Winkler, again, has a different viewpoint. Instead of seeing Venus as a manipulative, self-serving goddess, she instead sees the goddess's loving, nurturing aspects. See Winkler, "Gender and Genre," especially 259, 276, and 295.

text, the use of that naughty instrument, the recorder, and the playful interaction between Venus and Cupid all conceivably could be viewed as paying tribute to pleasure, not denouncing it.²³

Turning now to the music and libretto of *Venus and Adonis*, I aim to establish how the languages of sex and music shape political subtexts. Humoral medical concepts are essential to keep in mind here, especially the notion that women were cold and imperfect when compared to men.²⁴

The Music Behind the Politics

Act I of *Venus and Adonis* commences with a "Tune for Flutes," which in seventeenth-century England meant recorders. The presence of recorders, because of their shape and manner of being played, may have been interpreted by courtiers and other musically-educated subjects as symbolizing sex acts, and, significantly, this music is associated with Venus from the outset.²⁵ The "Tune for Flutes" begins in A minor, with unusual harmonizations suggesting instability, and we soon learn that this is the musical realm of Venus. In the first duet between Venus and Adonis, Venus's entrance is also in A minor, with recorders joining in parallel motion only when she sings.²⁶ Her vocal line is ornate and flowing, displaying her passion through musical device. Adonis, on the other hand, employs short, relatively simple phrases. When he does extrapolate, his motives become clear: "Venus, when shall I/Taste soft delights/,and on thy bosom lie?/Let's seek

²³ For more on the recorder, see Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979), 48, 52-54. Thank you to Amanda Winkler for directing me to this source.

²⁴ The issue of heat dominated medical texts from the Middle Ages through the seventeenth century. Heat was seen as essential for most bodily functions including seed and semen formation, reproduction, and genital formation. And since women were considered to be much colder than men (even the coldest man was still warmer than the warmest woman), women were classified and defined by their inability to produce heat. In addition to heat and cold, many other "medical" terms were also divided along gender lines, including right and left, active and sedentary, strong and weak, perfect and imperfect, and dry and moist. For more information, generally, on early modern conceptions of gender and sexuality, see Katherine Crawford, *European Sexualities, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990; First Harvard University Press, 1992); Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For more on perceived differences between the sexes, from the Middle Ages through the seventeenth-century, see Linda Austern, "Forreine Conceites and Wandring Devises': The Exotic, the Erotic, and the Feminine," in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 35; Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 170-209; and Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 28-46. For more details on the medical "side-effects" stemming from the dangerous combination of women and music, see my master's thesis, "The Real 'Weaker Sex' in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of Music, Medicine, and Gender," (master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 2007), especially 16-17, and 36-39.

²⁵ For more on the association of the recorder with sex and its connection to Venus, see Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism*, 48, 52-54. See also Winkler, "Gender and Genre," 278.

²⁶ I am grateful to Amanda Winkler's insights regarding Venus's musical triumph over Adonis, and her textual and musical examples more generally. For her detailed analysis, see Winkler, "Gender and Genre," 281-287.

the shadiest covert of this grove,/And never, never disappoint expecting love.”²⁷ Adonis is eager; he wants to behave wantonly like the shepherds and shepherdesses who are “in the shade” close by, and yet Venus bids him wait until later: “With thee the Queen of Love employs,/the hours design’d for softer joys.”²⁸

After this interaction, Venus and Adonis are interrupted by hunting music. This is a key moment in the masque: Kingsmill deviates significantly from the Ovidian story and well-known contemporaneous versions. For instance, George Sandy’s mid-century translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, in its seventh edition in the 1680s, maintains Ovid’s telling of *Venus and Adonis*, which has Adonis making the decision to go on the ill-fated hunting excursion.²⁹ Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* (also still in print in the 1680s) keeps the story intact, as does Alexander Ross in his *Mystagogus poeticus*, which was in its sixth edition in 1675.³⁰ In Blow’s and Kingsmill’s version, instead of begging Adonis to stay with her, Venus tells him he must join the hunting party: “No, my shepherd, haste away.”³¹ Adonis, instead of insisting on going, insists on staying: “Adonis will not hunt today.”³²

The deliberate reversal of this major plot point is no accident, and Blow draws attention to it musically. Even though Adonis insists to the very end that he will not join the hunting party, the music tells us who will win out, with Adonis’s C major becoming Venus’s A minor, and Blow’s utilization of a horn call in the vocal line when Adonis sings “Adonis will not hunt today.”³³

So Venus wins the argument, and Adonis, joining the hunt, is closer to death. If we return to the Venus/mistress, Adonis/Charles II pairing, what might all of this mean? I contend that the reversal of the story was meant to caution Charles II, warning him that his mistresses will be his undoing, physically, financially, and politically. For instance, what would happen if the Duchess of Portsmouth convinced Charles to be more welcoming to Catholics, or make decisions without proper counsel? Read in this manner, Charles would be seen as giving in to his mistress, just as Adonis gives in to the musical language of Venus. Instead of leading, he is being led, and this would be very dangerous to the health and welfare of the country.

²⁷ Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, xxxii. The full text of the opening duet, to which I will be referring below, is as follows: “Adonis: Venus, when shall I/Taste soft delights, and on thy bosom lie?/Let’s seek the shadiest covert of this grove,/And never disappoint expecting love. Venus: Adonis, thy delightful youth/Is full of beauty and of truth:/With thee the Queen of Love employs/The hours design’d for softer joys. Adonis: My Venus still has something new,/Which forces lovers to be true./Venus: Me my lovely youth shall find/Always tender, ever kind.”

²⁸ Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, xxxii.

²⁹ George Sandys, *Ovid’s Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in figures*, ed. Karl K. Hulley and Stanley T. Vandersall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 468.

³⁰ Alexander Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or, The muses interpreter explaining the historical mysteries and mystical histories of the antient Greek and Latin poets : here Apollo’s temple is again opened, the muses treasures the sixth time discovered, and the gardens of Parnassus disclosed more fully, whence many flowers of useful, delightful, and rare observations, never touched by any other mythologist*, 6th ed. (London: Printed for S. Mearn, J. Martyn, and H. Herringman, 1675), available through Early English Books Online at <http://eebo.chadwick.com/home>, 7.

³¹ Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, xxxii.

³² Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, xxxii.

³³ Winkler, 283–287.

After frolicking with Cupids in Act II and playing games like "hot cockles," the mood changes considerably at the end of the masque.³⁴ We now discover the repercussions of Venus's actions: Adonis, near death, has been wounded by a boar.³⁵ We can read this final sequence of events as the literal death of Adonis, or we can take another approach. I would suggest Adonis's actual death is the result of "little" deaths, or orgasms, with the wrong people.³⁶ The ending sequence is riddled with sexual innuendo and humoral medical concepts. As a well-known symbol for orgasm, one need only glance at the lines in Act III containing the word "death" to get a sense of an alternate reading:

Adonis: I come, as fast as Death will give me leave:/Behold the wounds made by
th'Aedalian boar!/Faithful Adonis now must be no more.

Venus: Ah! Blood and warm life his rosy cheeks forsake./Alas! deaths sleep thou
art too young to take./My groans shall reach the heavens[.] (III/6-12)

Venus: Ye cruel gods, why should not I/have the great privilege to die?

Adonis: Love, mighty Love does my kind bosom fire;/Shall I want for vital heat
expire?

Adonis: No, no! warm life returns, and Death's afraid/This heart (Love's faithful
kingdom) to invade. (III/16-21)

Adonis: I see Fate calls; let me on your soft bosom lie:/There I did wish to live,
and there I beg to die. (III/24-25)

Venus/Chorus: With solemn pomp let mourning Cupids bear/My soft Adonis
through the yielding air./He shall adorn the heav'ns; here I will weep/Till I am
fall'n into as cold a sleep. (III/27-30)³⁷

In light of the common knowledge that "to die" could also mean "to achieve orgasm," Act III can take on a whole new meaning. However, I hesitate to say that orgasm is a mere substitution for death; I argue instead that death here is meant to symbolize *both* orgasm and actual death. Our Adonis/Charles II character has just been mortally wounded. This wound is ultimately what brings

³⁴ "Hot cockles" is one of the many examples of the bawdiness of this masque. Bruce Wood explains that "[h]ot cockles is a game in which a blindfolded player must 'guess who poked you, which hand was used, and which finger'—a game also known as 'Bore a hole.'" Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, xi. See also Iona Opie and Peter Opie, *Children's Games in Street and Playground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 293.

³⁵ Another possibility regarding Adonis's encounter with the boar, given his youthful, effeminate nature, is the notion of a homoerotic/homosexual reading of the masque. While not the explicit focus of his research, a recent article by Roger Freitas on castrati brings to light the "softness" of early modern depictions of Adonis. Therefore, this reading seems entirely feasible and warrants further research. Freitas, "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato," *The Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003): 196-249.

³⁶ The death-as-orgasm trope, in existence since classical antiquity, was well established by the seventeenth century; see Laura Macy, "Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal," *The Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996): 5.

³⁷ Blow, *Venus and Adonis*, xxxv.

him back into the arms of Venus to “die.” From the beginning of the masque, Adonis made it clear that he has wanted to lie on her bosom, and to taste her soft delights; now, where he once wished to be, he actually is; his wish became reality, and he “beg[s] to die” there.

Venus’s lines are particularly telling and lend credence to this web of multiple meanings. “[W]hy should not I have the great privilege to die?” she sings in apparent agony. As a goddess, she is, perhaps, unable to die. But Venus here is made to assume a corporeal body, and she tells us so herself a few lines later: “He shall adorn the heav’ns; here I will weep,/ Till I am fall’n into as cold a sleep.” So as the heat-filled, male Adonis rises to heaven, the cold, womanly Venus will be somewhere below until she, too, presumably meets her end by falling into a cold sleep. So what, then, does Venus mean when she proclaims she wants the “privilege to die,” too? Does she want an orgasm, to die in Adonis’s stead, to die with him, or to die for him? Or does she want to *be* him—to be a warm-blooded, perfect man? However one reads it, Venus does not get her wish; Adonis dies without her, leaving her to her cold, womanly, imperfect self. The life-giving heat of a man is not hers to have; as much as she tried to control him, in the end, she will never have him, nor will she have what he has: the kingdom of heaven and the power of the throne.

Another possibility, once again, is that Blow and Kingsmill were sending a veiled warning to the king. Venus insists that Adonis take part in the hunt, which ultimately leads to his death. Having “endured the pointed dart,” dying “little” deaths where he had no business “dying,” Adonis/Charles left himself open, vulnerable, weak, effeminate, and susceptible, and this is when the dangerous Venus/mistress swoops in. Beauty and pleasure may not be bought in the “sweet groves” of Cupid’s paradise, but in the court, beauty and pleasure have a price, personal as well as political.

As I have demonstrated throughout this paper, the inclusion of sex and gender in the discussion of political allegory can shed additional light on the possible meanings in a work like John Blow’s *Venus and Adonis*. The borders between real life and court performance are not clear-cut, nor are the political beliefs of individuals easy to decipher and categorize. But by looking a bit closer, we can connect real bodies to real people, people whose lives informed both the characters they played in an official capacity during court-sanctioned performances, and the characters they “played” and encountered in the court.

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"The Wretched Queen of Love"

*“In whom the spark of humanity
is not completely extinguished”:
Portrayals of Slave Owners in British Antislavery*

By Matthew Wyman-McCarthy

In response to the first of many Quaker petitions against the transatlantic slave trade, British Prime Minister Lord North rose in Parliament on June 17, 1783 and stated that, though he applauded the sentiment behind the petitioners request, the institution would be “impossible to abolish” as it was “necessary to almost every nation in Europe.”¹ Ten years later, under widespread public pressure, the House of Commons voted to end the trade in African slaves throughout the British Empire. Though this measure would become stalled in the House of Lords and would not be enacted into law until 1807, by the early 1790s the transatlantic slave trade had become one of the most discussed and contentious issues in British politics. Using a wide variety of tactics and mediums, abolitionists produced a litany of arguments during this period in order to advance their cause. As many scholars have observed, a recurring trope in early antislavery agitation is that of the noble African slave who maintains his humanity, compassion, and innocence despite being unjustly oppressed.² Less well documented, however, are the ways in which abolitionists portrayed and discussed slave owners. As this paper will illustrate, both the construction and function of slave owners within antislavery discourse were diverse and often ambiguous. Not only reflecting differences between the popular and parliamentary branches of the abolitionist movement, this heterogeneity also sheds light on the politics of the British Empire as a whole in the late eighteenth century.

In popular antislavery literature, most portrayals of slave owners were highly unfavourable. Frequently referred to as “tyrants” and “oppressors”, planters were depicted as quick to anger, eager

¹ *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England: From the Norman Conquest, in 1066, to the Year 1803*, 36 vols, (Imprint varies, 1806-20), vol xxiii, 1027.

² Two of the most recent works that examine portrayals of Africans by British abolitionists are Brycchan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760 – 1807* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005) and Srividhya Swaminathan, *Debating the Slave Trade: Rhetoric of British National Identity, 1759-1815* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009). See also Wylie Sypher, *Guinea's Captive Kings: British Anti-Slavery Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942) and Philip Curtain, “The Africans' 'Place in Nature',” in *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964).

to separate slave families, and prone to meting out severe punishments for minor transgressions. Antislavery activists revealed countless tales of owners who murdered their slaves with impunity, and who frequently administered dozens of lashes for petty theft or sloppy work. More central to antislavery propaganda than the severity of these punishments, however, was the sadistic pleasure many planters derived from inflicting such cruelty. In numerous political cartoons, masters appear smiling as they apply lash after lash to the back of a Negro, who would hang for hours from a tree branch or a scaffold erected for the purpose.³ Wounds were so deep, that it was alleged that two or three fingers could be placed width-wise along the exposed flesh.⁴ This caricature of planters as actively enjoying physical violence contains a number of similarities with depictions of slave raiders on the West coast of Africa, and the captains of slave ships, who were also often portrayed as deriving satisfaction from abusing their captives. It was planters in the West Indies, though, who were most frequently the subject of stories of exploitation and malevolence. Tapping into a longstanding anti-colonial prejudice, such tales resonated with middle-class Britons in particular. In almost all petitions against the slave trade in the late 1780s, for instance, planter cruelty is cited as one of the principle reasons why the trade ought to be abolished.⁵ Not without justification, one defender of slavery wrote in 1787 that "it seems to be the universal aim of every author who has occasion to mention a West India planter, to render that name synonymous with a cruel and relentless task master."⁶

The most sensational accounts of planter cruelty and moral degeneracy involved punishments inflicted upon female slaves.⁷ In political cartoons, fiction, and even parliamentary enquiries into the slave trade, abolitionists who recounted female floggings frequently highlighted the scantiness of the slave's attire and the exposure of her breasts and genitalia. Hercules Ross, a former resident of Jamaica, told a House of Commons committee about the time he witnessed a naked slave woman hanging from a tree by her wrists, with her master holding a stick of fire just under her genitalia. When she relaxed her muscles and lowered her body, the flame would come into contact with her "private parts."⁸ As Ross proceeded to note, the planter "remained with an unmoved countenance [while] applying this torture."⁹ Describing the punishment of pregnant women, other abolitionists reported that a hole would be dug in the ground for the slave's stomach, thus enabling her to lay face down in order to receive lashes on her back.¹⁰ Not only was flogging an assertion of physical dominance, but when it involved female slaves, it could also be seen as an expression of sexual licence over the body of the victim. Largely because of the assumed lasciviousness of Black women, and the fact that interracial rape was common on plantations, descriptions of female slave

³ For a good overview of floggings and examples of antislavery imagery in the Atlantic World, see Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (Manchester, UK: Routledge, 2000).

⁴ Sheila Lambert, ed. *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1975), Vol. lxxxii, 48.

⁵ See John Oldfield, "Committees and Petitions," in *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilization of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995).

⁶ Citation from Swaminathan, 147.

⁷ For an overview of this theme, see Henrice Altink, *Representations of Slave Women in Discourses on Slavery and Abolition, 1780-1838* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁸ Lambert, Vol. lxxxii, 253.

⁹ Lambert, Vol. lxxxii, 253.

¹⁰ For one of many examples, see Lambert, Vol. lxxxii, 55

floggings carried a highly sexualized undertone. As Mary Favret and Marcus Wood have argued, antislavery propaganda played upon the sexual dynamics of slave punishment to such an extent that much of it resembled late eighteenth-century pornography.¹¹ While frequent allusions to both sexually deviant behaviour and interracial sexual activity each attest to the prurient curiosity of the British public, these stories and images also served to highlight the moral distance between West Indian planters and Britons in the metropole. More so than anything else, flogging female slaves, and deriving a quasi-sexual pleasure from the activity, proved that planters did not share the virtues of reason and compassion held by their compatriots across the Atlantic.

While inhumanity, sadism, and the exploitation of female slaves were all recurring themes in popular antislavery literature, these tropes appear less much frequently in discussions among parliamentarians. Instead of focusing on planter cruelty, abolitionists who spoke in Parliament and who conducted investigations into the slave trade appear much more concerned about the lack of limitations on the power of slave owners.¹² Due to the remoteness of their estates and the dearth of metropolitan officials in the West Indies, planters were portrayed as petty monarchs who ruled their territory unrestrained. This characterization was not wholly inaccurate, as even the Chief Justice of Saint Vincent had to concede during his testimony before Parliament that “white men are in a manner put beyond the reach of the law.”¹³ Though the inhumane nature of floggings was acknowledged, of equal or greater concern to investigators was the fact that individual planters ordered public floggings without obtaining permission from magistrates on the islands.¹⁴ With the American Revolution still fresh in the minds of many, ignoring government officials could easily be interpreted as an act of political defiance and an assertion of quasi-political autonomy. Debates about the treatment of slaves, therefore, were part of a larger political struggle between colonial and metropolitan rights. Within this context, campaigns for stricter laws concerning the treatment of slaves, more officials to enforce these laws, and the admission of slave testimony in court can all be seen as attempts not only to improve the conditions of slaves, but also to help circumscribe the autonomy of planters.

The fact that British parliamentarians were concerned with protecting their legal and political jurisdiction is not surprising. Many of them, after all, were recently involved in overseeing war with the American colonies in which, in the words of one M.P., “the Honour of Parliament was ostensibly, indeed ostentatiously, held out as the cause of quarrel.”¹⁵ It was also widely believed in Britain that it had been leniency as opposed to heavy-handedness toward the American political elite which had produced the conflict in the first place. Along with leading many parliamentarians to seek ways to reassert their imperial authority, this perspective reinforced a longstanding anti-

¹¹ Mary A. Favret, “Flogging: the Anti-Slavery Movement Writes Pornography,” *Essays and Studies* (1998): 19-43 and Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). For further information on the connection between antislavery, propaganda, and pornography, see Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688-1804* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 34-8.

¹² William Wilberforce and fellow anti-slave trade M.P. William Smith personally questioned the majority of witnesses for the abolitionists during the early 1790s when Parliament was most active in investigating the slave trade.

¹³ Lambert, *Vol. lxxxii*, 159.

¹⁴ For one example, see Lambert, *Vol. lxxiii*, 315.

¹⁵ Citation found in Eliga Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 200.

colonial prejudice. It is therefore surprising and noteworthy that so few members made overtly negative statements about West Indian planters during debates on the slave trade in Parliament. Even staunchly abolitionist M.P.s argued that slave owners enjoyed too much *de facto* autonomy, but cautiously avoided the types of generalized attacks which characterized much popular antislavery propaganda. The most common way in which parliamentarians avoided directly critiquing planters was to spread the blame for the slave trade throughout the entire nation and empire. In language he would often reiterate, William Wilberforce said in his maiden speech on the subject, "we are all guilty- we ought all to plead guilty, and not to exculpate ourselves by throwing the blame on others."¹⁶ In the final bill to abolish the slave trade in 1807, there was even a strong movement to remove the clause which stated that the trade was contrary to "justice and humanity" since this language implied that plantation owners themselves were unjust and inhumane individuals.¹⁷ Instead of attacking planters, many M.P.s devoted a great deal of energy to showing how abrogating the trade would actually benefit slave owners. Not only would it be more economical to treat existing slaves better, but it would also reduce the chance of uprisings since it was widely assumed that new arrivals were more rebellious than slaves born in the West Indies.¹⁸ Though planters who did not recognize these advantages were often described as "unenlightened", most speakers who levelled accusations of ignorance were careful to also cite counterexamples of visionary planters whose ameliorationist policies were proving advantageous. In short, anti-slavery parliamentarians made a legitimate attempt to rationally convince planters of the benefits of abolition.

Another way in which many abolitionists moderated their critique of planters was to attribute the inhumane treatment of slaves to the colonial environment instead of the character of the actual slave owner. Reflecting a longstanding belief that slavery dehumanized the master as much as the slave, opponents of the institution argued that the colonies were morally dangerous places in which mere proximity to abusiveness led fundamentally good British subjects to become abusive as well. The flogging and even killing of slaves was described as a self-perpetuating cycle in which cruel and inhuman punishments became routinized over time. As former slave ship captain John Newton stated, "treating the Negroes with rigour gradually brings a numbness upon the heart, and renders most of those who are engaged in it too indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow creatures."¹⁹ Though attributing cruelty to habit and the overarching moral degeneracy of the West Indies did draw attention to the abusiveness of planters, it also exonerated their inherent character and offered a way for them to abandon slavery while still maintaining their image as ethical businessmen. Indeed, throughout the parliamentary debates and investigations into the slave trade, planters were frequently referred to as "our fellow Britons" and encouraged to search their souls in order to rediscover those traditional British virtues of compassion and justice. In this way, the

¹⁶ Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.*, vol. xxviii, 42.

¹⁷ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 178. For further information on the downplaying of humanitarian rhetoric during the final phase of the abolitionist campaign, see Roger Anstey, "A re-interpretation of the abolition of the British slave trade, 1806-1807," *The English Historical Review* 343 (1972): 322-3.

¹⁸ This argument increased following the slave uprising in the French colony of Saint-Domingue in 1791 since the unrest was seen as being spearheaded by recently imported slaves as opposed to creoles.

¹⁹ Lambert, vol. lxxiii, 142.

conscience of the planter was depicted as a battleground on which the British character fought against the temptations of the colonial environment. A writer for *The Critical Review* encapsulated this belief in his review of William Roscoe's poem *The Wrongs of Africa* by recommending it specifically to "our West-Indian planters, in whom the spark of humanity is not completely extinguished."²⁰

To a large extent, the ambiguous and often contradictory portrayals of slave owners in antislavery discourse can be attributed to general differences between popular propaganda and political debate. It is only natural that newspapers, pamphlets, and cartoons meant for large audiences featured more sensationalism, while politicians spoke with greater caution and diplomacy. It should also be acknowledged that even the indirect criticism levelled against planters by parliamentarians was criticism nonetheless; despite being veiled, it did call into question their character and their morality. As this paper has argued, however, what is most significant is the fact that this criticism was so circumspect. With anti-colonial prejudice running high, planters presented an easy target for abolitionists. Instead of taking this opportunity, most antislavery politicians made the conscientious decision not to increase the bellicosity of their rhetoric. Did they avoid vitriol because they recognized the growing economic value of the sugar colonies, and wanted to support abolition without promoting emancipation? Did they adopt a conciliatory tone in an effort to forestall a repeat of the American Revolution, where colonial elites felt isolated and stigmatized by politicians in the metropole? Whatever the reasons for the moderation displayed by some abolitionists, and the negative stereotypes employed by others, it is clear that depictions of slave owners reflected broader attitudes toward colonies and governance in the late eighteenth century. These portrayals, therefore, help elucidate important aspects of the nature of imperial politics itself during one of the British Empire's most transformative periods.

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²⁰ *Critical Review*, 64 (1787), 149.

"In whom the spark of humanity is not completely extinguished"

Bonnets, Muffs and Trinkets, Oh My! *Conspicuous Consumption* *of Prostitutes in London*

By Stephanie Seketa

Since Veblen first coined the phrase “conspicuous consumption” in 1899, scholars in multiple fields have used the phrase as given terminology along with other familiar ones such as the “Veblen Effect.”¹ In studies of fashion it has often been paired with the “Trickle-Down Theory” of Georg Simmel, first published in 1904.² In this essay I will discuss these theories as they apply specifically to the subculture of full-time prostitutes in eighteenth and nineteenth-century London. Here, I will suggest that the conspicuous consumption of fashion by female prostitutes can be better understood using Simmel and Veblen’s theories, but that this is only one layer in understanding the consumption patterns of these women whose re-adaptation of fashion accessories was a primary symbol of group belonging.

Imitation and emulation in fashion gained considerable notice from commentators in England during the eighteenth century. A quote from *The British Magazine* in 1763 illustrates this well. “The present rage of imitating the manners of high life hath spread itself so far among the gentle folks of lower life, that in a few years we shall probably have no common folk at all.”³ The excitement and speed of fashion changes in England increased dramatically in the middle of the century. The ground-breaking book *Birth of a Consumer Society*, explains that although it is partially a reflection of available sources for historians, the change in tempo was also evident judging from the massive increase in fashion prints, newspaper advertisements, and fashion magazines.⁴ McKendrick attributes the change in the pace of fashion to not just increased spending by lower ranks of society, but also by the attempts of higher ranks to distinguish themselves from those that they considered to be below them.

¹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1899)

² Georg Simmel, “Fashion,” *International Quarterly* 10 (1904): 130-150.

³ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 53.

⁴ McKendrick, 54.

This cycle of diffusion was first attributed to Simmel in 1904, whose Trickle-Down Theory “provides a dynamic for the diffusion of tastes and styles throughout society . . . based on the presumed propensity to emulate, expressed as a drive towards upward social mobility.”⁵ The theory is subject to a pyramid or ladder in which each social group wishes to emulate the one above it and distance themselves from those below. Simmel’s theory indicates then an elite upper class whose determination to remain distinct from all those social classes below them drives demand from the top and allows tastes to trickle down.

One thing that McKendrick does well is to demonstrate to us that the knowledge of fashion was well disseminated throughout London by the early nineteenth century. What he calls “accurate fashion intelligence” was transmitted in fashion magazines, fashion plates and the English fashion doll which, “conquered the market from 1790 onwards.”⁶ This version was made of cardboard instead of wood, printed by the thousands, and for a few pence taught women and girls of all ages about the newest fashions.⁷ Very soon after their introduction, English fashion dolls became toys marketed to young girls. In addition to these dolls were the magazines and plates; in 1770 advertisers started inserting one-page advertisements of the latest hats and dresses into almanacs and ladies’ pocket books.⁸

In the year 1883, James Greenwood published his findings as a roaming reporter on the streets of London.⁹ Among his observations and stories he commented on the consumption tendencies of common prostitutes. “It may be love of finery that in the first instance lures hundreds of girls from the path of virtue. . . they wear many flounces on their gowns, and flowers and feathers on their heads.”¹⁰ Interviews by Henry Mayhew support these statements, though Mayhew’s information comes from roughly thirty years prior to Greenwood’s publication.¹¹

However, desire for emulation is not enough if the ability to emulate is not available. Research on second-hand clothing markets in eighteenth-century England along with an investigation into pawnshops paint a detailed picture of a London where common prostitutes, among others, had access to a wide range of sought-after fashions and fashion accessories.¹² Mayhew described the process by which women could acquire a dress from a tally-shop that they wanted simply by paying an agreed upon amount every week until the debt was covered.¹³

⁵ Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold, *The World of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1993), 138.

⁶ McKendrick, 41.

⁷ McKendrick, 45.

⁸ McKendrick, 47.

⁹ James Greenwood, *In Strange Company: Being the Experiences of a Roving Correspondent*, 2nd ed. (London: Vizately & Company, 1883).

¹⁰ Greenwood, 107.

¹¹ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London: Penguin Books, 1985).

¹² Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture, and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660 – 1800* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997) and Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Ends Meet: Pawnbroking and Working-Class Credit* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983).

¹³ Mayhew, 479.

Of items pledged in pawnshops in the early nineteenth-century, a large majority were women's clothing.¹⁴ The second-hand-clothing trade was supplied not just by working class families pawning Sunday clothes, but extensively by stolen goods and upper class nobility when they needed cash.¹⁵ Clothing was the "most sought-after and, at the same time, the most easily disposable commodity in this period" and that in urban districts the percentage of larceny cases that involved stolen clothes was quite high.¹⁶

Emulation of all clothing items was not economically feasible for the common prostitute, but substitution and accessorizing certainly was. Garments were regularly altered to fit the needs of fashion, reusing the same expensive fabrics with new designs and accessories. It is likely that prostitutes who could not afford the fabric of many layers instead opted for the outer layer of silk or simply outfitted dresses with hats, feathers, wigs, and other fashion accessories that they were able to acquire from a second-hand dealer. Greenwood's observations seem to support this notion. "I am informed that nothing is more common than for these poor creatures to be found wearing a gaudy hat and feather and a fashionably made skirt and jacket of some cheap and flashy material, and nothing besides in the way of under-garments but a few tattered rags that a professional beggar would despise."¹⁷ From the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, it is possible to see these trends all throughout the very common caricatures that were printed.

While hundreds of caricatures exist on the topic of fashion and McKendrick even used many from the early eighteenth century to demonstrate his thesis, the examination of a wider range better demonstrates a consistent trend of emulation of fashion styles through the ranks of prostitutes. These fashion trends can be seen in terms of wigs, fur muffs, hats with various feathers and even plunging necklines and the cut of the dress, even if the fabrics were not always the same.

A particularly telling example of the trickle down process can be illustrated through fur muffs. On December 10, 1784 in London it was ten degrees and the Serpentine River in Hyde Park was once again frozen over for the upper classes to spend time participating in the newest rage of ice skating.¹⁸ George, Prince of Wales, was a spectator that day and he wore a fur pelisse and had "his delicate hands ensconced in a large black muff which the Earl of March had sent him from Paris. His example was immediately followed, and ere long all the ladies of fashion wore muffs larger than that of Ich Dien himself, which made them appear as if they were nursing young bears."¹⁹ By 1798, common caricatures displayed fur muffs being used by prostitutes as well as those deemed as proper young women.

Any analysis of emulation and conspicuous consumption must be examined in terms of a pyramid or ladder to fully discuss Simmel's trickle-down theory. We must ask the question, if common prostitutes were indeed emulating those social classes above them and distancing themselves from those below, who did they consider these groups to be? There are a few

¹⁴ Tebbutt, 33.

¹⁵ Lemire, 121-146.

¹⁶ Lemire, 124-125.

¹⁷ Greenwood, 106-107.

¹⁸ Jacob Larwood, *The Story of the London Parks* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1881), 179.

¹⁹ Larwood, 179.

possibilities. They could have desired to emulate upper-class women as so many commentators from the time period complained of the masses. The fact that many prostitutes had previously been servants lends to this possibility.

Deborah Valenze's exceptional research in the area of women's work during this time period paints a much clearer picture of the environment. She demonstrates the shift in attitudes and societal perception of working women around the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁰ With the rise of the industrial city of London and all of the transitions that occurred with it in society, the normative dominant ideal of women's role was in the home, not in any form of work. Productive and industrial women became anathema to view and were treated as something to be tolerated rather than valued.

With the transition from feudalism into capitalism, the idea of the household servant shifted from mutual duty and obligation to one of contract work in which female servants were seen as the lowest possible rung on the ladder of usefulness to society.²¹ Their working conditions were quite brutal and exhausting, lasting from early in the morning until nearly midnight with few breaks and they existed within a dominant household structure where they were hardly, if ever, seen as people. "Female servants suffered from the double stigma of gender and class, and the effect was a foreignness approaching racial difference."²² The opinion of these women was worse if they had ever been in the work house, for society's views of the lowest classes perpetrated throughout the system and newspapers and critics advised against hiring a female domestic servant from this background if a family could avoid it.²³ Valenze also discusses how many of the young women who worked as servants made very little if any money, sometimes working in exchange for clothes or food alone.²⁴

Whether working as a servant, in a factory or aiding in a shop, women's work was seen as ultimately inferior in value to society and termed menial in many cases. The wages and working conditions reflected these values, but to the lower class young women the options were few and far between. A majority of our prostitutes were former servants so we can deduce that all other variables held constant, they would not have left that profession if they did not view prostitution as a better alternative, or at least more attractive. This, combined with the notion that as servants most women were scarcely treated like humans and had little if any freedom, indicates that prostitutes probably viewed their former profession as below them on any trickle-down pyramid.

However, one layer of examination is often not adequate and even in this study a simple emulation through trickle-down and conspicuous consumption is only the first layer of probable explanation. The eighteenth century was unique in that fashion and consumption began to affect more social groups than ever before and with it came changes to the way people thought and behaved; "increasingly, aesthetic and stylistic considerations took precedence over utilitarian ones."

²⁰ Deborah Valenze, *The First Industrial Woman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

²¹ Valenze, 155-174.

²² Valenze, 174.

²³ Valenze, 174.

²⁴ Valenze, 159.

²⁵ Goods began carrying meanings that went beyond utility and consumers found themselves in a world in which more social behavior was steeped in consumption.²⁶ More than basic emulation, a connection developed between consumption and individualism, which McKracken calls one of the “great cultural fusions of the modern world.”²⁷

Clothing as a specific example is a means by which cultural elements are communicated in the form of categories and principles made manifest and encoded, “it is also a valuable means of communication for ritual in general, and rites of passage in particular.”²⁸ Taken as a subset of the population we can examine prostitutes as a subculture in which the material items they consumed communicated cultural principles across a group identity.

With a social undervaluing of daughters along with the “constraints places upon them in hard-pressed working class families,” prostitutes rebelled against the normative culture to create a world different than what was expected of them.²⁹ Personality traits associated with women that became prostitutes included a basic desire for independence.³⁰ In a sample of 16,000 prostitutes interviewed in Millbank Prison, 14,000 claimed reasons for entering the profession as “nothing to do; plenty of money; your own mistress; perfect liberty; being a lady.”³¹

Prostitutes often lived together in groups and created or became indoctrinated into the cultural norms of that group. Walkowitz noted these elements. “As ‘outcast women’ prostitutes banded together and adopted an outward appearance and a more affluent style of life that distinguished them from other working-class women.”³² A visible signal of her lifestyle was the dress that she wore; which was also a way of advertising herself.³³ Walkowitz called their dresses a “badge of membership in a special female peer group.”³⁴ Prostitutes viewed the female companionship as one of the positive features of the profession. Generosity between them and group solidarity were frequent even if the system was not always stable.³⁵ A description of female prostitutes in a lodging house demonstrates the possibility. “Round the fire was a group of girls far gone in dissipation, good-looking girls most of them, but shameless; smoking cigarettes, boasting of drinks or drinkers, using foul language, singing music-hall songs, or talking vileness.”³⁶ With a demonstrable subculture it is likely then that the conspicuous consumption of our full time prostitutes was not merely a trickle-down, but also a communication of group identity that reflected and symbolized the group with the principles of independence and self-worth. In this case the target audience of

²⁵ Grant McKracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 6.

²⁶ McKracken, 20.

²⁷ McKracken, 20.

²⁸ McKracken, 60.

²⁹ Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 20.

³⁰ Walkowitz, 20.

³¹ Walkowitz, 21.

³² Walkowitz, 26.

³³ Walkowitz, 26.

³⁴ Walkowitz, 26.

³⁵ Walkowitz, 27.

³⁶ Walkowitz, 27.

consumption is not just potential cliental, but also each other as a way of signaling membership and belonging.

Full time prostitutes had the desire to purchase silk dresses, bonnets, slippers, and other fashion substitutions and accessories for various reasons, some of which can be explained perhaps with Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption paired with Simmel's Trickle-Down Theory. These reasons help form part of the broader picture of a painting that did not just take vertical strokes of a downward emulation, but also horizontal ones speaking volumes of group identity and individualism within a subculture of women determined to set themselves apart from the normative behavior expected of them. The consumption patterns displayed not just tastes and preferences, but also were potentially powerful symbols of group identity through ritual and initiation. As a subculture setting itself apart from the dominant one around it, common prostitutes didn't simply emulate consumption practices, but instead carved a niche for themselves within a society that degraded women's work in general and prostitutes in specific. They claimed a self-identified freedom and worth through belonging to a subset group of society, re-adapting fashion accessories as a key component of group and self identity.

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