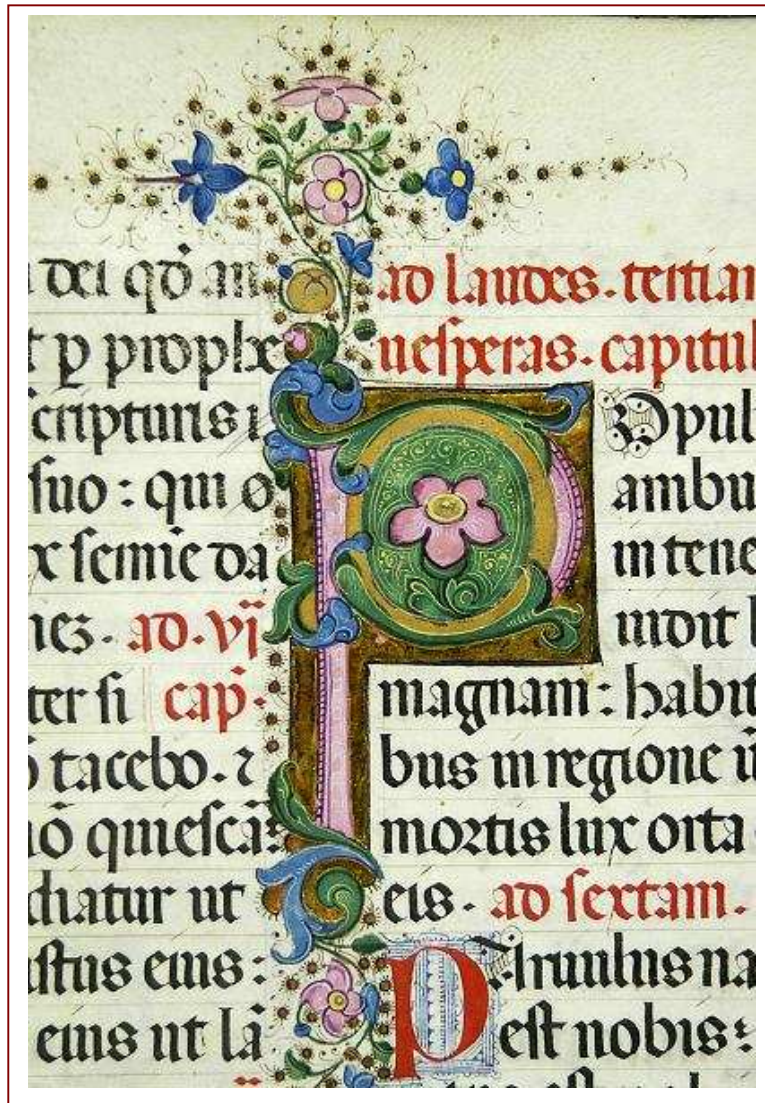


# *Intersecting Disciplines*

## *Approaching Medieval and Early Modern Cultures*



Edited by Karen Christianson



*Intersecting Disciplines:  
Approaching Medieval  
and Early Modern Cultures*

*Selected Proceedings of the  
Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies  
2010 Multidisciplinary Graduate Student Conference*

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Contributing Editors: Laura Estill, Julie Grissom, David Hahn, Megan Heffernan,  
Denna Iammarino, April Morris, Dana Schumacher, Amrita Sen, and Beth Zold

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, Chicago, Illinois

# *Intersecting Disciplines: Approaching Medieval and Early Modern Cultures*

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## Introduction

by Karen Christianson

During the academic year 2009-2010, the Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies observed its thirtieth anniversary, and in celebration we expanded our annual multidisciplinary graduate student conference from one day to three. As always, the conference was entirely organized and run by advanced doctoral students, in a variety of disciplines, from member universities of the Center for Renaissance Studies consortium. This year the nine organizers selected had their work cut out for them: the call for papers generated a whopping one hundred seventy-three abstracts, from students at forty-seven schools across North America and Europe. Disciplines represented include art history, comparative literature, English, film studies, French, history, history of science, Italian, music, religion, Spanish, and theology. The organizers met in Chicago in November 2009 to peruse the proposals; they selected seventy-eight papers, then allocated them among twenty thematic conference sessions. At the end of the three day conference, January 21 – 23, 2010—during which each organizer chaired two sessions—they met once again, this time to decide which papers should be included in a conference proceedings publication. Over the next few months, each organizer worked with one or two authors as they revised their conference paper into publishable form. This volume of thirteen essays represents the result.<sup>1</sup>

These essays demonstrate the remarkable variety and sophistication of current work being done in medieval and early modern studies. Jake Johnson analyzes literal, metaphorical, allegorical, and figurative interpretations of the words and music—both the melodic line and the notation—of a work by the twelfth-century abbess, Hildegard. Jennifer Westrick explores how Gervase of Tilbury, in the third book of his thirteenth-century masterpiece, *Otia imperialia*, cleverly uses marvelous stories of the supernatural to fight heretical ideas arising from the Albigenian creed. Stephanie Norris uses methodology from philosophy to probe issues of medieval identity formation in the fourteenth-century French romance, *King of Tars*. Cecelia Dorger scrutinizes the relationship between a thirteenth-century decree limiting lay people's reception of the Eucharist and the rise in popularity of images of Mary nursing the baby Jesus in Italian church altarpieces. Ingrid Greenfield examines two early modern ivory saltcellars carved in Africa for the Italian market, and what they may reveal about Europeans' perceptions of the African continent and its inhabitants. Stephanie Nadalo illuminates the complexities of the lives of slaves and others of non-free status in seventeenth-century Livorno, Italy. Nile Blunt investigates the meaning invested in the material culture and

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<sup>1</sup> See [www.newberry.org/renaissance/conf-inst/2010GradConferenceSchedule.pdf](http://www.newberry.org/renaissance/conf-inst/2010GradConferenceSchedule.pdf) for the complete schedule of the 2010 conference.

rituals associated with Order of the Garter ceremonies during the reign of England's King Charles I. Jane Wong Yeang Chui assesses the legal reasoning behind Sir John Davies' attempts to impose both common law and statute law during the seventeenth-century conquest of Ireland by England. Corrine Hinton posits that in his early seventeenth-century grammar school textbook, *Ludus literarius*, John Brinsley promoted a ritualized pedagogy intended to socialize both pupils and their schoolmasters to become part of the educated elite. Eric Dunnum draws on three early modern plays to consider the pressures playwrights faced to keep audiences from becoming overly engrossed in the action on stage. Sherri Bishop, using techniques related to history of the book and printing, provides a glimpse into the development of advertising strategies by printers during the sixteenth century. Kerry Delaney's analysis of *The Witch of Edmonton* suggests a relationship between persecution of witches, demonization of Catholics, and creation of Anglican identity during the English Reformation. Finally, Mark Hailwood interrogates two seventeenth-century popular ballads to uncover the attitudes of ordinary people toward drinking and drunkenness.

The Center's annual conference has become a premier opportunity for emerging scholars to present papers, participate in discussions, and develop collaborations across the field of medieval, Renaissance, and early modern studies. Participants find a supportive and collegial forum for their work, meet future colleagues from other institutions and disciplines, and become familiar with the Newberry Library and its resources. The energy and enthusiasm of the students who organized, presented papers, and attended this year's conference, and the acuity of their scholarship, inspire confidence and optimism in the ongoing vitality of medieval and early modern studies, as the essays included here demonstrate.

*Karen Christianson, Ph.D., is assistant director of the Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies.*

## *The Construction of the femina in Hildegard's Symphonia*

By Jake Johnson

Architectural metaphors abound in Hildegard's *Symphonia*. Her use of architectural syntax came with little effort, as Barbara Newman explains that Hildegard was herself a founder of two monasteries whose convent was under construction during the composition of the *Symphonia*.<sup>1</sup> Newman also suggests the metaphor helps delineate between the salvific Virgin Mary, the constructor of salvation and mercy, and the temptress Eve, the destroyer of life and consequently builder of death. Of the sixty-nine antiphons and responsories collected in the *Symphonia*, fourteen are dedicated to the Virgin; within these chants the metaphor functions didactically to promote the virginal qualities of Mary. For the small cloister of nuns in Ruperstberg, this metaphor illuminated important theological concepts. For the historian, a close examination of the metaphor magnifies Hildegard's dual role as monastic reformer and trusted theologian.

The architectural metaphor used throughout Hildegard's *Symphonia* is not an isolated or independent occurrence; rather it is deeply rooted in her theology. In Book 3 of her *Scivias*, a collection of her prophetic writings and visions written between 1141 and 1151, Hildegard likens salvation to a building. In a vision classified as "The Edifice of Salvation," she sees "within the circumference of the circle, which extended from the One seated on the throne, a great mountain . . . And on that mountain stood a four-sided building, formed in the likeness of a four-walled city."<sup>2</sup> Further, she explains that God constructs good works on the foundation of faith: "Gathering multitudes of the faithful from the four corners of the earth, he draws them to celestial things and *fortifies them in constancy of virtue*."<sup>3</sup> This concept of virtue remained of utmost importance to Hildegard all her life; the virtues of virginity and humility united Hildegard and her nuns spiritually and physically with the

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<sup>1</sup> Hildegard of Bingen, *Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum (Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations)*, 2nd ed., trans. Barbara Newman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 271. Hereafter *Symphonia*.

<sup>2</sup> Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, trans. Mother Columbia Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 325. On page 337 Hildegard describes the edifice of salvation. Speaking of the figures climbing the ladder in the bottom right-hand side of the image, Hildegard writes, "The faithful person ascends from virtue to virtue. The bulwarks are much higher. How? Because when a person regards the height of goodness in his mind, he then builds a high wall of faith by virtue of the work of God. Then he ascends above that rational faith, which shows him God in the power of His Divinity, and on it he builds bulwarks of virtue higher than the wall. How? He finds that it is not enough to have faith in God, and so builds virtues that rise higher; and so he grows, like a flourishing palm tree, from virtue to virtue, and by these virtues his righteous faith is exalted and adorned as bulwarks do a city."

<sup>3</sup> *Scivias*, 326, emphasis added.



Virgin Mary. The virtue of Mary, as well as all virgins, lies in the purity and humility of her most noble sacrifice, which in Hildegard's vision is held in accord with the desires and intentions of God. Moreover, Hildegard's description insinuates dependence of God into the fortifying virtues of Mary; in her redemptive role she acts as a co-architect of salvation. Hildegard thus considered her monastic community both literally and metaphorically a spiritual fortress, an emblem of salvation constructed by both God and Mary and protected by her constancy of virtue.

As an abbess, Hildegard exploits the architectural metaphor for her nuns to contrast the choices made by a righteous woman, Mary, and those by a woman given to temptation, Eve. She not only uses the metaphor textually, but also suggests musically the construction and destruction of salvation and life by Mary and Eve throughout the *Symphonia*. The suggestive musical depictions simultaneously provides Hildegard and her nuns with both a feminine confidant in Mary and adversarial archetype in Eve.

While analysis of relationships between text and music in the Middle Ages should be approached with caution, recent work by Bruce Holsinger and Judith Peraino provides an important methodological model for exploring these relationships in Hildegard's *Symphonia*.<sup>4</sup> Holsinger argues that Hildegard's gendered and physical conception of music requires a less traditional or formalistic approach to text-music analysis. In the antiphon *Hymn to the Virgin*, for example, he suggests that Hildegard employs a wide and disjunct melody to emphasize the hymn's celebration of female sexuality and desire.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Peraino claims that Hildegard's writings must be viewed as a woman's personal response to the culturally ambiguous relationship of women, sexuality, and music to the patriarchal Christian and societal attitudes of her time. Peraino writes that in *O quam preciosa*, Hildegard's melismatic writing over the word *exivit* (came forth) "is not only a musical meditation on the dawnlike emergence of Christ from the enclosed and secreted Virgin womb, but a manifestation of this process in space and time through a slow 'birthing' and flowering of the final."<sup>6</sup> This musical "birthing" and blossoming parallels the textual referent of Christ's development in and emergence from the Virgin's womb. These approaches to understanding the musical and textual, as well as contextual, relationships in Hildegard's *Symphonia* provide a methodological point of departure for the following analysis. Rather than suggesting a prevailing focus on the body or gender construction, however, this analysis explores the implied didactic and spiritual dimensions of Hildegard's music.

In the antiphon *O what a great miracle!*, Hildegard contrasts Mary and Eve by exploiting the ambiguity of the Latin term *femina*, woman, rather than explicitly naming the two women. Instead, Hildegard uses *femina* to identify both:

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<sup>4</sup> See Bruce Holsinger, "Musical Desire and the Pleasures of Performance," from *Music, the Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 102; and Judith Ann Peraino, "The Singing Self" in *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 45.

<sup>5</sup> Holsinger, 108.

<sup>6</sup> Peraino, 50.

O what a great miracle!  
Into a submissive feminine form  
the King has entered.  
'This is what God did  
because humility mounts above all.  
And O what felicity  
resides in this form,  
for malice,  
which flowed from woman [*femina*]—  
woman [*femina*] thereafter blotted it out.  
She has built  
all the sweetest fragrance of virtues,  
and beautified heaven  
more than she formerly marred the earth.<sup>7</sup>

Textually it appears that the same female figure both adorns the heavens with her virtues and causes agitation on the earth. Textual analysis does not reveal the distinction between Mary and Eve, and to distinguish between them would have been even more difficult and subjective for the nuns during performance. However, the last four stanzas are fashioned musically to differentiate between the constructive and deconstructive feminine figures. Peraino cautions against over-interpreting Hildegard's stylistic preferences, such as the use of wide melodic leaps or an extreme vocal range.<sup>8</sup> As we shall see, however, some of these text-and-music relationships actually remain consistent across many chants.

One significant and consistent text-music relationship centers on the important verb *edificare*—to build, raise, erect, or establish.<sup>9</sup> A rising melodic figure on the word *edificavit* appears in stanza twelve. The upward motion depicts the vertical construction of a heavenly edifice, establishing Mary's role in helping to build human salvation. The setting of the verb *turbavi*—to disturb, agitate, confuse, or disorder—in the last stanza contrasts this depiction. The word *turbavit* begins on the second highest pitch in the antiphon, then spirals down a struggling forty-seven notes in a long and slow descent before reaching the final, one full octave below the starting pitch. The musical imagery seems clear: Eve began as an exalted woman, but disgraced the earth and all her female progeny, except Mary, by falling mightily to spiritual and physical death.

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<sup>7</sup> *Symphonia*, 120-121; *O quam magnum miraculum est./ quod in subditam femineam formam/ rex introivit/ Hoc Deus fecit/ quia humilitas super omnia ascendit./ Et o quam magna felicitas est/ in ista forma./ quia malicia,/ que de femina postea deterisit,/ et omnem suavissimum odorem virtutum edificavit./ as celum ornavit/ plus quam terram prius turbavit..*

<sup>8</sup> Peraino, 47.

<sup>9</sup> All Latin definitions referenced in Lewis and Short's Latin-English Lexicon, an online version of *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879). <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/Reference/lewisandshort.html>

Hildegard does not always exploit the ambivalence of the word *femina*. On the contrary, in the first stanzas of *O radiant Mother* Hildegard clearly differentiates between Mary and Eve by acknowledging Eve's responsibility in establishing death and constructing spiritual torments.

O radiant Mother  
of sacred healing!  
Through your holy Son,  
you poured ointments  
on the sobbing wounds of death  
that Eve built  
into torments for souls.  
You destroyed death,  
building up life.<sup>10</sup>

In this antiphon the architectural metaphor describes each woman as a builder, one of life and the other of death. Hildegard utilizes the extreme high range of the voice to depict Eve's construction of death. Beginning high in the female vocal register, the word *edificavit* symbolizes Eve's fabrication of sorrows and pains of the soul by beginning figuratively in the heavens as if decreed punishment by God, before plummeting over an octave below the starting pitch. Just as in *O what a great miracle!*, Hildegard paradoxically uses the verb *edificare* to liken Mary's role as a builder of life to Eve's as the builder of death. After the initial vertical ascent of the melodic line on *edificando*, the similar high range and stepwise descent of the melody further illuminates this similitude. Perhaps in her salvific role, Mary must appeal to heaven for God's mercy before completely undoing Eve's destruction, thereby restoring life and salvation.

The responsory *In praise of Mary* provides another example of musical imagery associated with the verb *edificare*. In this chant Mary is depicted as the "author of life, rebuilding salvation." Newman writes "in this responsory . . . Mary figures as architect of the City of God, just as Eve before her had 'constructed death.'" <sup>11</sup> What distinguishes Hildegard's use of *edificare* in this chant from the others involves Eve's absence from the architectural metaphor. Mary exists alone as the true architect of grace and virtue rather than as a righteous counterpart to Eve. The long melismatic phrases suggest the Virgin's eternal destiny. The ascending line over *reedificando* oscillates around the final in a manner that suggests the rebuilding of a foundation. Even more, this responsory opens the *Symphonia's* fourteen chants honoring the Virgin. Perhaps Hildegard secured this chant at the beginning of the cycle to promote her pivotal claim that through Mary's virtuous life, salvation has been created. Hildegard thus capitalizes on the various meanings of *edificare* to promote an allegorical understanding of Mary's role as a builder of salvation.

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<sup>10</sup> *Symphonia*, 112-113; *O clarissima mater/sancta medicine,/tu ungenta/per sanctum Filium tuum/infudisti/in plangentia vulnera mortis,/que Eva edificavit/ in tormenta animarum./Tu destruxisti mortem,/edificando vitam.*

<sup>11</sup> *Symphonia*, 271.

Hildegard's use of allegory—one of the four modes of scriptural exegesis—clearly indicates the pedagogical function of her writings. Therese McGuire explains that during the Middle Ages allegory served to promote an intellectual understanding of and search for God; in Hildegard's case, "the validity of allegory for her was the supreme expression of humanity's search for God and for God's love of the world."<sup>12</sup> From a theological perspective, Hildegard's choice of the verb *edificare* takes on both literal and allegorical meanings. In all three antiphons, she uses the word to describe the constructional roles of Mary and Eve. An additional meaning of the word implies figurative edification, in a religious sense to build up, instruct, edify. The textual connotations of the metaphor provide a method of theological pedagogy for Hildegard. Margot Fassler suggests that Hildegard's creative output demonstrates her fervor for education:

The intensity with which [Hildegard] set about the work of education has made her the only composer from the entire Middle Ages whose works include all of the following: an ensemble of liturgical chants (both poetry and music), art works to accompany them (planned by the composer), a full-length music drama (the most sophisticated of the genre from the twelfth century), and a theological text explaining the significance of the songs and the drama for spiritual life.<sup>13</sup>

Fassler demonstrates that Hildegard employs another educational metaphor in her music and text as well, using the imagery of the tree of Jesse to represent birth and fertility.<sup>14</sup> In her chants Hildegard exploits the multiple meanings of *edificare*, which literally exemplifies establishment of her monastery, allegorically illustrates the spiritual construction of life and death, and figuratively portrays the edification of the mind and soul.

The music notation itself depicts the architectural metaphor in Hildegard's music. The vertical ascent of the note heads, or neumes, visually expresses constructing a building. While no evidence indicates Hildegard transcribed her music herself, she did oversee copying and illuminating the manuscripts; thus her artistic indications, including neume choice, may have been preserved by the scribes.<sup>15</sup> In *O radiant Mother*, the Latin names of the neumes promote the architectural metaphor. The text blames Eve for constructing the wounds of death and praises Mary for destroying death and rebuilding life.<sup>16</sup> For the phrase *que Eva edificavit*, that Eve built, only the *virga* and *punctum* neume forms are used in the musical characterization of her constructive role. On the other hand, the *scandicus*, a Latin derivative meaning "to ascend," sets the similar melismatic line for the textual phrase depicting Mary's righteous construction. The musical notation uses *scandicus* judiciously to imply the uplifting qualities of Mary's heavenly sanctioned building, as well as allude to Mary's ascension into heaven following her emblematic earthly probation. The melodic line depicting Eve's

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<sup>12</sup> Therese B. McGuire, "Monastic Artists and Educators of the Middle Ages," *Woman's Art Journal* 9/2 (Autumn 1988 – Winter 1989): 8.

<sup>13</sup> Margot Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist: 'Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse'" from *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 157.

<sup>14</sup> Fassler, 157.

<sup>15</sup> *Symphonia*, 54.

<sup>16</sup> *Symphonia*, 112-113; *in plangentia vulnera mortis, / que Eva edificavit, Tu destruxisti mortem, / edificando vitam.*

construction of death remains similar to Mary's in range and contour, but the absence of the *scandicus* in Eve's phrase suggests a deliberate visual delineation between the two. Because the *scandicus* is used only to notate Mary's signified melodic line and not Eve's, a significant visual distinction exists between Mary and Eve's attainments. The responsory *In praise of Mary* demonstrates a similar visual representation of the divinity of Mary's actions. The musical notation accompanying the textual phrase "she has built all the sweetest fragrance of virtues" is replete with the *scandicus* neume.<sup>17</sup> This visual depiction once again advances Mary's status by exemplifying her redemptive power. Thus it seems natural to interpret this consistency in neumatic choice as one of Hildegard's tools for her theological proliferation.

Through her attempts to elevate the sacred nature of the Virgin Mary, Hildegard works to distinguish symbolically between the redemptive actions of Mary and the repugnant example of Eve. She exploits an elaborate architectural metaphor to instruct her nuns. The analysis offered here extends Holsinger's and Peraino's explorations of text-music relations to include Hildegard's architectural understanding of salvation as evidenced by her musical, textual, and visual exploitation of the metaphor. By examining employment of different meanings and musical imagery of *edificare* in *O what great miracle!*, *O radiant Mother*, and *In praise of Mary*, and considering a visual depiction of construction in manuscript notation, this essay suggests that the scope of Hildegard's metaphor requires a holistic approach to analysis. Hildegard provides her community with clear female exemplars of right and wrong using the examples of the two most prominent women in medieval biblical discourse. Ironically, the salvation the Virgin propagates hinges upon Eve's role in the Fall. Mary's sanctified contribution to humanity depends entirely upon Eve as the constructor of death, thereby uniting the two in a circle of both opposition and mutual dependence. Similarly, the music and text of these chants appear to function independently, yet in reality they work together to illuminate larger principles. Precisely this dialectical force between the music and text illustrates the hermeneutics of Hildegard's *Symphonia*. Hildegard's musical setting of the architectural metaphor allowed her nuns to recognize aurally the differences between the construction of spiritual death and the building of universal salvation. By participating musically in building edifices of sound, they became in effect united with the Virgin as fellow architects of human redemption.

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<sup>17</sup> *Symphonia*, 121; et omnem suavissimum odorem virtutum edificavit.

## *Wonders, Marvels, and Magic in a Divinely Ordered World: Gervase of Tilbury and Book III of the Otia Imperialia*

By Jennifer Westrick

Early in the thirteenth century, in the Catalan village of La Junquera next to a steep mountain filled with silver and topped with an opaque black lake, a farmer named Peter de Cabinam grew frustrated with his crying daughter and told her to go to the devil. To the farmer's surprise, "a whirlwind of demons laid invisible hands on the girl and carried her off." For seven years there was no sign of Pere de Cabinam's daughter, until another local man encountered a mysterious traveler at the foot of the mountain. Bewailing his heavy burden, the traveler explained that he served as an unwilling laborer for demons, forced to dwell in the mountain and carry crippling loads for the past seven years. The local man could only believe the peculiar tale when the stranger mentioned that the missing child likewise had been a demonic prisoner during that time. The demons, however, had tired of the girl—apparently as frustrating a captive as she had been a daughter—and "would gladly restore her to him who had sent her to them, if only her father would ask for her back on the mountain." Upon hearing his neighbor's news, Pere de Cabinam eagerly took the demons up on their offer. The girl returned to her father, but without power of speech and with a shockingly altered appearance: "elongated in stature, emaciated, hideous, with rolling eyes, her bones and sinews and skin hardly holding together, dreadful to behold." Unsure what to do with his disturbing charge, her father consulted the bishop of Gerona. The bishop knew a good instructional tool when he saw one, and he "set the girl in the sight of all" while delivering a sermon on the terrifying proximity of the demonic world. "Our adversary the devil," he proclaimed, "is going about as a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour."<sup>1</sup>

Gervase of Tilbury, a twelfth- and thirteenth-century canon lawyer, courtier, imperial marshal, and historian, included this account in the third book of his *Otia imperialia*, along with over one hundred fifty other mysterious incidents, marvels, miracles, legends, and cautionary tales intended to

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<sup>1</sup> Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), iii.66, 684-689; hereafter *Otia*.

amuse and edify Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV.<sup>2</sup> The world in which Gervase lived and wrote encompassed a heaving jumble of political and religious conflicts, entwined loyalties, and intricate allegiances, all overlain with a chiliastic belief, expressed by Gervase as well as other writers, that the Christian world was under attack by heretical and demonic forces. In Book III of the *Otia imperialia*, Gervase recorded stories like Peter de Cabinam's to entertain and instruct his audience, but also to illustrate the existence of a world so complex, ever-changing, and full of wonders, causes, and attendant effects that it could only be the work of an omnipotent deity. He used tales of devils, werewolves, wondrous creatures, and marvelous occurrences—stories involving a permeable barrier between natural and supernatural, death and life—to argue against heresy and political chaos and in favor of a God who remained thoroughly involved in a created world.

### Gervase of Tilbury, Heresy, and the *Otia Imperialia*

Born in Essex around 1150, Gervase of Tilbury studied and taught canon law as a young man at the University of Bologna and worked in the courts of England's Henry II and Henry the Young King and Sicily's William II. He also served Archbishop William of Reims, worked as a judge and was appointed marshal of the kingdom of Arles by Otto IV, and likely ended his days as a canon, although his specific location toward the end of his life remains a subject of scholarly speculation and dispute.<sup>3</sup> According to H. G. Richardson Gervase epitomized "a man of the world and a political realist."<sup>4</sup> Gervase began compiling the stories for what would become the *Otia imperialia* while at the English court and continued writing while serving as marshal of Arles in the first two decades of the thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Dedicated to Otto IV in 1215 and divided into three books, the *Otia imperialia* opens with the history and description of the natural world and its creation, followed by histories of kingdoms and ruling families from Europe to the Levant and beyond. Gervase

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<sup>2</sup> Relatively little Anglophone scholarship exists on Book III of the *Otia imperialia*. For work from the perspective of folklore studies, see C. C. Oman, "The English Folklore of Gervase of Tilbury," *Folklore* 55/1 (1989): 2-15; and R. C. Cox, "Tarn Wadling and Gervase of Tilbury's 'Laikibrait,'" *Folklore* 85/2 (1974): 128-131. C. S. Watkins mentions Gervase briefly in "Sin, Penance and Purgatory in the Anglo-Norman Realm: The Evidence of Visions and Ghost Stories," *Past and Present* 175/2 (2002): 29n. In her 1997 presidential address to the American Historical Association, Carolyn Walker Bynum discussed Book III in the context of how medieval writers defined wonders and marvels: "Wonder," *The American Historical Review* 102/1 (1997): 1-26; Robert Bartlett covered similar territory in *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 18-19. Gervase also appears in the historiography of monsters and wonders, most often as a representative example of medieval, as compared to early modern, interest in the monstrous and concepts of the marvelous. See Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150 – 1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 21-25.

<sup>3</sup> On the biography of Gervase of Tilbury, see H. G. Richardson, "Gervase of Tilbury," *History* 46/147 (1961): 105-109; also see S. E. Banks' and J. W. Binns' "Introduction" to *Otia*, especially xxxiii-xxxviii. Richardson pieced together a biographical chronology from dates, locations, and other details mentioned by Gervase in the *Otia imperialia*, and admitted to speculating about Gervase's life as a canon. He suggests "Colchester, St. Osyth's, Waltham and seven or eight others" as possible Essex locations for the final phase of Gervase's life. Banks and Binns more thoroughly describe the scholarly dispute and available evidence regarding Gervase's later career. They cautiously conclude, "[i]t seems plausible, therefore, to surmise that some time after his last appearance in Provence, in July 1222, Gervase entered a Premonstratensian house, possibly though not certainly in England, and that he died at most a few years later."

<sup>4</sup> Richardson, 112.

<sup>5</sup> S. E. Banks, "Tilbury, Gervase of (b. 1150s, d. in or after 1222)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10572>.

reserved the third book for his catalogue of wonders, marvels, and other evidence of God's continuing intervention in human existence and experience.

That evidence is crucial to the project, for Gervase composed the *Otia imperialia* in an unsettled spiritual landscape. In 1208 Pope Innocent III implemented the first crusade within Latin Christendom against a group of accused heretics, ordering the elimination of what he proclaimed a pernicious and unrepentant movement in the lands of the count of Toulouse. With what quickly became known as the Albigensian Crusade in full and bloody swing during the writing of the *Otia imperialia*, Arles lay close to the sieges and massacres taking place in towns throughout the Provençal countryside. Such proximity doubtless impressed upon Gervase the violent upheaval that could result from stubborn defiance of spiritual truth and papal doctrine. Preachers and theologians accused the men and women against whom the crusaders fought of believing in a duality of good and evil, and in a god who lacked either interest in or control of the corporeal parts of creation.<sup>6</sup> These "lying heretics," Gervase passionately asserted in Book I:

maintain that there are two gods: a good one from whom good things come, and an evil one by whom evil is punished. It was the good one, so they say, who created all that is perfect and imperishable, the heaven of heavens and angels; while the evil one created corrupt bodies, produced the works of the sublunar region, ordained punishment for wrongdoing, and administers justice by the shedding of blood . . . .  
For shame!<sup>7</sup>

The beliefs ascribed by Gervase to the Albigensians, whether the Albigensians in reality held those beliefs or not, presented a profound danger and challenge to accepted theology and to the Church's conception of both the world and human history within it. With the *Otia imperialia*, Gervase met that challenge with "the sharp sword of [his] tongue," writing an account of the known world in which one God created and controlled good and evil, the wonderful and the mundane.<sup>8</sup>

Gervase begins Book III by reminding his readers that he wrote the *Otia imperialia* for the twin purposes of entertainment and education, "that His Imperial Highness may have a source of refreshment for his thoughts when a clear interval of leisure is his, according to the dictum: 'Interrupt your cares with gladness now and then.'"<sup>9</sup> However, he set himself apart from other purveyors of courtly entertainment. Scoffing at the "prating babbling of players" and the "crude falsehoods of idle tales," Gervase announced his intention to relate only the most reliable stories of wonders and marvels, those confirmed by authority of age, scripture, or "daily eye-witness accounts." In the first category fall stories gleaned from trustworthy sources such as Aristotle, Pliny, Augustine, and Gregory the Great; in the second fall tales from sacred history, which divine

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<sup>6</sup> Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 19-21.

<sup>7</sup> *Otia*, i.2, 30-31.

<sup>8</sup> *Otia*, 14-15.

<sup>9</sup> *Otia*, iii. 558-559.



inspiration renders reliable by definition. The third category adds an intriguingly empirical element to Gervase's project. He proposes to employ his own experience as an itinerant courtier, scholar, and collector of stories, holding up for authority his or others' "eye-witness" testimony of the marvels in question.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the "lying fictions of players," Gervase's history rests on "reliable testimony deriving from the lands where [marvels] occur or from writers who vouch for them." His education, experiences, and abilities set him apart from the "mere storytellers" at court, and his emphasis on that difference hints that he intended the *Otia imperialia*'s final section to represent something beyond a collection of curiosities.<sup>11</sup>

The one hundred thirty chapters of Book III vary in length from a single sentence about a Persian stone to a lengthy disquisition on diabolical spirits and the importance of observing all parts of the sacraments.<sup>12</sup> The chapters address earthly marvels, flora and fauna, demons and angels, signs and omens, and, in several different guises, human interaction with the grotesque or supernatural. Following no immediately apparent consistent order, Gervase might group several magical springs together, then jump to werewolves or bearded women, only to return later to springs. Often of course categories overlap, as in cases of humans attacked by striga or besieged by demons. A constant throughout Book III, however, remains the variety of places and times from which the tales are derived. Rather than relegating all scriptural stories to one section or Aristotelian stories to another, Gervase allows the ancient to mingle with his own accounts and those of his contemporaries. The mixture of ages and places lends an air of timelessness and yet immediacy to the work, effectively building a narrative bridge between the ancient world, the early Church, and the thirteenth-century Holy Roman Empire.

The probably deliberate lack of coherent categorical organization in Book III marks Gervase as a skilled storyteller and savvy rhetorician. He presents the emperor with a fluid mixture of structure and style as well as content; by combining detailed stories with brief descriptions and the occasional scurrilous anecdote, he could insert lengthier and more didactic sections without losing the attention or patience of his audience. Effective instruction, after all, demands effective entertainment, and Book III of the *Otia imperialia* provides its audience with effective entertainment to spare. To best illustrate and explore Gervase's project and intent, the remainder of this essay will discuss stories from several of the categories listed above. The tales fall into two main groups: those dealing with an uncertain border between the natural and supernatural worlds, and those addressing more specifically the permeable division between earthly existence and the hellish domain below.

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<sup>10</sup> *Otia*, iii. 558-559: *oculata testatur*.

<sup>11</sup> *Otia*, iii. 562-563.

<sup>12</sup> An additional fifteen chapters included as addenda in some surviving manuscripts of the *Otia imperialia* bring the total number of chapters to one hundred forty-five. See *Otia*, lxiii-lxxxv, for Banks' and Binns' description of manuscripts, marginalia, and addenda; see *Otia* iii 548-557 for a complete list of the chapters in Book III, including addenda. For "The Stone which Waxes with the Moon," see *Otia*, iii.6, 570-571. For "The Lady of the Castle of L'Eparvier," see *Otia*, iii.57, 664-669.

### Between Natural and Supernatural

Wonders of the natural world hold a prominent place in Book III. Gervase had announced his intent to describe the strange and unfamiliar, as well as the marvelous; dam-building beavers qualified, as did horned beetles that fought annual battles to the death around a castle tower in the French province of Narbonne. He also included more fantastical creatures such as the “hippophugi” that lived near the Nile, with “lions’ paws and horses’ necks . . . thirty feet long, twelve feet broad, and heavily built.” The strange animals of the *Otia imperialia* inhabit a shifting and changeable world where the ground moves in unexpected ways. They drink from springs that disappear and reappear without warning, and they thrive alongside similarly strange plants and trees. Gervase’s history is rife with oddly behaving bean-plants, nut-trees, and grapevines—they grow pointing in the wrong direction, or produce pods that contain pebbles instead of peas, or make foul-tasting grapes but sweet-tasting wine.<sup>13</sup>

Most stories of unusual flora, fauna, springs, and stones in the *Otia imperialia* provide brief and fairly simple, quick interludes between longer tales and more complex exempla. Gervase occasionally expounds on natural marvels at greater length or in more pointed language to elucidate a particularly significant meaning, or just to tell a particularly good story. Even the shortest of chapters, however, could provide key ideas wrapped in crafty rhetorical strategy. “The Sea of Pomphelia” consists of a single sentence, in which a story from the campaigns of Alexander the Great buttresses the plausibility of Moses’ parting of the Red Sea; it ends with a crucial detail:

It is not surprising or unbelievable that for the passing of the children of Israel the sea parted and formed a wall on either side; for Josephus says that when Alexander was pursuing Darius, the Sea of Pamphylia parted for his army by the will of the Lord, who wished to destroy the kingdom of the Persians through him.<sup>14</sup>

With this succinct chapter, Gervase ties together two similar stories from sacred and classical history, thereby heightening the reliability of both. By placing the Christian God firmly in the classical world, describing him pitting one pagan against another, he highlights Christendom’s continuity with the past. Most importantly, he notes that the sea parted “by the will of the Lord.” God effects all wonders for his own purposes, intervening in human affairs when necessary to control to world he created.

Gervase often goes beyond simply ascribing mysteries of nature to the unknowable power of God. By positing various reasons and explanations for natural wonders, Gervase underscores the vast and overwhelming nature of divine control: God has created an entire system, containing layers of causes and effects that all operate within a larger and divinely ordered structure. Supernatural

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<sup>13</sup> *Otia*, iii.45, 642-643; iii.21, 592-593; iii.74, 700-701; iii.82, 710-71, “Although the earth has a solid foundation, nevertheless it often happens that it rests on water, whence it derives a certain instability”; iii.125, 820-821, For additional examples of disappearing springs, also see *Otia*, iii.126, 822-823; iii.127, 822-823; iii.129, 824-825; iii.14, 584-585; iii.94, 746-747; iii.124, 820-821.

<sup>14</sup> *Otia*, iii.118, 810-811.

marvels hold as prominent a place as their natural counterparts in the *Otia imperialia*. The visible and natural world, Gervase notes on several occasions, could shade into the invisible and supernatural at any time, as when fighting knights or laughing ladies could be seen in the distance by travelers, only to vanish upon closer approach.<sup>15</sup> The English countryside seems a particularly wondrous place, home to singing sirens, spectral bells, and a plateau on which a “solitary knight” could issue a moonlit challenge which a ghostly warrior would emerge from the shadows to meet.<sup>16</sup> In a “leafy glade” of a Gloucestershire forest, an exhausted hunter who became separated from his fellows was known to climb a particular hill, announce his thirst, and be met instantly by a cupbearer holding a nectar-filled, bejeweled drinking-horn.<sup>17</sup>

In the midst of these charming tales of woodland magic, Gervase slips something darker and more didactic: the story of “Raimbaud de Pouget, a dashing knight, well-trained in arms.” The knight, disinherited, becomes a mad vagabond who eventually “lost his reason and turned into a wolf.” The nightmarish tale continues:

He then wreaked such great havoc upon his country that he drove many of the inhabitants to abandon their homes. While in wolf's form he devoured the young, and even mangled the old with savage bites. In the end he was boldly attacked by a certain woodcutter, and lost one paw by the blow of an axe; this enabled him to resume his former appearance, and he put on human form again. Thereupon he confessed in public that he welcomed the loss of his foot, because when it was cut off he was freed from that wretched, wicked condition which would have brought his damnation.<sup>18</sup>

Gervase does more in this monstrous tale than describe a werewolf's ruin and redemption; the parallel between lycanthropy and heresy seems too clear to ignore. Even a “dashing knight” is vulnerable to lycanthropy, and both young and old fall prey to the werewolf as it wreaks havoc upon the countryside. Just as only violence and sacrifice can liberate the knight from himself, Gervase implies, Christendom must cut off its own diseased foot with a crusade before being “freed from that wretched, wicked condition” of heretical depravity among its members. A chilling tale of supernatural monsters, suitable for reading on a fall night by the Emperor's fireside, it also embodies a pointed parable about pernicious heresy.

### Between Earth and Hell

A brief leap separates Gervase's natural and supernatural marvels from his descriptions of demons and other hellish denizens who might mingle unexpectedly with the living, a short distance because the *Otia imperialia*'s demons seem neither uniformly malevolent nor uniformly diabolical.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Otia*, iii. 43, pp. 640-641; also see iii.58, 668-669.

<sup>16</sup> *Otia*, iii.64, 680-683; iii.69, 690-693; and iii.59, 668-671.

<sup>17</sup> *Otia*, iii.60, 672-674.

<sup>18</sup> *Otia*, iii.120, 812-815.

<sup>19</sup> On the status of demons and sorcery during Gervase's life, see Walter Wakefield and Austin Evans, eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 250: “[B]elief in the interference of the spirit world in

To be sure, the demons who so swiftly oblige when Peter de Cabinam cursed his daughter are doing the devil's bidding. However, the portunes of England, for example, which Gervase calls demons but considered calling "mysterious ghosts of unknown origin" instead, remain innocuous and diminutive and exhibit a considerate desire to help with the housework, resembling nothing so much as J. K. Rowling's house-elves.<sup>20</sup>

Less cheering were tales of lamias and larvas, the former named for their habit of "mangling babies," and the latter for being "the spectral manifestations of lares [household spirits]" which "present themselves in the likeness and shape of human beings, although they are not human, but merely appear so by some mysterious divine permission." Gervase dutifully notes the learned disagreement between authorities such as Aristotle and Pliny on the nature of spectral and incorporeal beings. Having further reminded his readers that "with respect to the human body, and likewise the human mind or soul, demons can do nothing except by divine permission," he launches into fantastical description:

But to gratify popular belief and my listeners' ears, let us allow that it is the wretched lot of some men and women to cover great distances in a swift nocturnal flight; they enter houses, torment people in their sleep, and inflict distressing dreams on them . . . apparently, they also eat, and light lamps, take people's bones apart, and sometimes, when they have dismembered them, put them back together again in the wrong order; they drink human blood, and move babies from place to place.<sup>21</sup>

Plenty in this passage might inflict distressing dreams, to be sure, and that divine permission allowed one's blood to be drunk or one's bones to be taken apart and improperly reassembled would perhaps have provided cold and confusing comfort to those so afflicted.

Just as demons could penetrate human existence, so too could the dead encroach upon the living. The lines between the earthly world and the afterlife remained thin and shifting, and Gervase describes the ease with which humans could cross between one state and the other. The longest chapter in the *Otia imperialia* contains his clearest description of the afterlife and most blatant condemnation of unbelievers and heretics. It begins with an announcement: Gervase means to teach doubters about the torments of hell: "When we paint a picture of hell, many people pour scorn on us; for they regard what we say about the other world as mere nonsense, even claiming that we have made it all up."<sup>22</sup> To combat such skepticism, Gervase pulls out the rhetorical stops: "[L]et hearts be

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human affairs could not be easily eradicated. Innumerable stories of demonic activity, and learned explanations of how spirits were permitted to operate within the providence of God, attest that magic and sorcery were given wide credence at every level of society. Though the Church censured the belief in man's ability to provoke demons, such belief was not initially considered heresy. Only slowly did the Church come to emphasize the danger that communing with demons might involve veneration of them."

<sup>20</sup> *Otia*, iii.61, 674-677. On portunes, "which the French call 'neptunes': "They have an aged appearance, and a wrinkled face; they are very small in stature, measuring less than half a thumb, and they wear tiny rags sewn together . . . It is a law of their nature that they can be useful but cannot do harm."

<sup>21</sup> *Otia*, iii.86, 722-725.

<sup>22</sup> *Otia*, iii.103, 758-759.

awed, minds be amazed, and limbs tremble at the wonder of it!"; then sets his story in the highly specific context of July 1211 in the town of Beaucaire, in the house of "honest and prosperous citizens, who were loyal to the Church, and hard-working." The citizens have a virgin daughter, eleven years old, in mourning that July for her recently deceased cousin. A few days after his death, the cousin appears in the girl's chamber. She feels uneasy, but the revenant gently reassures her, explaining that he could speak to her alone, through God's permission, and was allowed to answer others' questions through her.<sup>23</sup>

The girl's ghostly cousin reappears to her numerous times. He describes his purgatorial torments, at one point revealing his guard, "a horned devil of hideous appearance, a frightful creature spitting out flames and breathing fire," as well as the relief that masses and prayers had brought him.<sup>24</sup> Knights, priors, and learned men of Gervase's acquaintance question the revenant through the girl, hoping to discern the accuracy of his claims by comparing his statements to established doctrine. Their queries provide ample opportunity for him to emphasize the "noisome, frightful pit" of hell and the "other places of torment" in which the damned abide until Judgment Day.<sup>25</sup> He specifies and elaborates on several points of belief: that the time spent in purgatory is proportional to one's sins in life, that saints enjoy varying degrees of glory prior to Judgment Day, that masses and alms bring remission of suffering to the souls in purgatory, and that "every Christian has a good angel to watch over him, as long, that is, as he is free from mortal sin."<sup>26</sup>

Given recent events in Toulouse, it was perhaps inevitable that someone would ask the spirit "if the death and extermination of the Albigensians were pleasing to God." He answers unequivocally:

[N]othing that had ever been done in that region had pleased God so much; and he added that God wants the good to be separated from the bad on his Day of Judgment. Indeed even the good who have not stained their faith with heresy have sinned if they have tolerated it; while those who are burned here in the body are burned more severely after death in the spirit.<sup>27</sup>

By exhaustively describing the spirit's theologically sound answers to the learned men's questions, Gervase illustrates for doubters the existence of hell and purgatory; however, he also establishes the revenant's reliability as a source of information about the afterlife, angels, saints, demons, and even what pleases or displeases God. In no uncertain terms, God spoke through the dead young man to communicate his approval of the "death and extermination" wrought by the Albigensian Crusade and his utter lack of mercy toward heretics and those who tolerate them.

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<sup>23</sup> *Otia*, iii.103, 760-763.

<sup>24</sup> *Otia*, iii.103, 762-763.

<sup>25</sup> *Otia*, iii.103, 768-769.

<sup>26</sup> *Otia*, iii.103, 776-777.

<sup>27</sup> *Otia*, iii.103, 778-779.

### **Conclusion: Proving God with Marvels and Magic**

As Gervase of Tilbury reached the rather ripe age of fifty, perhaps with his career slowing, his responsibilities as judge and marshal in Arles decreasing, and his wife sickly or deceased, we can imagine him looking back at a life full of learning, travel, conversation, and intricate experience with politics and canon law and deciding to finish the history he had begun at the court of Henry the Young King. Gervase's skill as a storyteller and mingling of more lighthearted wonders with darker tales do not indicate a lack of belief on his part that he engaged in a critical and serious venture. As the thirteenth century began, times seemed increasingly troubled in the lands surrounding Arles, and Gervase wrote Book III of the *Otia imperialia* in response to spiritual and political violence and discord. He uses the marvelous, magical, and terrifying to prove the existence of a divinely created life and afterlife, a historical and eternal Church, and a single God constantly, unexpectedly, and thoroughly involved in the world.

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## *Suspended Animation: Identity and the Lump-Child in King of Tars*

By Stephanie L. Norris

*King of Tars*, a fourteenth-century romance in the Auchinleck manuscript, narrates the marriage of a Christian princess to a Saracen sultan. Although the Muslim sultan of Damas has never laid eyes on the Christian princess of Tars, he wages war on that land until he could take her as his bride. Despite her parents' trepidation, the princess finally acquiesces to marry her heathen suitor in order to prevent any more Christian blood being spilled, given that thirty thousand knights of Tars had already fallen as casualties. After arriving in Damas, she pretends to convert to Islam, professing her faith in her husband's gods and kissing the idols of Mahoun, Apolin, and Teruagaunt "openly with her mouth."<sup>1</sup> Seemingly doomed from inception, the taboo marriage of the Christian princess to the Saracen sultan did produce offspring; however, the child did not have the princess' blue eyes or the sultan's copper skin, as one might expect. This descendant of mixed cultural, racial, and religious ancestry did not emerge from its mother's womb bearing the expected physical markers of its diverse heritage. In fact, the child displayed no markers of identity at all:

And when the child was born  
The women were filled with sorrow,  
Because it had no limbs.  
But as a lump cut off from flesh  
It lay before them in the chamber  
Without blood and bone.  
The lady thought she would die of sorrow  
For it had neither a nose nor eyes,  
But lay dead as the stone.<sup>2</sup>

The child is born a formless mass of flesh, without nose, eyes, limbs or any other discernible physical features.<sup>3</sup> Although medieval notions of flesh often align with carnal desirability, absolutely

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<sup>1</sup> All quotations are from Judith Perryman, ed, *The King of Tars, Edited from the Auchinleck MS, Advocates 19.2.1* (Hiedelburg, 1980), hereafter *King*; *openliche wiß hir mouße*, 506. All translations by the author.

<sup>2</sup> *King*, 577-585; *þ̄ when þe child was ybore/Wel sori wimen were ȝerfore,/For lim no hadde it non./Bot as rond of flesche yschore/In chaumber it lay hem before/Wiȝouten blod & bon./For sorwe þe leuedi wald dye/For it hadde noȝer nose no eye,/Bot lay ded as þe ston.*

<sup>3</sup> Hereafter, the child is referred to as the "lump-child," "lump," or "flesh".

nothing about the lump-child attracts. The princess expressly notes that she has just given birth to a *rond of flesche*, with *rond* connoting a globular lump, or even a hollow space like an eye-socket, and *flesche* referring to “[t]he flesh of the human body, especially the muscular, grisly and glandular portions, as opposed to blood vessels, bones, fat, hair, ligaments, nerves, skin, etc.”<sup>4</sup> The poet’s use of these terms suggests that the lump-child comprises solely the raw, globular tissue found beneath skin, absent any other component that would define its figure.<sup>5</sup>

Its completely undefined form prohibits the lump-child from displaying any markers of its mixed racial and cultural background; however, depictions of children born to mixed race parents with both skin colors appear in other medieval romances, along with other dualistic physical representations. Some chronicle analogues associated with the *King of Tars*, also concerned with the possibility of racial and social mixing, represent the child born to parents of dissimilar social or ethnic backgrounds as half-beautiful and half-ugly, mottled black and white, partially or completely hirsute, or half-human and half animal.<sup>6</sup> Thus not only does this image of the lump of flesh seem disturbingly grotesque, its indeterminate form makes the lump-child an unusual literary and historical figure.<sup>7</sup> Hence, in this anti-blazon of the formless flesh, the text expresses grave concern over bodily integrity while envisioning the body as an unstable site for establishing identity.

Sharon Kinoshita’s work on Old French literature “tries to bring into focus the messier, less codified age before the early thirteenth century epistemic divide, a world less driven by fixed

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<sup>4</sup> Definitions from the Middle English Dictionary, available through the online *Middle English Compendium*. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med>.

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Orme notes the successful births of children in the Middle Ages with missing limbs or deformities, but not the birth of a completely limbless child. In abnormal births that Orme discusses, newborns might have abnormally large or small statures, but their limbs were present and proportionate to their bodies. *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 96.

<sup>6</sup> Ottokar’s German *Osterreichische Reimchronik* of 1306 to 1308 features a child born half-beautiful, half-ugly; *Parcival* features a spotted child; the Germano-Latin *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses* of 1280 to 1300 features a partially hirsute child; and a Hispano-Latin letter to Jayme II of Aragon from 1300 to 1307 features a human-animal hybrid.

<sup>7</sup> In her extensive work on the narrative, Lillian Herlands-Hornstein suggests that *King of Tars* draws on no direct literary sources, but she agrees with Perryman that the text represents an extensive literary elaboration of a series of successful Tartar military campaigns in the East recorded in chronicles; *Studies on the King of Tars* (New York, 1941). Hornstein notes eleven chronicle texts with which the Auchinleck *King of Tars* shares analogues. From this group, six analogues predate the Auchinleck manuscript and contain a similar narrative of racial and religious intermingling that culminates in the birth of monstrous offspring, 115. Two chronicle analogues, the *Chronicon de Lanercost* of 1280 and Villani’s Italian *Istorie Fiorentine*, 1307 to 1330, also feature lumpish births. The *Chronicon de Lanercost* deviates from *King of Tars*; it recounts the birth to the King and Queen of Norway of a lump-child made human by the intervention of St. Francis. Siobhan Calkin reads this lump-child as a commentary on the convoluted commencement of war between England and Scotland; *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge Press, 2005), 107. The *Istorie Fiorentine* also features a lump-child; however, the mother and child are condemned to death, and the father severs all ties with them. In *King of Tars*, the sultan does not attempt to distance himself from the lump-child or the princess; on the contrary, he fully accepts his role in the child’s conception and willingly participates in attempts to make it “fourmed after a man.” Furthermore, these source analogues do not identify the non-Christian ruler as Saracen; in fact, the ruler is usually a Tartar waging war against Saracens. The whitewashing of the ruler upon his conversion is also missing from the analogues, along with the baptized ruler’s violent conversion of his own people. Auchinleck’s deviation from chronicle sources makes the Saracen identity of the sultan central to the narrative and suggests a particular interest in Saracens; Calkin, 105.



perceptions of difference.”<sup>8</sup> Rejecting Kinoshita’s assertion that conceptions of self and other had stabilized and become fixed by the late Middle Ages, this essay explores how the presence of the lump-child in *King of Tars* challenges, complicates, and explodes notions of diametrically opposed identities in late medieval England. Even though Saracens, like other non-Christians, are often dehumanized and depicted as animals, the lump-child complicates this seemingly fixed human/animal divide. Viewed through Giorgio Agamben’s theoretical apparatus, the anthropological machine of Western thought, the lump-child resists categorization altogether. The formless mass of inanimate flesh lies outside the boundaries of human identification, neither Christian nor Saracen, black nor white, human nor animal, self nor other.<sup>9</sup> However, unlike Siobhan Calkin’s reading of the lump-child as “a wholesale integration of Christian and Saracen,” I argue that the undefined child does not constitute an amalgamation of diametrically opposed identities, but rather represents a hyper-alterity, completely transgressing the boundaries that govern identity construction.<sup>10</sup> Yet building on Calkin’s astute argument that the lump’s indeterminacy calls religious and cultural borders into question, I advance her assertions by proposing that the lump-child’s position outside identity categories troubles identity binaries, by affording Saracen figures in the text a more human and less animalized status.

Exploring the fraught and complex nature of identity in *King of Tars* hinges on dehumanizing Saracens in the text and in late medieval England more broadly. Debra Strickland has argued that Saracen figures, like the sultan of Damas, endured a lengthy history of dehumanization within a “pictorial code of rejection,” rooted in classical thought.<sup>11</sup> Equating Saracens’ physical difference from white English Christians with rejecting Christian moral precepts gave rise to this vilifying code, because a person’s moral aptitude and strength of character were thought to be revealed by physical characteristics. Hippocrates’ damaging use of physiognomy, later embraced by medieval thinkers, suggests that a person’s character could be ascertained by correctly interpreting specific physical signs, including “movements and gestures; colors of skin, hair and eyes; facial expressions; growth of hair; skin texture; voice; condition of flesh; bodily proportions and overall build.”<sup>12</sup> In this code, bodily distortions clearly expressed negative ideas about the Saracen.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, depicting Saracen figures, and other non-Christians, as animals became a way for white English Christians to construct the identity of the other as completely different from their own. Canon 68 of the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that Jews and Muslims wear distinctive clothing in public to eliminate ignorance as

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<sup>8</sup>Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal*, trans. Kevin Attell (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> Calkin, 118.

<sup>11</sup> Debra Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 29.

<sup>12</sup> Strickland, 38.

<sup>13</sup> Similarly, in Greek thought abstract conceptions of the barbarian (any non-Greek) served the interests of the dominant culture by providing an intellectual framework within which outsiders could be considered not quite human and therefore treated with less regard than other members of society. In literature and art, these abstractions became embodied in the monstrous and the supernatural; see Strickland, 40.

an excuse for sexual mixing between Muslims or Jews and Christians. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen notes that such miscegenation was associated with sodomy and bestiality and punishable by death.<sup>14</sup> Christian stereotypes facilitated representation of the non-Christian as nonhuman, consistently depicting Saracen figures as animals, typically dogs.<sup>15</sup>

To be sure, *King of Tars* is riddled with animalistic, and especially canine, references directed at the sultan and other Muslim characters. *King of Tars* calls the sultan a “heathen hound” for refusing to give his daughter to the Saracen in marriage.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, the text chronicles how “houndes” fell on those Christian men fighting for Tars when the sultan and his army arrived to wage war on the kingdom. In later lines, the princess dreams she is menaced by “one hundred black hounds.”<sup>17</sup> One of the hounds rapes her, then assures her that Christ will come to her aid. At the conclusion of the dream, that same black hound transforms into a white knight, presaging the impending change of the sultan’s skin color from black to white at baptism. A literal dog in her dreams, the sultan’s transformation is complete when he calls his own enemies dogs after his conversion and baptism. Now engaging in a violent crusade against his own people, he calls King Memaroc a heathen hound and determines that “the dog shall be driven to the ground.”<sup>18</sup> By denying human status to Saracen figures based on physical differences like skin color, the text asserts the body’s central function in constructing identity binaries.

Similarly, Christian figures are identified through detailed descriptions of white skin and well-formed bodies. The wife of the king of Tars is “[f]airer than anyone alive.” Her blazon suggests no woman could be fairer than the princess, who is “as white as a swan’s feathers.” The lily-white princess is also blessed “with red-blossom cheeks/and stark gray eyes/with low shoulders and white neck.” At the point of her questionable conversion, the text emphasizes that she professes her faith in Mahoun and the heathen laws “openly with her mouth” and kisses Mahoun, Apolin, Astirot, and sir Iouin.<sup>19</sup> The text fixes Christian identity—white/human—as diametrically opposed to Saraceness—black/dog. Nevertheless, this system of basing identity on physical appearance becomes undermined by the very binaries it labors to construct.

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<sup>14</sup> Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 201-202.

<sup>15</sup> Strickland’s work on monstrous depictions of Jews and Saracens in medieval art reveals artistic representations as spaces in which the bodies of Saracens are dehumanized, distorted, vilified, and recreated as monstrosities. Numerous medieval works of art and literature portray Saracens as dogs: Eulogius of Cordoba, c. 810-859; William of Rubruck in his *Journey*, 1210-c.1270; Marco Polo in his *Travels*; *The Song of Roland*, in which the Saracens of Argoille yelp like dogs; *King Alisaunder*, in which the Saracen army of Darius includes dog-men; and *King of Tars*, where Muslims are referred to as “heathen hounds”; 268. Additionally, what has been characterized as scribal doodle in *De generatione Machumet*, composed at Cluny during the twelfth century, visualizes Mohammed as an intrusive, limbless, bearded monster; 189. Mohammed lacks limbs; however, he wears a beard that makes him identifiable as not an animal but a fusion of human and fish, born out of the medieval imagination, which constitutes monstrosity. In a similar vein, Strickland reads the presence of the “Monstrous Races” at the periphery of the Hereford Map as deliberate conflation of living and imaginary groups, in which ideas about monstrous races, barbarians, Jews, and Muslims intersect; 187.

<sup>16</sup> *King*, 93; “heþen bounde.”

<sup>17</sup> *King*, 423; “An hundred boundes blak.”

<sup>18</sup> *King*, 1178; 1181, “þe dogge schal adoun to grounde.”

<sup>19</sup> *King*, 8; 13, “As white as feþer of swan”; 14-16, “With rode red so blosme on brere/ & eyen stepe & gray/ Wiþ lowe scholders & white swere”; 506.

In the very moment the princess uses her body to deceptively affirm her conversion from Christian to Muslim, *King of Tars* foreshadows the breakdown of established identity categories that culminates in the birth of the lump-child. Although she performs the appropriate acts of conversion, using her mouth to confess her faith in Mohammed and kiss the idols, the text takes pains to reassure the reader that she remains a faithful Christian. Her well-shaped, white frame is even draped in Saracen clothing, yet the text explains her conversion as an act that will eventually bring glory to her Christian God.<sup>20</sup> To what extent does the princess actually maintain her Christian faith while her body performs as a Saracen? Here, the body becomes an unstable and unreliable site for establishing identity. The birth of the lump-child, with no limbs or features or skin on which to map ethnic, cultural, or religious stereotypes, exacerbates this instability. The lump of flesh explodes the binary construction of identities that posits the princess and sultan as opposites. In the lump-child both the human princess and dog-like sultan encounter a being that defies human identification.

Focusing on the physical form of the lump-child, particularly its limblessness, not only destabilizes the conceptual boundary separating Christian and Saracen figures; the presence of the lump also calls the human/animal boundary into question. Here, Agamben's theoretical apparatus contributes to discussion of the lump-child as a hyperalterity that challenges late medieval English concepts of self and other. Contextualizing his discussion around the process by which humanity is defined, Agamben theorizes that when the human ceases to be defined by what it is not—an animal—a being “for which we have no name” emerges in the space between the two.<sup>21</sup> In this reading, unlike Calkin's assertion, the lump-child does not represent the unification of two diametrically opposed identities, but instead a completely new being that cannot be identified by either parent as Christian or Saracen, black or white, human or animal.

Agamben traces an itinerary from ancient Greek and messianic thinkers through twentieth-century humanism, in which he examines how the privileged place of humanity has been created, sustained, and strategically produced by the anthropological machine of Western thought. Agamben posits the existence of two anthropological machines, one ancient, the other modern, which produce and maintain the human's position by different means but to the same end. Either an already human being is considered an animal in human form—such as the slave, barbarian, and sultan in *King of Tars*—or an already human being is considered “not yet completely human.” In either instance the completely human being—for us, the white Christian in the Middle Ages—is always presupposed. The animal, the being lacking complete humanity either in form or social status, remains perpetually distanced and separated by this presupposition. Between these polarities the machine produces a state of indeterminacy, a zone of indifference or missing link that calls the stability of the presupposed human into question.<sup>22</sup> Thus when the anthropological machine ceases to operate, to suspend the human in opposition to the animal in order to define the human, an

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<sup>20</sup> The text makes clear that both the princess and sultan agree that two people of different faiths should not marry.

<sup>21</sup> Agamben, 89.

<sup>22</sup> Agamben, 38.

indefinable zone of indifference emerges between the two that fails to articulate the difference between human and animal.

We might interpret the lump-child in the *King of Tars* as an embodiment of this zone of indifference, in whose presence the traditional binary separating human and animal becomes disrupted, both literally and figuratively suspended between two modes of existence. When the sultan blames his wife's insincere conversion for the unfortunate condition of the child, the princess reminds him that, "this child was conceived between us two"; the reader's focus is drawn to the lump of flesh literally lying still and "dead as stone" between their two bodies.<sup>23</sup> Neither human nor animal, male nor female, the flesh lacks a determinable racial or religious identity. In essence the lump-child hovers between its parents' polarized identities, unable to belong securely to either category.

In his discussion of the ominous space between human and animal that materializes when the anthropological machine becomes disabled, Agamben adapts Walter Benjamin's conceptualization of the relationship between man and nature to his own theories about the relationship between human and animal:

[N]either must man master nature nor nature man. Nor must both be mastered in a third term that represents their dialectical synthesis. Rather . . . what is decisive here is only the "between," the interval or, we might say, the play between the two terms, their immediate constellation in a non-coincidence. The anthropological machine no longer articulates nature and man in order to produce the human through the suspense and capture of the inhuman. The machine is, so to speak, stopped; it is "at a standstill," and, in the reciprocal suspension of the two terms something for which we perhaps have no name and which is neither animal nor man settles in between nature and humanity and holds itself in the mastered relation.<sup>24</sup>

Thus when the anthropological machine has come to a standstill and man no longer opposes animal, a nameless being emerges in the space between. The lump represents neither human nor animal, Christian nor Saracen. If the flesh must somehow incarnate the breakdown of borders between Christian and Saracen, it embodies "their immediate constellation in non-coincidence," in their collective difference. A new and undefined entity emerges, devoid of defining characteristics from the binarized figures who conceived it. The lump-child then defies category intransience; it becomes a hyper-alterity, triangulating the binary opposition between its parents and disrupting the system of medieval identity construction. The categories human and animal, Christian and Saracen can no longer feign stability in the presence of the lump, because the flesh institutes a category unknown to Christian and Saracen alike, and in doing so diminishes the gap between their identities. In this way, the lump-child affords Saracen figures in *King of Tars* a more human status.

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<sup>23</sup> *King*, 604, "the child was æten bitwen ous to"; 585, "ded as the ston."

<sup>24</sup> Agamben, 83.

Because the lump-child's undefined form remains foreign to both the Christian princess and her Saracen husband, they become united and their identities less disparate in their desire to make it "fourmed after a man." Seizing this opportunity to prove her husband's faith erroneous, the princess challenges him to take the flesh to the temple, place it before his gods, and "[p]ray . . . [t]hat it be brought to life."<sup>25</sup> If through his prayers the sultan's heathen gods bestow the lump with life and limbs, the princess will acknowledge the power of Mahoun, Teruagaunt, and Apollo and sincerely convert to Islam. If not, her Christian God will attempt the same feat; if successful, the sultan will become a Christian. However, the temple serves as more than an arena for a religious showdown. This scene commences an arresting exploration of the role of body parts in perpetuating systems of medieval identity construction, while simultaneously affirming the lump-child's capacity to erode identity boundaries.

When the sultan bears his lump-child to the temple, the text emphasizes the hyper-alterity of the lump by calling attention to the physical integrity of both the sultan and statues of his gods, in stark contrast to the formless flesh. As a humble supplicant the sultan "lifted up his two hands," while making supplication to mighty Mahoun and powerful Teruagaunt. Beseeching vehemently at the altar before the statues, "[o]ften he kneeled and often he rose." His body remains continually in motion, using his limbs in rising and kneeling. He even cries aloud, his voice echoing his pleas throughout the temple, "until he was hoarse."<sup>26</sup> The sultan's open-mouthed screaming and pleading with the statues until he loses his voice stands in opposition to the silent, mouthless lump of flesh, the object of his supplication. Even animals—or the animalized sultan—can generate sound with their mouths. Traditional characterizations of Saracens with dog-like features are suspended in this description of the sultan; his dog-like nature becomes less important than the text's inability to fix the lump's identity as human or animal. The flesh's extreme alterity begins to erode the boundary between Christianity and Saraceness; in comparison to the lump the sultan appears more human.

The text also contrasts the lump of flesh and the Muslim idols in the temple. Enraged by the inability or unwillingness of his gods to act on his behalf, the sultan takes a staff to Jupiter and Apollo. He beats them until he begins to sweat, giving them "strokes good and great," until he "breaks their arms and heads."<sup>27</sup> He does not cease smashing the bodies of Mahoun and his host until he severs their every limb.<sup>28</sup> In addition to another display of the sultan's use of his body, the text highlights the false idols' limbs, noting twice that in the midst of this violent scene, the flesh lay dead as stone.<sup>29</sup> The temple scene offers no relief from the looming presence of the flesh. Although still, its capacity to erode identity boundaries continually reasserts the lump's menace. In this moment the motionless body of the lump-child mirrors the sultan's inanimate idols. It further complicates Christian-Muslim relations by its lack of religious and physical identity. In the presence of Muslim alterity, and in a space antithetical to the Christian church, in the lump the reader confronts a

<sup>25</sup> *King*, 610-612, "Pray gñe godes al yfere . . . To lue gñat it be broust."

<sup>26</sup> *King*, 626, "held vp his bonden trein"; 635, "Oft the kneled & oft he rose"; 636, "til he was hos."

<sup>27</sup> *King*, 653, "strokes gode & greñ"; 657, "brac hem arm & crown."

<sup>28</sup> *King*, 659, "no lete neuter a lim wif over."

<sup>29</sup> *King*, 662, "yet lay gñe flesche still as ston."

hyper-alterity. Although inanimate material figures, much like the lump of flesh “dead as stone,” the heathen statues possess what the lump lacks; they are more human than the lump-child.<sup>30</sup> Though its lifeless form remains suspended at various points in the text between the sultan and the idols, the sultan and the princess, and the princess and the women at birth, the lump-child actively undoes the anthropological machine of fourteenth-century English Christian thought.

Having established how greatly the limbless lump-child in its hyper-alterity disturbs the binary between human and animal, the sorrow and woe it induces results from realizing that the birth of the lump-child jeopardizes the superior position occupied by white Christian over Muslim figures in the romance. If the lump affords Saracen figures a more human status, then the very parameters that define humanity for the medieval English Christian begin to erode. To escape the menacing presence of the lump-child’s formless, limbless, featureless body—a body that resists distortion, appropriation and fixity—the text transforms the body of the lump through baptism. The princess believes assuredly that, “If it were properly christened/It should take on a form/And awake with limbs and life.”<sup>31</sup>

Confident that the power of Christianity will reshape the disturbing lump of flesh, the princess directs her husband to summon a priest held prisoner in his dungeons; he baptizes the lump and christens the child John on the feast day of John the Baptist. As the priest utters a prayer and blessing over the lump, a miracle of transformation takes place: “When the child was christened/It was alive and had limbs and a face/And cried with great noise/And had flesh and skin and bodily form.”<sup>32</sup> Not only does the lump-child now have limbs, they are pleasing to the eye, in contrast to the flesh’s grotesquely disturbing appearance. Additionally, the lump’s marked silence in the temple, which emphasized both its proximity to the stone-still Saracen idols who possessed limbs though the lump had none, and its extreme alterity compared to its subhuman father whose heathen cries echoed throughout the temple, is overturned at baptism by a loud and boisterous cry. Miraculously, the once undefined *ronde* becomes a fair and well-shaped boy.<sup>33</sup> His newly formed body elicits the desire traditionally associated with flesh in opposition to things spiritual, unlike the glob of tissue he once was. This moment of redemption through baptism for the lump-child, his physical restoration to an identifiable form with limbs, features and a voice, becomes his second birth. He is literally born-again, into both the Christian family and humanity.

Since the lump-child can now be identified as a viable being, properly fixed into familiar identity categories, the anthropological machine—the machine that had come to a grinding standstill at the birth of the lump-child—starts up once again. However, identity categories remain unstable. In the sultan’s fascinating whitewashing at his conversion to Christianity, *King of Tars* revisits the complications in fixing identity on the body, a concept first engaged by the princess’ false conversion to Islam. As the sultan’s skin “that was black and loathly” becomes white “and clear without blame,”

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<sup>30</sup> *King*, 585, “*lay ded as þe ston.*”

<sup>31</sup> *King*, 760-762.

<sup>32</sup> *King*, 775-779, “*þe When þat it cristned was/It hadde liif & lim & fas,/ & crið wið great deray./ & hadde bide & flesche & fel.*”

<sup>33</sup> *King*, 781, “*Feirer child mist non be bore*”; 783, “*Wele schapen it was wiðfalle.*”

the reader must consider the sincerity and validity of his conversion.<sup>34</sup> At a point during his physical transformation did the sultan perhaps become half-black and half-white? Or if the whitewashing occurred instantaneously, did the sultan for an incalculable twinkling of an eye occupy a space *between* black and white, Christian and Muslim? Can we trust that the sultan has converted simply because his skin changes color? Earlier, although *King of Tars* insists that she retained her Christian faith, for all intents and purposes, the princess' dress and behavior indicate that she became a Muslim. Perhaps confronting this anxiety over the untrustworthy nature of the body for concretizing identity, the text allies the sultan with his father-in-law in a violent crusade against the Saracens of Damas, to reassure the reader his conversion is legitimate. Within the scope of this short paper, the complexity of these questions deem that they remain unanswered; however, the text makes clear that the boundary between the body and identity remains porous, riddled with fluidity and instability, an instability profoundly exacerbated by the presence of the lump-child.

The lump's lack of definable physical form and limbs collapses the parameters demarcating Christian and Saracen identities in *King of Tars*, because this lack exposes the fragility of medieval identity constructions. The body of the lump-child disrupts medieval systems for producing humanity by suspending at a distance, cataloguing, distorting, vilifying, and thereby disciplining the bodies of those deemed sub- or inhuman. Thus the text's romantic transformation of the lump into a viable human child perpetuates the system of producing and defining the other by controlling how body parts are depicted, discussed, and narrated. The lump-child in its limbless, faceless, looming fleshly presence for a moment stopped this machination. No wonder the women who attended the princess during birth are "full of sorrow" and the princess "lay in care and woe" as they stare at the grotesquely gelatinous mass of flesh. In this moment of sheer horror, the necessary reaction is to fix the broken machine. Baptizing the lump provides a solution for that moment, but the threat remains imminent. Jeffrey Cohen eloquently notes:

Medieval bodies were caught between gravitational forces that pulled them at once toward a fantasy of impossible completeness . . . and at the same time confronted them with a daily spectacle of the flesh dissolving into pieces, of bodies composed of metamorphic humeral fluids, of the corporeal as the scene for the staging of magic, holiness, perversity, wonder. Bodies were, quite simply, caught in a process of eruptive becoming.<sup>35</sup>

This eruptive becoming, this continual process of being defined and redefined, this fluidity of the body as the site of defining racial, religious and social norms poses an incessant threat to the anthropological machine. Agamben posits, "[t]o render inoperative the machine that governs our conception of man will therefore mean no longer to seek new—more effective or authentic articulations, but rather to show the central emptiness, that hiatus that—within man—separates man

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<sup>34</sup> *King*, 928, "*ghat blac & lofely was*"; 930, "*& clere wiþouten blame*."

<sup>35</sup> Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "The Inhuman Circuit, in *Thinking the Limits of the Body*, ed. Cohen and Gail Weiss (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 167-187; quotation on 167.

and animal, and to risk ourselves in this emptiness: the suspension of the suspension.”<sup>36</sup> The still-life animation of the lump-child enacts an erosion of identity boundaries. Facing this menace and unwilling to abandon conceptions of identity produced by the anthropological machine, the text perpetuates a cycle of embracing and rejecting the other that simultaneously articulates and disarticulates the defining parameters of humanity for white Christians in fourteenth-century England. The reader then becomes suspended in the suspension.

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<sup>36</sup> Agamben, 93.



*Sustenance for Life:  
The Madonna del Latte as a Backdrop  
for the Celebration of the Eucharist  
in Late Medieval Italy*

By Cecelia M. Dorger

The image of the Virgin Mary nursing the Christ child has roots in late antiquity, in early Christian and Egyptian Coptic art, but at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century the image emerges in significant numbers in the West and becomes increasingly popular in Italian altarpieces. Margaret Miles posits that malnutrition and epidemic disease led hungry fourteenth-century Italians to value an image of the Virgin feeding her son.<sup>1</sup> But this paper proposes another interpretation: a spiritual hunger, caused by a decree of the Fourth Lateran Council that led to infrequent eucharistic reception, may explain the image's prevalence in altarpieces. In 1215 the council decreed unambiguously that Christ is physically present in the Eucharist as flesh and blood. This decree resulted in a new attitude toward the Eucharist; it became more precious, reception rare. Devotion deepened, and a practice known as spiritual communion was initiated. Mass became increasingly theatrical, and new liturgical rituals like the elevation of the Host during consecration generated the need for a visual signifier—a motif befitting the momentous ritual. The painted altarpiece, introduced as a backdrop for the mass, centrally focused the faithful's attention and favored Marian images.<sup>2</sup> This study explores the motif of Mary nursing her son. By taking into account medieval peoples' penchant for relics, their understanding of the power of seeing, and their grasp of physiological matters, and by examining textual evidence available to medieval people, this essay attempts to surmise what this image meant to them.

This paper proposes that the altarpiece image of the Madonna del Latte, as a backdrop for the mass's climactic consecration of the Host, provided the faithful with a visual allusion to and substitute for communion. Medieval people may have associated a deeper meaning with this image. Beyond serving as a signifier of a physical satiation of hunger during a famine, it might have become

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<sup>1</sup> Margaret R. Miles, "The Virgin's One Bare Breast" in *The Secularization of the Breast* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 33.

<sup>2</sup> Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215 – 1460*, vol. 1 (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis bv Groningen, 1984), 12-15.

a sacramental image—an image whose impact had the potency of the eucharistic sacrament being consecrated at the altar before it. Finally, the Lateran decree may have changed late medieval perceptions about images. If so, how were perceptions processed when the congregation fixed their eyes upon the image overlaid by the ceremony at the altar?

The declaration of Christ's real presence in the consecrated Host considerably increased devotion. Medieval people's proclivity for relics in the preceding years now transferred to the Host. Fervent devotion to saints' sacred relics can be traced to the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> Miracle-working relics became the centerpiece of ritual and pilgrimage during the medieval period.<sup>4</sup> The closer a relic was related to the divine, the more worshippers treasured it. Because she was the mother of God, believers desired any vestige of the Virgin, yet her corporeal relics were unattainable. Cults associated with her milk materialized and vials of her milk became highly prized relics, popularized by a story about the Virgin visiting the enormously influential Cistercian monk, Bernard of Clairvaux, and offering the monk milk from her breast.<sup>5</sup> As much as medieval people exalted the mother of God, they revered God himself the most. Embracing the Host as the holiest of all relics was a natural leap after the Lateran decree, and devotion to the Body of Christ in the Host reached unprecedented heights.

However, one expression of the newly ignited devotion took an unexpected form. Frequency of receiving communion decreased instead of increasing. Council theologians who addressed the criteria for worthiness feared that frequency would breed familiarity with the sacrament that would lead to indifference.<sup>6</sup> Most synodal legislation recommended three communions a year, at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the populace relied on spiritual communion, a practice in which seeing the Host was tantamount to eating it.<sup>8</sup> And so a new ceremony, the elevation of the

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<sup>3</sup> Andre Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, Jean Birrell, trans. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 16. In 383 Bishop Ambrose exhumed the remains of Saints Gervase and Proteus in Milan. This find is thought to be the first relic exhumation and to have ignited the medieval cult of relics. The well-timed discovery came just before Empress Justina's attempt to expel Ambrose. At the crowded dedication of the basilica of Milan, Ambrose unearthed the bodies of the two martyrs, which were then gathered up by the crowds and venerated. The relics' discovery saved Ambrose, and scores of similar finds were subsequently recorded.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 40-50. The cult of relics ignited considerably after 787 when the second council of Nicaea resolved that relics must be present at all church dedications. Geary proposes that Charles the Great encouraged veneration of relics and brought the practice under his control in order to bolster his program of political, social, and religious consolidation. Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Roman and Littlefield, 1975), 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, "Bernard and Mary's Milk: A Northern Contribution," in *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Tradition* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), 192-202. McGuire discusses several versions of the legend that vary the Virgin's motive. One suggests that the elixir of her milk gave him his legendary gift for preaching; another that it quenched his thirst. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 197-198. Warner offers another version of the legend in which Bernard prayed before a statue asking for proof that she was "the mother." The Virgin appeared and let three drops of milk fall to his lips.

<sup>6</sup> Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 90.

<sup>7</sup> Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 64-70. Guillaume Durandus, *Rationale divinarum officiorum IV* (Belgium: Turnhouti Brepols, 1995), 310.

<sup>8</sup> Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 52, 63 and 150. Ann W. Astell, *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3. Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 96-97.

Host, was deliberately introduced into the liturgy and became an increasingly theatrical experience.<sup>9</sup> Priests taught that witnessing the elevation bestowed the efficacy of a sacrament and would profoundly affect participants.<sup>10</sup> William of Auxerre wrote about the ritual in his *Summa de officiis*: “[T]he priest elevates the Body of Christ in order that all the faithful may both see it and seek what is necessary for salvation.”<sup>11</sup> The laity greatly anticipated this part of the mass. Records include instances when people raced from church to church to observe as many consecrations as possible.<sup>12</sup> Devoted laymen were known to plead, “Heave it higher, Sir Priest!”<sup>13</sup> This theater, performed in front of the scenery of the Madonna feeding the Christ child, connected the spiritually hungry congregation to the communion they could not ingest, fulfilling the congregation’s desire for a closer co-mingling with God.

We know from many sources that medieval people believed that gazing at something—the act of seeing—represented a potent and powerful activity. Michael Camille argues that Gothic art is best understood through a concept of the eye as medieval people understood it—“a powerful sense-organ of perception, knowledge, and pleasure.”<sup>14</sup> Audiences and artists shared this way of seeing, known as “the period eye.” Ancient theory of physical vision, understood by medieval thinkers, held that the viewer’s eye projected a quasi-physical ray to touch the object, and an impression of that object traveled back along the ray making an imprint upon the viewer’s soul.<sup>15</sup> Thus gazing at the

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<sup>9</sup> Gerald G. Grant, “The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy,” *Theological Studies* I (1940): 229-230. Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945), 482. Dix addresses the assertion that the consecration was hidden from view in the Western liturgy by a screen. He writes that the screen was used as protection against draughts in collegiate churches. He differentiates between the Eastern and Western traditions: “The Eastern screen was meant to shut the congregation out, the Western one was meant to shut them in.” Pierced screens were designed to let the congregation see. Marcia B. Hall, “The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 157-173. While the *ponte* or screen in the Dominican church highlighted in her article would have obscured the laity’s view of the altar, the author acknowledges that no evidence suggests that the great Tuscan cathedrals ever had a rood screen like Santa Maria Novella’s. Hall uses the Duomo in Florence as an example, writing that the only obstruction was a “rather low wall” that made an enclosure around the sanctuary and choir. Grant also addresses the obstructed view: “The West early put away the altar veils and jubes (rood-screens) where these had become common and exposed the liturgy to the gaze of all.”

<sup>10</sup> Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 63.

<sup>11</sup> “*sacerdos elevat Corpus Christi ut omnes fideles videant et petant quod prosit ad salutem.*” Quoted in Macy, 188, n. 142.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich: M. Hueber, 1933), 68. Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, vol. 1, Francis A. Brunner, trans. (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1951), 121. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 55. Beth Williamson, “The Virgin Lactans and the Madonna of Humility in Italy, Metz, and Avignon in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries” (Ph.D. diss., London University, 1996), 215, n.18.

<sup>13</sup> Dix, 14 and 620. Thomas Cranmer, *The Remains of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Henry Jenkyns, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833), 442. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, quoted medieval churchgoers as saying: “Hold up! Hold up!” and “This day I have seen my Maker,” and “I cannot be quiet except I see my Maker once a day.” Jungmann, 121, n. 101. Williamson, “Virgin Lactans,” 215, n.19.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Camille, *Gothic Art, Glorious Vision* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996), 11.

<sup>15</sup> Miles, *Image as Insight*, 96. David Chidester, *Word and Light: Seeing, Hearing, and Religious Discourse* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 3-6. Chidester summarizes how ancient Greek philosophers explained optical theory. Although philosophers’ theories differed, all relied upon a relationship between organ and object. In Platonic and Stoic theory, and subsequent thinkers who derived their assumptions from them, vision required a “union between seer and seen.”

Host involved physical contact with it. But people of the time understood that the physical senses engaged the spiritual senses as well.

Origen of Alexandria's writings about spiritual senses profoundly influenced medieval thinkers. Medieval doctrine of spiritual senses is found first in William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, which defines these senses as "different modes of activity of the intellect, which completely envelops God."<sup>16</sup> More than a perception of the physical world, spiritual senses enable mystical insight. Richard of Saint-Victor wrote about corporal and spiritual modes of vision, with the fourth and deepest level involving "pure and naked seeing of divine reality."<sup>17</sup> Medieval parishioners satisfied their yearning to encounter the divine and their ardent desire to receive the transformed Body of Christ by engaging in spiritual communion through the power of vision and spiritual senses. The overlaid view of the Host and the Madonna del Latte formed a potent locus where physical and spiritual senses coalesced. Images facilitated engaging the spiritual senses. Painted altarpieces introduced around the middle of the thirteenth century served as the ritual's physical and visual framework to stimulate feelings of devotion.<sup>18</sup> Because of the fervent devotion medieval people demonstrated to the Eucharist, the image behind the altar facilitated both liturgical and devotional functions; indeed the liturgy engenders devotion. Moreover, the altarpiece image incited the spiritual senses. This study agrees with a multivalent function of the altarpiece but argues that the particular motif of the altarpiece might also inform the function.

In the instance of the Madonna del Latte, an experiential interaction between the image and the churchgoer occurred. The Madonna del Latte image filled a void left by the infrequency of receiving communion. But how was the Madonna del Latte image ascribed to the Eucharist? According to Henk van Os, Madonnas became a favored subject because the image of the Virgin and child suggested Christ's rebirth in the Eucharist, with a particular emphasis on the incarnation theme.<sup>19</sup> An analogous relationship can be drawn between Mary becoming a virgin mother and the miracle of transubstantiation: both encompass miraculous transformations. In one the power of the Holy Spirit permits a young woman to become the mother of God without losing her virginity. In the other, the power of the Holy Spirit miraculously transforms bread into Christ's body without changing its

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<sup>16</sup> Karl Rahner, "The Doctrine of the Spiritual Senses in the Middle Ages," trans. David Morland, in *Theological Investigations*, vol. XVI, *Experience of the Spirit: Source of Theology* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979), 107. Rahner explains the trajectory of the doctrine of the spiritual senses as explicated by medieval writers through the ages, including William of Auxerre, Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventure.

<sup>17</sup> Camille, *Gothic Art*, 17.

<sup>18</sup> van Os, 12. Recent scholars have considered the function of the altarpiece but failed to reach a consensus. Some argue for a liturgical function, visually augmenting the ritual performed on the altar. Other scholars contend altarpieces served several purposes, including inspiring devotion. Barbara Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 1. Lane gives a liturgical interpretation for the altarpiece. Kees van der Ploeg "How Liturgical is a Medieval Altarpiece?" in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor M. Schmidt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 115. Van der Ploeg suggests that because the altarpiece lacked canonical regulations like other liturgical. Beth Williamson's comprehensive study considers various scholars' points of view and determines a multivalent function; she posits that the lines between the liturgical and devotional functions of an altarpiece blur. Beth Williamson, "Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion," *Speculum* 79 (2004), 341-406.

<sup>19</sup> van Os, 14.

physical shape.<sup>20</sup> The attribute of nursing or feeding strengthens metaphors of physical to spiritual sustenance and nurturing. This image, behind the elevated Host, provided the visual device necessary for the congregation to make this connection. In an example dating from 1270, painted in a workshop of several masters from Tuscany, the enthroned Virgin looks directly at worshipers as she feeds the Christ child from her own body (Figure 1). The child in *Virgin and Child Enthroned* appears as a learned, mature person; his left hand holds a scroll and his right hand gestures a blessing as he suckles. Later examples reveal a more naturalistic mother and baby, projecting deeper intimacy and human attachment to each other. Texts written by ancient philosophers, medieval monks, and late medieval theologians reveal an intimate attachment between the body of Christ and his mother.



Figure 1. Magdalene Master, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Leonard and Peter*. Yale University Art Gallery; university purchase from James Jackson Jarves. Used by permission.

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<sup>20</sup> The eucharistic prayer contains the *Epiclesis* an invocation of the Holy Spirit. This example is from the eucharistic prayer III: “And so, Father, we bring you these gifts. We ask you to make them holy by the power of your Spirit, that they may become the body and blood of your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.” *Basic Texts for the Roman Catholic Eucharist, Eucharistic Prayers I-IV*, trans. Felix Just, in *The Roman Missal* (International Committee on English in the Liturgy, 1973). URL <http://catholic-resources.org/ChurchDocs/EP1-4.htm>.

Numerous texts known to medieval people associate and even equate the eucharistic body of Christ with the Virgin. Ephraem of Syria, called Mary's first poet, associated Christ's eucharistic body with the body that came from his mother's womb. His writings about Christ never omit Mary, and he refers to Christ as bread and "grape from Mary."<sup>21</sup> Paschasius Radbert, the abbot of the monastery of Corbie in the ninth century famous for his reflections on the Eucharist, associated the sacrament with the Virgin. He explained, "that which is consecrated in Christ's word by the Holy Spirit is his body born of a virgin."<sup>22</sup> Catherine of Siena wrote that Christ's flesh was Mary's sealed like hot wax by the Holy Spirit.<sup>23</sup> But the strongest associations between the eucharistic body of Christ and his mother are found in Richard of St. Laurent's writings. He wrote his Marian work between 1239 and 1245, but the writings were attributed erroneously to Albert the Great until about 1952, making them, according to Hilda Graef, more well-known than they might have been and scarcely criticized. Richard writes, "Mary [not God, as we read in John 3:16] so loved the world . . . that she gave her only-begotten Son for the salvation of the world."<sup>24</sup> And, since Richard sees the Virgin and Christ as inextricably linked, he writes of receiving Mary's body, "In the sacrament of her Son we also eat and drink her flesh and blood." Moreover, "Mary feeds her guests . . . on her virginal flesh . . . also in the sacrament where the flesh of Christ and the flesh of Mary are consumed, since the flesh of the Mother and of the Son are one flesh." Writing in the early 1960s, Graef objects: "[T]his view is quite inadmissible."<sup>25</sup> But while Richard's writings seemed unacceptable to Graef's ear then, we should consider his words now with a "period ear."

In considering what medieval people understood about a mother and her child's shared flesh, studying physiological theories makes more sense of Richard's unusual assertions. Two scientific ideas about conception known in medieval times link a mother and her son as one flesh. Aristotle posited that the mother provides the matter of the fetus and the father its spirit. This theory clearly binds the mother to the baby's physical body. The competing conception theory available to medieval people, that of Galen suggests that two seeds were necessary, one from each parent, associating both father and mother with the physiological matter. Galen saw the mother's womb as the vessel or oven in which the fetus cooks; the womb-matter provided the baby with what it needed to grow.<sup>26</sup> In essence, his theory also unites the mother's and baby's bodies.

While Aristotle's and Galen's ideas unite the mother and child theoretically, the Madonna del Latte as an altarpiece image visually unites the mother to the baby's body. The subject begins to emerge in the thirteenth century and becomes increasingly popular in the fourteenth, particularly in Tuscany. It served as a backdrop for the celebration of the Eucharist and fed devotion to the sacrament. The image of a human mother feeding her son, who needs his mother's milk to live,

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<sup>21</sup> Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 62.

<sup>22</sup> Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 104.

<sup>23</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 212.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted. in Graef, 266.

<sup>25</sup> Graef, 267.

<sup>26</sup> Bynum, *Fragmentation*, 214.



underscores both Christ's humanity and the personal relationship between the Virgin and child. Paolo di Giovanni Fei's panel of 1380 shows a naturalistic Madonna, holding her nursing son in a lively pose (Figure 2). This more human Christ, portrayed as a baby playing with his foot as he nurses, typifies portrayals of the Madonna and child during the second half of the fourteenth century. The teachings of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders also reflect this humanization, which was universally embraced. Friars spread their devotion to Mary and to Christ's humanization through charismatic sermons and popular devotional writings.



Figure 2. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, *Madonna and Child*, 1370s. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Used by permission.

*Meditations on the Life of Christ*, written by an unknown Franciscan friar in the first half of the fourteenth century, provides one example of humanization of Christ through devotional writing. A period “best seller,” the text encourages readers to visualize the New Testament scenes described. Although the New Testament makes no direct reference to the Virgin nursing the Christ child, *Meditations* describes her nursing and washing him: “[She] began to wash him with her milk, her breasts filled by heaven.” The nursing imagery continues: “[W]atch her attentively as she cares for Him assiduously and wisely, nursing Him and rendering all services.”<sup>27</sup> Another instance appears in Saint Francis’s biography, written in 1229 by his friend Thomas of Celano, which records that Francis took enormous delight in that when God became a human baby he needed his mother’s milk. “The birthday of the child Jesus Francis observed with inexpressible eagerness over all other feasts saying that it was the feast of feasts, on which God, having become a tiny infant, clung to human breasts.”<sup>28</sup>

These written sources, so well-known to medieval people, furnish insight about their enthusiasm toward the Virgin feeding and sustaining her child, the Christ. The positive, even celebratory, prose provides clues to how people at the time may have perceived the Madonna del Latte image. Their recognition that the Virgin alone nourished Christ’s body implies a symbiotic relationship. God made a human being, Mary, as a necessary part of his survival as a human. He became human to carry out the promise of salvation, to be accomplished through his sacrificial bloodshed, death, and resurrection. The consecration of bread and wine repeated this sacrifice.<sup>29</sup> Christ promised, “I am the living bread that came down from heaven; whoever eats this bread will live forever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world.”<sup>30</sup> The promise of eternal life could not have been fulfilled without complicity of Mary, in whose womb the bread was cooked and from whom milk flowed to nourish him.

Medieval thinkers muddled the connection between blood and milk. They believed that breast milk was transmuted blood; according to Bartholomew Anglicus, blood reached the breasts through the veins and arteries and there turned into milk. Purifying menstrual blood was also considered a functions of the breasts.<sup>31</sup> Clement of Alexandria wrote an involved discourse about how this took place, finishing by equating milk with Christ’s blood:

Milk retains its underlying substance of blood. . . . It suffers change in its qualities, but not in its substance. . . . But heavenly food is similar to milk in every way: by its

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<sup>27</sup> Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, trans., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 33 and 39, respectively.

<sup>28</sup> 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, (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1963), 296.

<sup>29</sup> “Jesus took bread, said the blessing, broke it, and giving it to his disciples said, ‘Take and eat; this is my body.’ Then he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them saying, ‘Drink from it, all of you, for this is my blood of the covenant, which will be shed on behalf of many for the forgiveness of sins.’” Matt 26:26-29 NAB. See also Mark 14:22-26; Luke 22:15-20; and 1 Cor. 11:23-25. All biblical references from the New American Bible version.

<sup>30</sup> John 6:51.

<sup>31</sup> Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, vol. 1 “De mamilla. Capitulum 34m,” trans. John Trevisa (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 233-235.



nature it is palatable through grace; nourishing, for it is life; and dazzling white, for it is the light of Christ. Therefore it is more than evident that the Blood of Christ is milk.<sup>32</sup>

Was this “more than evident” to medieval churchgoers? When they gazed at the Madonna del Latte painted on the altarpiece behind the altar, did they perceive a symbol of the Eucharist, and did they make all these spiritual and physiological connections? Scholars wrestle with understanding and applying meaning to religious images. Michael Baxandall points to John of Genoa’s late thirteenth-century *Catholicon*, a standard dictionary of the period, to answer questions about the function of religious art in the late Middle Ages. The *Catholicon* lists three reasons for the institution of religious images into churches: “*First* for the instruction of simple people . . . *Second*, so that the mystery of the Incarnation and the examples of the Saints may be the more active in our memory . . . *Third* to excite feelings of devotion, these being aroused more effectively by things seen than things heard.”<sup>33</sup> This definition represents an attitude handed down through the ages and may have entered the consciousness of medieval people; as we have seen, medieval thinkers customarily embraced the wisdom of their ancient and late antique philosophical predecessors.<sup>34</sup> Of course interpreting an image as a signifier of a particular message for every medieval viewer remains problematic. But considered together with textual evidence and the period’s larger understanding of the power of seeing and of images, one can reasonably conclude that some of the faithful saw a correlation between the sacrament and the Virgin feeding her son. However, more than simple correlation may have occurred. The image’s popularity began building after the Lateran decree, suggesting perhaps a more vital reason for its existence, namely as this study proposes that the function of images of the nursing Madonna was related to the practice of spiritual communion, ignited when frequent reception of communion ended.

As exhibited in this analysis, the Fourth Lateran Council’s decree about Christ’s real presence in the Host resulted in deepened devotion to the Eucharist, and a heightened appetite for it, engendered by the prohibition against frequent eucharistic reception. Did the Lateran decree affect the way people saw images? Camille makes a valid point as he suggests, “The notion of the ‘real presence’ in eucharistic practice must have deeply influenced people’s perception of images, for here

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<sup>32</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, vol. 23, trans. Simon P. Wood (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 39. See also Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, vol. 2, trans. John C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1927), 357.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 40-41.

<sup>34</sup> For example, Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) defended the decision to paint images in churches, saying “the majority of the crowd here, however, are peasant people, not devoid of religion but not able to read. [They] are at last converted into proselytes for Christ while they admire the works of the saints in Christ open to everybody’s gaze.” Caecilia Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300 – 1150* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 18-19. Pope Gregory I (d. 604) famously did the same in the late sixth century in a letter to the Bishop Serenus of Marseille. He reprimands the iconoclastic bishop, defending the necessity of religious images: “What scripture is to the educated, images are to the ignorant . . . “It is not without reason that tradition permits the deeds of the saints to be depicted in holy places.” Davis-Weyer, 47-48. Therefore, medieval churchgoers may have approached the image above the altar, expecting that it was meant to edify.

a visual thing was itself capable of becoming and not just signifying its prototype.”<sup>35</sup> In this light, could an image laden with eucharistic implications, implications further compounded as worshippers gaze upon the transference of bread and wine into divine body and blood, truly become something divine? By their ability to engage the spiritual senses, medieval religious images became channels through which one could encounter the divine.

We have seen how medieval people understood the power of vision.<sup>36</sup> If seeing the Host was tantamount to receiving it in spiritual communion, did they also receive something when they gazed at the image of the Madonna del Latte behind the consecration? In the image the Virgin, nourishing her son, looks directly at the faithful and offers sustenance to all humankind. The image might also have been perceived as sacramental. According to Bishop Durandus, who wrote at the end of the thirteenth century, Gregory the Great defined a sacrament as occurring “when an outward act is so performed as that we receive inwardly some degree of the thing signified.”<sup>37</sup> The Madonna del Latte image signified the Virgin’s role in nourishing, and the faithful might have understood themselves as receiving that nourishment to some degree. William Cleves explains, “The earliest definition that we have of ‘sacrament’ is two words: *signum efficax* (effective sign, that is, a sign that actually brings about what it signifies).”<sup>38</sup> For medieval people the image of the Virgin feeding her son as a backdrop for the consecration may have embodied such an effective sign. It signified sustenance and also provided that sustenance in Christ, who offered his body as food that promised eternal life. By applying these two definitions of sacrament to the Madonna del Latte, an image “capable of becoming, not just signifying its prototype,” with the spiritual senses engaged, medieval people may have perceived the image as a sacramental.

The spiritual hunger caused by the Lateran decree’s prohibition against receiving communion more than three times a year may explain the popularity of Madonna del Lattes in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century altarpieces. That same prohibition resulted in medieval worshippers’ practice of spiritual communion. This ignited the spiritual senses, and medieval believers may have experienced sustenance through the symbolic Madonna del Latte image. The image signifies and becomes nourishment for the savior and for those gazing at it. Viewed through the “period eye,” it may have been perceived as a sacramental, whose impact encompassed the potency of the Eucharist.

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<sup>35</sup> Michael Camille *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 217.

<sup>36</sup> Miles, “The Importance of Vision in Fourteenth Century Italy” in *Image as Insight*, 66-68. Miles develops the theory, “The human mind was capable of grasping supernatural truth through visible objects because visible objects both reflect and participate in the being of their prototypes . . . The medieval worshipper became, through concentrated vision, present at [events in the New Testament].”

<sup>37</sup> Durandus, *Rationale*, 142.

<sup>38</sup> Monsignor William F. Cleves, e-mail correspondence with the author, 2009.

## *Africa on Display: Ivory Saltcellars in Italian Collections*

By Ingrid Greenfield

Prominent among the African arts that came to Europe in the Renaissance are a body of carved pieces commonly referred to as Afro-Portuguese ivories.<sup>1</sup> The Africans who carved these objects used the forms of saltcellars, cutlery, and hunting horns as vehicles for a complex interweaving of indigenous African motifs and ornamentation, sometimes joined by designs of European derivation. Surviving tax documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries confirm that Portuguese sailors imported these African-made ivories into Europe from regions along the coast of West Africa, the earliest from Sierra Leone.<sup>2</sup> At times organized under the heading “Sapi-Portuguese” or assigned more specifically to the Temne and Bullom peoples, the Sierra Leonean ivories date from the second half of the fifteenth century to the first part of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Installed in early modern collections, they entered into Western material culture; we might easily imagine an intricately carved saltcellar as a conversation piece, illuminated by candlelight or lamps on a banquet table or shelf, admired by the owner and his guests as they contemplates its qualities in relation to neighboring objects. Combining luxury forms of tableware with masterful but foreign

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<sup>1</sup> As one of the first scholar-connoisseurs to pursue a meticulous and systematic analysis of African arts, William B. Fagg endeavored to locate these ivory pieces historically and stylistically. His combination of the broad terms African and Portuguese, generating the new category of Afro-Portuguese, may seem crude or ingenuous compared to present scholarship on African art, which often rejects perceived oversimplifications or essentializing constructions of artistic production. At the time Fagg coined the hyphenated term, however, it called attention to the problematical double origin of the artworks in Africa and Europe, as well as to the contested double origin of African art history, which sought authority in the discipline of art history while also drawing methodologies from anthropology. His initial identification of the ivories as Afro-Portuguese paved the way for subtler distinctions in the 1980s and 1990s, when scholars Ezio Bassani and Kathy Curnow recognized the hands of individual artists and workshops through close looking and comparison. See William B. Fagg, *Afro-Portuguese Ivories* (London: Batchwork Press, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> Not until the mid-twentieth century did Avelino Teixeira da Mota and Alan Ryder discover and publish Portuguese customs documents from an account book of 1504 and 1505, recording taxation on ivory saltcellars (*saleiros*) imported from Africa. Prior to publication of the *Casa de Guiné's* account books, scholars like Fagg, could not ascertain their specific origin. It was even thought that a population of Africans working in Portugal might have produced the ivories, given instances of Portuguese coats of arms and devices on many oliphants and several saltcellars. A. F. C. Ryder, “A Note on the Afro-Portuguese Ivories,” *Journal of African History* 5 (1964): 363-365; T. A. da Mota, “Gli Avori africani nella documentazione portoghese dei secoli 15-17,” *Africa* 30/4 (1975): 580-589.

<sup>3</sup> Portuguese sources do not distinguish between the Temne and Bullom peoples who populated the coast of Upper Guinea; instead, the Portuguese grouped them together under the term Sape or Sapi, possibly due to similarities in language, culture, and political structure. The date range for Sierra Leonean Afro-Portuguese ivories is generally accepted as 1490 – 1550. After 1550 an invasion into Temne and Bullom lands by the Mane people upset production, completely halting it or causing drastic stylistic change, either through displacement or enslavement.

carving techniques and enigmatic imagery that arouses a desire to touch and decipher, the African ivories almost certainly represents a medium through which the owner might conceive of other cultures and consider his own relationship to these others. I believe that the ivories had no fixed meaning for these collectors, however, nor was recognition of their African-ness necessarily the primary method by which to read and understand them. Despite the early modern fascination with foreign objects, not until 1709 does an Italian inventory describe one of the ivories, an oliphant, as *ex Africa allatum*, “brought out of Africa.” Apart from this single instance, African ivories in European collections often are described imprecisely in surviving inventories, their origins erroneously recorded as Indian, Turkish, or even Brazilian, if at all. This sort of conundrum prompts my inquiry. How much did the origins of foreign objects matter to Italian collectors? More specifically, in what ways were objects such as the ivories tied to an African identity? How did they contribute to early modern Italian perceptions of the African continent?

My questions were triggered first by the disparate exhibition strategies for two African saltcellars currently on display, one in the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pigorini” in Rome and other in Bologna’s Museo Civico Medievale. These two ivories have remained in Italy since their arrival in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, and the museums’ distinct modes of display provided anachronistic but useful prompts for theorizing how African material culture might have performed various roles in early modern collections. Few early modern sources address such African objects specifically, and those that do are not overly concerned with providing details on perceived origin or identity for art historians. Instead, mislabeling or lack of a stated origin in inventories may prove key in discerning how, if at all, a collector considered the ivories to be African and what that African-ness, or lack of it, signified.

In the Roman suburb of the Esposizione Universale Roma or EUR, built in the 1930s and ’40s as a kind of architectural celebration of fascism, the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pigorini” draws few visitors besides Roman schoolchildren on fieldtrips, although it holds some of the earliest African artwork in existence and serves as the Italian state’s chief collection of non-Western art and artifacts. The architecture does call to mind eras of subjugation and invasion, from ancient Rome, to the “Age of Discovery,” to the Italian attacks on Ethiopia in 1896 and 1935; the museum contains non-Western objects from all these periods of Western aggression. At the top of the grand travertine staircase, the series of large rooms devoted to African material begins with an Afro-Portuguese ivory saltcellar in its own glass case, set against beige walls.<sup>4</sup> Spotlights from above illuminate the three-dimensionality of carved details. The cylindrical base of this saltcellar is decorated by caryatid figures gripping twisted posts, which do not actually serve as structural supports because the artist separated them from crosses connecting the base to the horizontal disk above. The Italian scholar Ezio Bassani calls this aspect “throw-away virtuosity,” as it seems to serve

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<sup>4</sup> Inv. 5286. Acquired in 1876 from the Museum Kircherianum at the Collegio Romano; possible previous location in the collection of Cardinal Flavio Chigi (1641 – 1693), Rome.

no purpose other than deliberately highlighting the artist's skill at carving.<sup>5</sup> The four figures, women differentiated from men by breasts, are carved in the round and alternate with the four crosses ornamented with zigzags around the base. Large bands of recessed beads run vertically up the spherical container, which culminates in an ornately styled Janus head.<sup>6</sup> This decorative beading repeats on the figures below, suggesting jewelry or scarification. The meticulous repetition and integration of the seemingly innocuous detail of beading integrates the base, container, and figural finial into a unified structural form, one unknown in contemporary European examples.<sup>7</sup>

The spare furnishing in the room, the dramatic lighting, and the saltcellar's placement in its own case offer a certain amount of aesthetic privacy. A viewer can evaluate the object on its own, isolated from the colors and textures of any neighboring objects, before looking ahead to cases filled with spears, figural sculptures, and headdresses, including several gem-studded crowns belonging to the nineteenth-century Ethiopian Emperor Menelik II. Such items were taken from Africa chiefly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with their value based in large part not upon aesthetics per se, but on the objects as documents of cultural history, if not simply trophies. The Museo Pigorini physically places its ivory saltcellar at the "beginning" of this African history—appropriate, since the Afro-Portuguese ivories mark a kind of beginning of relations between Africa and Europe—literally spotlighting it as the first object in the Italian state's assembled African booty.

The Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna offers a more personal account of Italian contact with non-Western peoples via material culture, different from the ethnographic and nationalist overtones of the Museo Pigorini. To gain entrance, the visitor passes into an open-air courtyard through an iron gate and then through a small side door into the medieval palazzo. The Bolognese aristocrat Ferdinando Cospi's seventeenth-century collection, of which this second saltcellar was once a part, is integrated into the assortment of objects from other early modern Italian collections, now gathered together in a series of rooms generally organized by material rather than date of production. Unlike the Pigorini's, this saltcellar sits in a glass cabinet with ivory objects produced chiefly in Europe or Turkey, flanked on one side by glassware from around the world, and on the other by decorated metalwork from Arabia. Windows looking into the courtyard allow some daylight to filter in, but the rooms remain quite dim. Although I first visited the museum during the peak of tourist season in July 2007, the cabinet holding the saltcellar was completely dark, probably to conserve electricity. Had I not specifically searched for it, I might not have noticed the dark shelves in a corner next to a janitorial closet, where I also located the electrical switch.

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<sup>5</sup> Ezio Bassani and William B. Fagg, *Africa and The Renaissance: Art in Ivory*, ed. Susan Vogel (New York: The Center for African Art, 1988), 71.

<sup>6</sup> For analysis of Janus heads on Sapi saltcellars as an indigenous African feature, see Kathy Curnow, "The Afro-Portuguese Ivories: Classification and Stylistic Analysis of a Hybrid Art Form" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1983), 128.

<sup>7</sup> The openwork base of caryatid figures supporting a disc and container has most recently been posited as a "centuries-old indigenous carving tradition," predating European contact and appearing in carved objects from the region as late as the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See William A. Hart, "Afro-Portuguese Echoes in the Art of Upper Guinea," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 51 (Spring 2007): 77.

Even in low lighting, the saltcellar displays an aggressive physicality in texture and imagery.<sup>8</sup> The conical base tapers into a thin center that supports the spherical container and finial, and detailed carving augments the high-relief forms of humans, dogs, and snakes. A ridge protrudes along the backbone of each dog around the base, suggestive of the bristling fur and arched spine occurring during hostile confrontations. Large snakes loom above, their tongues protruding toward the snarling dogs below. The textured scales of the snakes contrast with the smoothly rounded support on which they lie. Sometimes referred to as knop, this slightly swollen, drooping form is gadrooned with alternating bands of beads and a pattern reminiscent of both vegetation and branching veins, appearing abstractly testicular. The women kneeling around the base below, facing outward, add to the sexually evocative quality of this saltcellar. One wears pants but no shirt, while the other two are completely nude, hands placed on either side of their genitalia as if displaying themselves for the viewer's pleasure or discomfort. The figural group on the lid also presents the nude body on display, though there is some disagreement on the sex of the figure astride the animal. Kathy Curnow sees a male whose now broken arms covered his genitalia, possibly in what was meant to be a sacrificial position; Bassani recognizes a female and, based on this, suggests a European theme of witchcraft or magical ritual wherein a witch rides the devil in goat form to rendezvous on witches' sabbath for carnal intercourse.<sup>9</sup> Early Sierra Leonean carvings of men and women, and Portuguese and African, contain identical facial features, and because the nude rider's genitalia is both partially covered by a hand and broken off, the figure's sex remains ultimately undeterminable. Similarly, the facial features of the women around the base do not clearly indicate ethnicity, though the trait of long straight hair is a Sierra Leonean signifier of foreignness.<sup>10</sup>

Glass, metalwork, military tools and arms, Islamic manuscripts and tapestries, Turkish armor, Renaissance bronzes, and fragments of medieval sculpture share other crowded cabinets near the saltcellar. In their current configuration, display cases group objects closely together, much as their early modern owners might have done, suggestive of a benevolent interest in other cultures, artistic exchange, and mutually beneficial commerce and global trade. Yes, the range of objects reflects the increasing contact and developing commercial exchange between Italy and previously remote or unknown lands during the early modern period, but it also speaks to the collectors' appreciation of the often unknown artist's creativity and manipulation of rare and expensive materials. In this exhibition, the African-ness of the saltcellar becomes less significant than its reflection of the culture of collecting in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy.

One might easily imagine how the saltcellars became performative tools within private collections, in spite of, or perhaps enhanced by, their owners' "ignorance of cause."<sup>11</sup> Paula Findlen has described the late Renaissance term *musaeum* as expressing "the fluidity and instability" of categories such as social and intellectual, and public and private, noting that such a broad scope

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<sup>8</sup> Inv. 694. Acquired in 1878 from the Collezioni Universitarie; originally in the collection of Marchese Ferdinando Cospi, Bologna.

<sup>9</sup> See Curnow, 135, and Bassani and Fagg, 75.

<sup>10</sup> Curnow, 133.

<sup>11</sup> Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150 – 1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 23.

permitted it to complicate intellectual and philosophical categories with visual and spatial constructs like the *studiolo*, *gabinetto*, or *teatro*.<sup>12</sup> In such collections, a principle of order governed the collecting and arranging of objects, but not necessarily through an expressly scientific organization. Though both men oversaw the transition of their private collections into venues more accessible to the public, the private museums of Marchese Ferdinando Cospi in Bologna and the Jesuit Father Athanasius Kircher in Rome, from whose collection the Museo Pigorini's saltcellar came, were conceived as eclectic and diverse specimens of fine arts, wondrous unique objects, and precious materials, rather than as quests to accumulate a coherent scientific and didactic group of objects. Meticulously constructed hierarchies did not yet exist. Instead, natural and artistic wonders of the world were placed next to each other with "equally measured appreciation."<sup>13</sup>

My inference of two different histories at work, based on the current displays of the Kircher and Cospi saltcellars, depends on the objects themselves, but just as importantly, on the other bits of material culture that share the spaces. Together they collectively generate the conditions of viewing that form specific contextual understandings of the African objects, as they would have done in the early modern period. As I mentioned at the outset, inventories demonstrate the saltcellars' presence in Italy by the seventeenth century, but fail to identify them as African. In fact, the men who penned the descriptions, most likely not the collectors themselves, seem remarkably uninterested in the specifics: An inventory of Cospi's collection dating to 1680 contains the description, "Ancient chalice of ivory with its lid, carved with figures," with no reference Africa. An inventory of 1705 – 1706 pertaining to the Pigorini saltcellar reads, "A vessel in ivory, with two heads on top of the carved lid."<sup>14</sup> These examples epitomize the frustrations of inventories; they allow the scholar a degree of access to the early modern collection, but erect roadblocks by what is left unsaid. Did Kircher and Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the likely owner of the Pigorini's saltcellar prior to Kircher, know

<sup>12</sup> Paula Findlen, "The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy," *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1989): 59.

<sup>13</sup> In 1675, Cospi (1606 – 1686) bestowed his upon the city of Bologna, where it joined Ulisse Aldrovandi's collection and that of General Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1658 – 1730) to form the Istituto delle Scienze in 1742 – 1743. Eventually, the Istituto's materials were transferred to the University of Bologna. The collection of Kircher (1602 – 1680) meanwhile, remained in the Collegio Romano in Rome. After the unification of Italy the state acquired the building in 1870 and incorporated part of Kircher's collection into the newly established national museum of ethnography and archeology, named for its founder Luigi Pigorini. Paula Findlen, "Science, History, and Erudition: Athanasius Kircher's Museum at the Collegio Romano," in *The Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, ed. Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press and Fiesole: Cadmo, 2001), 19. Laura Laurencich-Minelli, "Museography and Ethnographical Collections in Bologna," in *The Origins of Museums*, ed. O. Impey and A. MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 22. *Das Museum Kircherianum: Die Welt besteht aus geheimen Verknüpfungen/The Museum Kircherianum: The World is Bound in Secret Knots* (Hagen: Neuer Folkwang, 2002), 42.

<sup>14</sup> Lorenzo Legati: *Breve descrizione del Museo dell'Ill. Sig. Cav. Commend. dell'ordine de S. Stefano Ferdinando Cospi* (Bologna, 1667). Lorenzo Legati: *Museo Cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi E donato alla sua Patria dall'Illustrissimo Signor Ferdinando Cospi Patrizio de Bologna e Senatore . . . Descrizione di Lorenzo Legati Cremonese* (Bologna, 1677). *Inventario semplice di tutte le materie esattamente descritte che si trovano nel Museo Cospiano—Non solo le notate nel Libro già Stampato, e composto dal Sig. Dottore Lorenzo Legati—ma ancora le aggiunte in copia dopo la Fabrica* (Bologna, 1680). *Inventario semplice* of 1680 mentions, "Calice antico di avorio con suo coperchio, e figurato." Francesco Franceschini, *Inventario del Museo, che sta nel Giardino alle 4 Fontane*, Archivio di Stato, Roma, Notai A.C. 3248, published by G. Incisa della Rocchetta, "Il Museo di curiosità del Card. Flavio I Chigi," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., vol. 89, no. 745 (1966), 141-192. "Un vaso d'avorio, con due teste in cima al coperchio intagliato."

it as African? Printed images of their collections are too idealized for us to read any objects with certainty. Is the inventory silent on origin because the saltcellar's facture proclaimed its African-ness so decisively that it might be taken for granted? After all, an inventory of Chigi's collection also records "an ivory horn bought from Africa, with different figures very nicely carved," and "four mats made with admirable skill in the Kingdom of Angola." It seems the saltcellar at least shared the company of objects acknowledged as African. But seven years later the inventory compiler mistakenly lists the Angolan or Kongolese clothes with American textiles from Brazil.

The scarcity of early sources specifically addressing these African works requires that scholarship move beyond art historical assessment of individual objects now isolated in their contemporary museum displays. Instead, the most productive evaluation of a seventeenth-century collector's perception of an African object lies not simply in the single object, but in that object's potential relationships, visual or otherwise. In other words, Cardinal Flavio Chigi's unique understanding of an ivory saltcellar in his possession would have hinged not only on his appreciation of the highly polished surface and detailed carving, but also on his knowledge of Africa via the images and texts in his own collection, missionary reports from the Kongo, idols brought back to Rome and burned by the Jesuits, the presence of Ethiopian emissaries in the papal court, new efforts to map the interior of the African continent, and the developing slave trade. Because no pre-seventeenth-century inventories have been uncovered, it is not yet appropriate for me to propose that mislabeling African objects as American demonstrates a significant change in European attitudes toward Africa. However, as recent reports from the New World began to supersede ancient and medieval travel accounts, fantastical stories or myths, and accumulated geographic knowledge of Africa, European interests expanded to include the Americas and shifted away from previous preoccupations. Circumnavigating the African continent to reach India, locating the famed Christian king Prester John as an ally against Muslim forces, and controlling the vast supply of gold rumored to exist in the kingdom of Mali were no longer of utmost concern. Instead, Africa became primarily a supplier of slaves and raw materials, while the Americas came to be seen as the more promising hemisphere for development of European mercantile activities. Likely the proclivity of many collectors toward objects of exotic extraction mirrored this shift, and the absence of firmly established origins facilitated the reassignment of a preferred identity.

Whether the ivories' origins have been misidentified or simply unidentified in inventories, identifying other objects listed as best we can, and establishing a visual inventory from any items still extant, will at the very least help to define the specific early modern context of each individual ivory, and this has yet to be done. Scholars generally have either evaluated the ivories as a corpus, drawing upon the group of Afro-Portuguese objects to illustrate a broader point about global trade, or assessed them as individual pieces whose meanings and uses change over the centuries, as with Suzanne Blier's remarkable study of a saltcellar turned upside-down and reinvented as a reliquary for



the bones of the poet Jean-Baptiste Rousseau.<sup>15</sup> That sort of drastic repurposing and outright rejection of a saltcellar's origin rarely is made so obvious. But looking for patterns of genre and identification across all non-Western objects listed in an inventory and discerning relationships between objects will make essential moves toward historicizing each African ivory.

I find the current museum situations, one highlighting the African origin of its saltcellar and the other de-emphasizing it, useful as I embark on the project of reconstructing early modern ways of knowing Africa, piecing together images that might be formed by contact with objects from that continent. While scholars of African art in well-researched areas of nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial collecting may work within established frameworks of military expeditions, ethnography, or scientific racism to explore how an artwork and its display relate to colonial culture, the early modern period in Italy had no such consistent and articulated responses to contact with Africa and African objects. Whether through the popular and often fantastical travelogues of Sir John Mandeville or Marco Polo, specimens of flora and fauna brought to the Medici from the Americas, African children bought for the court of Isabella d'Este in Mantua, books describing the costumes of peoples around the globe, or ivories used at table, collectors had shifting understandings of their own position in the world and a mutating grasp of Africa's precise geographical location. With these disparate objects at hand, collectors with varying degrees of geographical and cultural knowledge formed perceptions of the African continent and its inhabitants. How an African identity might have been assigned to the ivories, or withheld from them, has yet to be determined.

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<sup>15</sup> Suzanne Preston Blier, "Capricious Arts: Idols in Renaissance-era Africa and Europe (The Case of Sapi and Kongo)," in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, eds. Rebecca Zorach and Michael Cole (Ashgate, 2009), 11-30.

## *A Citadel of Slavery in a Frontier of Tolerance: The Bagno of Seventeenth-Century Livorno*

By Stephanie Nadalo

The Italian port of Livorno is most frequently celebrated as a model for religious tolerance, national diversity, and a liberal free-port economy.<sup>1</sup> By the late sixteenth century, silting of Pisa's harbor had paralyzed Tuscany's shipping industry and maritime defense. As a result, Medici Duke Ferdinando I became desperate to develop a new port situated along the malaria-ridden coastal territory of Livorno. To entice émigrés to this undeveloped and undesirable location, in 1591 he offered unprecedented economic and social incentives, specifically addressing, "merchants of any nation, Eastern Levantines and Westerners, Spanish, Portuguese, Greeks, Germans, Italians, Jews, Turks, and Moors, Armenians, Persians, and others."<sup>2</sup> The forty-four incentives in this decree assured émigrés security against excessive taxation, protection from the Inquisition, and the right to free and public religious practice. Further provisions discouraged discriminatory practices, counteracted the evangelism of Catholics, and protected religious minorities from slander, abuse, and violence.<sup>3</sup> Thus, while religious conflict divided cities throughout post-Reformation Europe, Duke Ferdinando strategically developed the port of Livorno as a frontier of tolerance within the interior of his Catholic duchy.

Livorno's settlement incentives produced rapid economic and demographic results. In the closing decades of the Cinquecento, the small backwater port had struggled to maintain a permanent population of five hundred. However, by 1600 the population reached three thousand

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<sup>1</sup> Paolo Castignoli, Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, and Maria Lia Papi, *Livorno dagli Archivi alla Città: Studi di Storia*, 1. ed. (Livorno: Belforte, 2001); Jean Pierre Filippini, *Il porto di Livorno e la Toscana (1676-1814)*, 3 vols. (Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1998); *Atti del Convegno: Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea*, (Livorno: U. Bastogi, 1978).

<sup>2</sup> This decree was reissued in 1593. Ferdinando de' Medici, "Livornina" manuscript dated June 10, 1593. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, ljs379.

<sup>3</sup> Although addressed to all nations, the *Livornina* reflects the Medici's particular interest in attracting merchants from the Sephardic Jewish diaspora. The document assured their right to hold public funerals, dress without an identifying sign, erect synagogues, and establish Talmudic schools and guaranteed access to kosher meat at market price. These privileges contrasted with the restrictions and ghettoization enforced in Florence, Siena, and elsewhere in the duchy. Renzo Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa, 1591 – 1700* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1990); Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere Fuori dal Ghetto: Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2008); Stefanie B. Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community* (Stanford University Press, 2006); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

and in 1642 swelled to twelve thousand, surpassing Pisa's ten thousand.<sup>4</sup> Within a few decades the port transformed from a frontier outpost to a cosmopolitan emporium populated by prominent mercantile communities of Sephardic Jews, Catholic and Orthodox Greeks, Dutch, English, French, and Armenians.<sup>5</sup> From the lavish synagogue situated south of the main cathedral to the mosques nestled within the slave quarters, the architectural *loci* of seventeenth century Livorno reflected the regime's socio-economic experiment in religious pluralism.<sup>6</sup> As a city built nearly *ex novo*, Livorno became a laboratory for architects, engineers, and administrative officials to experiment with novel spatial and bureaucratic configurations to promote public order and peaceful cohabitation.

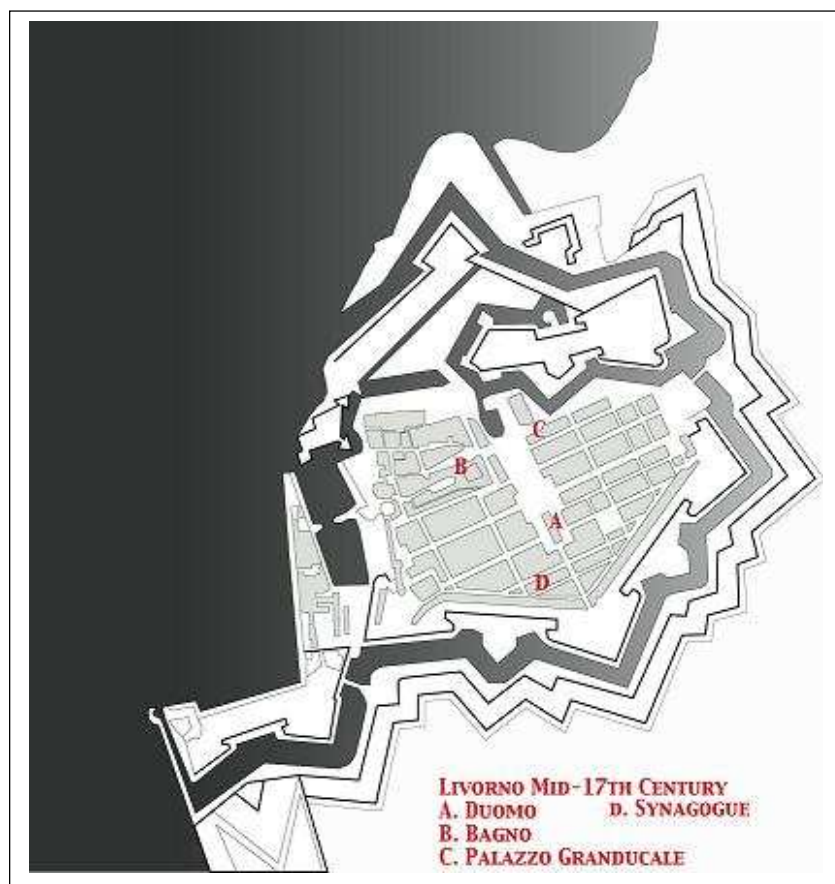


Figure 1. Composite reconstruction of mid-century Livorno. Copyright Scott Ferebee; used by permission.

<sup>4</sup> Elena Fasano Guarini, "Esenzioni e Immigrazione a Livorno tra Sedicesimo e Diciassettesimo Secolo," in *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea, Atti del Convegno, Livorno, 23-25 settembre 1977* (Livorno: U. Bastogi, 1978), 56-75.

<sup>5</sup> The early modern term for nation, *nazione*, identified groups of foreign communities recognized by the state. However, membership was not based strictly on geography or birthplace. For example, Livorno's Jewish *nazione* included Sephardic émigrés ranging from Tunisia to Amsterdam.

<sup>6</sup> This schematic rendering suggests Livorno's urban footprint during the mid-seventeenth century. The composite design was created by architect Scott Ferebee based on maps including Cornelius Meyer's 1696 plan from *Nuovi Ritrovamenti* (Rome, 1696), and P. Vincenzo Cornelli's "Città e Fortezza di Livorno" from *Isolario* (Venice, 1696-98). Any errors or omissions are the fault of this author and not Mr. Ferebee. For a more detailed assessment of Livorno's urban layout and development; see Dario Matteoni, *Livorno: la città nella storia dell'Italia* (Livorno: Belforte Editore, 1985).

Although the Medici dukes upheld the majority of the promised settlement incentives, Livorno's resulting ethnic and religious plurality did not become a social utopia. This essay highlights the urban solutions employed to manage the most sordid facet of Livorno's economic success, the port's prominent role in the Mediterranean slave trade. Although slavery thrived in cities throughout the Christian Mediterranean, Livorno became the first port in continental Europe to concretize and centralize its participation by constructing a purpose-built architectural structure known as the *bagno*. Despite its singularity, scholars have virtually ignored Livorno's citadel of slavery and the fascinating social and bureaucratic culture that developed within its walls.<sup>7</sup>

Livorno's seventeenth-century slave trade developed in response to the global influences of international diplomacy and the microdynamics of the port's urban space. The demands of diplomatic reciprocity compelled enemy nations to accommodate infidel captives, to encourage similarly humane treatment for co-nationals enslaved abroad. As such, the plight of Muslim slaves in Livorno had implications for Europeans detained throughout the Ottoman Empire and North African provinces.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, the local configuration of Livorno's *bagno* accommodated slaves in a self-contained structure partially removed from the public gaze. While this structure was intended to manage and discipline the servile population, this study highlights how the *bagno* inadvertently fostered a site for cultural exchange and even diplomatic enfranchisement. Nonetheless, internal pressure to appease Turkish slaves contrasted sharply with the crusading rhetoric publicly promoted by the Medici regime.

### *I Quattro Mori*

The port of seventeenth-century Livorno greeted every disembarking visitor, whether merchant, sailor, priest, or convict, with an evocative and imposing group of figures. Towering over the edge of the port's harbor stood a marble portrait of Duke Ferdinando I dressed in the military regalia of the Tuscan crusading order, the Knights of Saint Stephen. Still extant, the duke's triumphant posture contrasts sharply with four bronze figures cowering beneath his feet. With their arms shackled and chained to the statue's pedestal, the male slaves are nude apart from a loincloth, veins bulge from their muscular legs, and their heads are shaved except for a small tuft of hair. With the original polished bronze glistening like moist dark skin, the individualized portraits of each man evoke the physiognomy of the slaves' respective Turkish, Moorish, and African origins.

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<sup>7</sup> Among studies dedicated to Livorno's slave trade and the *bagno*: Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Il Bagno delle Galere in 'Terra Cristiana,'" *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* VIII (2000): 69-94; Salvatore Bono and E. Ballatori, "Gli schiavi nel bagno di Livorno nel 1747," *Studi Arabo-Islamici in Onore di Roberto Rubinacci* (1985): 87-106; Vittorio Salvadorini, "Il bagno delle Galere," in *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini, 1980), 189-190; Vittorio Salvadorini, "Traffici e schiavi fra Livorno e Algeria nella prima decade del Seicento," *Bollettino Storico Pisano*, no. LI (1982): 67-104; Vittorio Salvadorini, "Traffici con i paesi islamici e schiavi a Livorno nel XVII secolo: problemi e suggestioni," in *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea. Atti del convegno, Livorno, 23-25 set. 1977* (Livorno: U. Bastoni 1978), 206-255.

<sup>8</sup> For the most recent scholarship treating European encounters with the Muslim world, see Francesca Trivellato, "Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work," *The Journal of Modern History* 82/1 (2010): 127-155.



Figure 2. *Duke Ferdinando* and *I Quattro Mori*, by Giovanni Bandini and Pietro Tacca, c. 1616 and c. 1623 – 1626, respectively. Marble and bronze. Livorno, Italy. Photography by Stephanie Nadalo; used by permission.



Figure 3. Slave detail from *Duke Ferdinando* and *I Quattro Mori*. Photograph by Stephanie Nadalo; used by permission.

Collectively, this sculptural group by the artists Giovanni Bandini and Pietro Tacca became known as *I Quattro Mori*, the Four Moors, and the ideological power of this image achieved iconic status.<sup>9</sup> Celebrated in the frescoes decorating the Medici Villa La Petraia, painted 1636 through 1646, circulated in etchings by court artist Stefano della Bella in 1655, and re-imagined in the portscapes of Dutch painters, *I Quattro Mori* became an enduring symbol of Medici absolutism, the struggle of Christendom against the Ottoman infidels, and evidence of the socioeconomic experiment under way in the port of Livorno. Although Medici propaganda visually suggested a unidirectional power dynamic with Muslim captives completely subjugated to the Christian prince, the inner workings of Livorno's *bagno* reveal that such imagery belied the complex relationship that really existed between the Tuscan duchy and Turkish slaves.

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<sup>9</sup> Although the sculpture of Ferdinando I was initially commissioned from the court artist Giovanni Bandini in 1609, a manuscript compiled by Livorno citizen G. D. Pontolimi in 1681 reports that it was not installed at the harbor until 1616; ASF Libro di Commercio 4133. Pietro Tacca's bronze slaves were commissioned later, and Pontolimi reports their installation occurring in 1623 and 1626. See also Francesco Polese, *I Quattro Mori: Storia e Leggenda* (Livorno: Editrice Nuova Fortezza, 1992) and Aldo Santini, *Livorno e i Quattro Mori* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1999).

## The Architecture of Mediterranean Slavery

Although galley slavery had thrived in the Mediterranean since antiquity, its relevance to European shipping and security escalated sharply in the early sixteenth century during the turbulent struggle with the Ottoman Empire. After the consolidated Ottoman navy allied with Maghreb-based privateers, corsair raids increasingly terrorized European coastal villages, while the shaky Christian alliance lost colonial and military outposts throughout the Dalmatian coast, Grecian islands, and North Africa. As a result, naval galleons and mercantile fleets on both sides became entangled in the self-perpetuating slave economy fueled by piracy, religious ideology, and geopolitical conflict.<sup>10</sup>

As a valuable but replaceable labor force, Christian and Muslim galley slaves served as pawns and participants in these maritime skirmishes. While Christians lamented their treatment in the slave pens of Algiers, Tunisia, and Tripoli, Muslim slaves endured captivity in European ports including Livorno, Marseilles, Naples, Malta, and Messina.<sup>11</sup> On the open market a slave's relative value depended upon his or her gender, age, and class. Whereas strong male captives were allocated to galley service or public labor, women and children were ransomed or employed as domestic servants. While a fortunate minority of upper-class captives gained freedom through individual ransom, the impoverished majority remained dependent upon the charitable efforts of religious orders and confraternities dedicated to the cause.<sup>12</sup>

Whereas leaders throughout Europe housed slaves aboard the ships they were condemned to power, Livorno took the unprecedented measure of financing a *bagno* as an infrastructural investment to preserve the health of its slave labor force. As a self-contained fortified edifice, Livorno's *bagno* incorporated military and commercial functions, including a penitentiary, workers' dormitory, galley hospital, and bureaucratic center to manage the slave trade. With no extant architectural models anywhere in continental Europe, the Tuscan duchy borrowed from Ottoman and North African slaving practices when conceiving the structure.<sup>13</sup> Even the reappropriation of

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<sup>10</sup> The territorial losses of Christian states included Rhodes, 1522; Tripoli, 1551; Cyprus: Famagusta, 1571; and Crete: Candia, 1669. The internal discord that plagued Europe's leading powers resulted in the weak and short-lived alliance of the Holy League in 1571. See Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002) and Roger Crowley, *Empires of the Sea: The Siege of Malta, The Battle of Lepanto, and the Contest for the Center of the World* (New York: Random House, 2008).

<sup>11</sup> Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500 – 1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2003); Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves* (London: P. Elek, 1977); Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999); María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> The number of Jewish slaves in Livorno was sufficiently high that the Jewish nation self-imposed a tax on all Jewish trade to pay for ransoms. Laras, "La 'Compagnia' per il riscatto degli schiavi a Livorno," *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* XXXXVIII (1972): 86-130; Renzo Toaff, "La 'cassa' per il riscatto degli schiavi ebrei del granduca nella Livorno del Seicento," *Studi Livornesi* I (1986): 43-63; Marco Lenci, "Le Compagnie di Riscatto in Toscana," *Erba d'Arno* 98 (2004): 33-50; Marco Lenci, "Confraternite di Riscatto in Toscana. I casi di Pisa e San Miniato," *Bolletino Storico Pisano* LXXVI (2007): 135-155; Marco Lenci, "Le confraternite del riscatto nella Toscana di età moderna: il caso di Firenze," *Archivio Storico Italiano* II (2009): 271-298.

<sup>13</sup> The Christian knights of Saint John ran *bagno* structures on the island of Malta; their participation in the Turkish slave trade predated and rivaled Livorno's. Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000 – 1812* (San Gwann, Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 2002).



the term *bagno*, which in Italian simply means, “bath,” was derived from the Turkish word *banyol*, meaning “royal prison.”<sup>14</sup>

The Florentine architect and engineer Giorgio Vasari il Giovane introduced the *bagno* as a building typology in his architectural treatise, *The Ideal City*, circulated in 1596:

One finds that many Important Princes (who have sea vessels and slaves) have a large structure to keep their slaves while the ships are in port; this place is commonly called the *Bagno*, or Sultan’s palace, or Slave Prison, wherein they can make ship repairs, weave, and carry out other things which serve for navigation. Among these types of *Bagnos*, one is located in Malta, one in Algiers and other places.<sup>15</sup>

Although he had never personally viewed these slave structures, Vasari nonetheless offers a schematic building plan, “[made] according to our fancy [*capriccio*] since we have never actually seen one.”<sup>16</sup> In truth, Vasari’s courtyard design closely resembles the slave prison recently financed by the Crusading Order of the Knights of St. John in Valletta on the Christian island of Malta. Unlike North African *bagnos*, which housed slaves in multiple ad hoc buildings segregated by religion, gender, and class, Valletta’s *bagno* and Vasari’s prototype reflect a preference for functional centralization within a single edifice. Although Vasari sterilized the cruel reality of slave labor by describing the *bagno* as a neutral space for work productivity, his plan demonstrated sensitivity to the physical needs and social hierarchies of slave populations. In describing the building’s spatial division he writes, “[Our plan] is as distinct and as comfortable as possible, with a large room only for the forced laborers, another for the slaves, and similarly for the sick and the elderly we designated a large room as the hospital.” Moreover, he adds, “If by chance there were slaves of quality and respect, for them we have designated a distinct space.”<sup>17</sup>

Medici engineers likely knew of Vasari’s treatise and the recent construction in Valletta, since both predated Livorno’s *bagno* by only a few years.<sup>18</sup> Livorno’s slave prison echoed these predecessors through its internal orientation around a centralized courtyard and its prominent position within the

<sup>14</sup> M. Garcés identifies the Turkish etymology and notes that seventeenth-century contemporaries offered alternative etymological origins. For example, a Spaniard, Covarrubias, identified baño from the Latin word *balneum*, meaning “corral or yard,” in his 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Alternatively, some scholars suggest that the term harkens to the North African practice of using bathhouses as a site to house slaves. Garcés, 270.

<sup>15</sup> Giorgio Vasari il Giovane was the nephew of the famous art historian and author of *Lives of the Artists*. “Si trovano molti Principi grandi (che tengono vascelli in mare, che hanno schiavi) avere un’ luogo grande p. tenere schiavi mentre che i loro legni sono in porto, quale luogo si chiama comunemente Bagno, o Serraglio, o Prigione di Schiavi, nel quale luogo sono fatti lavorare, tessere, e tutte le altre cose, che poi servano alla navigazione, de quali Bagni ne è uno à Malta, uno Algieri, et in altri luoghi.” Giorgio Vasari il Giovane, *La Città Ideale: Piante de chiese, palazzi e ville di Toscana e d’Italia*, ed. Virginia Stefanelli, introd. Franco Borsi (Rome, 1970), 182-183.

<sup>16</sup> Vasari, 183.

<sup>17</sup> “Però ne haviamo fatto una pianta d’uno à n’ro capriccio no vi havendo mai visti nessuno, più distinto, e comodo che si poteva, havendo p. i Forzati fatto uno stanza da p. se, et un’ altro p. li schiavi, così p. i malati, e vecchi un’ altro capacissimo nominato spedale . . . e se per avventura vi fussino schiavi di qualità, o di rispetto, anco per questi haviamo fatto luogo distinto.” Vasari, 182-183.

<sup>18</sup> Frattarelli Fischer identifies Claudio Cogorano and Alessandro Pieroni as the likely architects who designed the *bagno*; “Il Bagno delle Galere,” 80. For a description of Valletta and the Order of St. John see Giacomo Bosio, *Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano* 3 (Roma: Facciotti, 1602).

urban fabric of the city.<sup>19</sup> However, unlike the crusading community and island defenses that separated Malta politically and geographically from continental Europe, the *bagno* of Livorno attested to the Medicis' public investment in the slave trade and their willingness to harbor infidels on the European mainland.

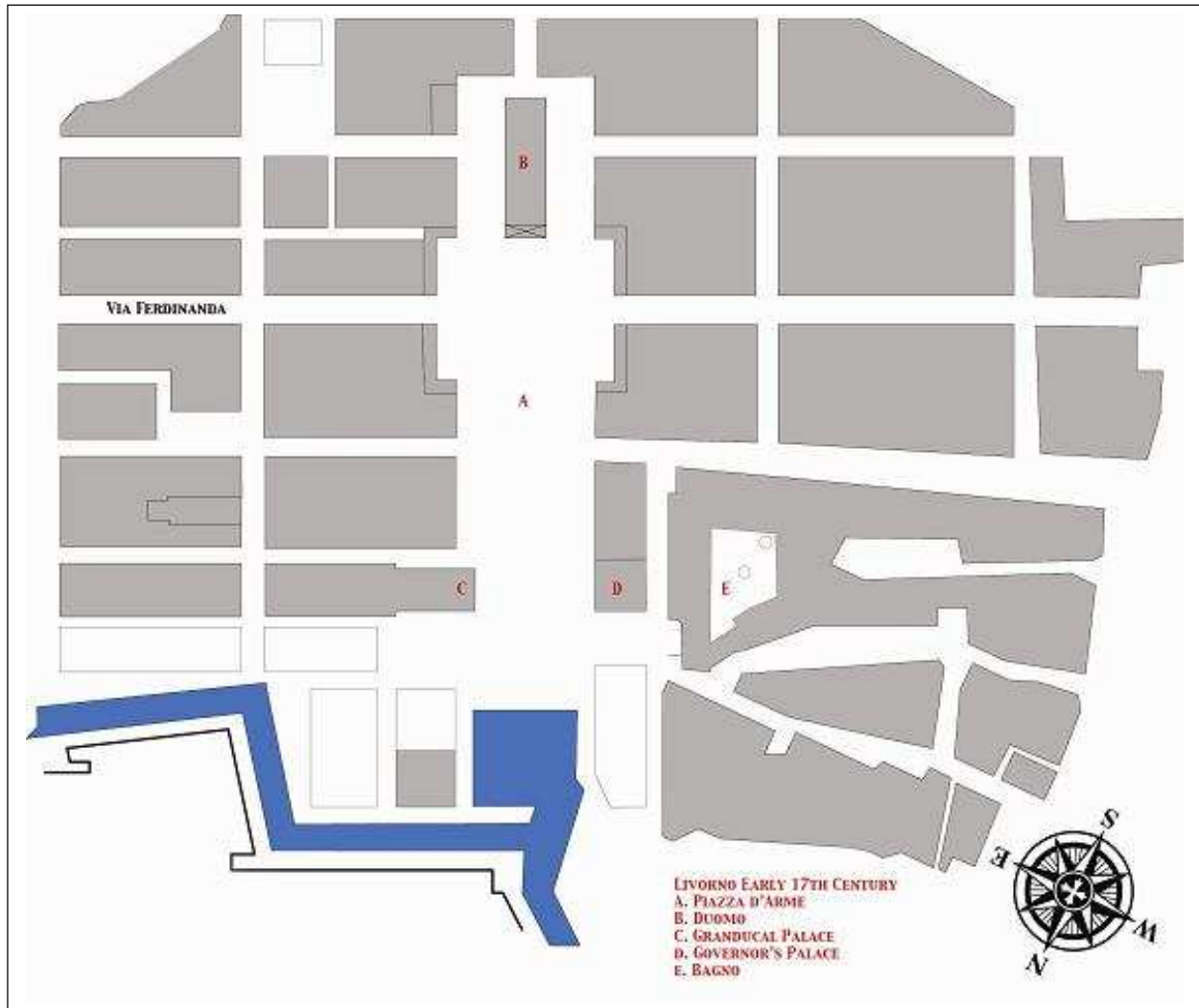


Figure 4. Copyright Scott Ferebee; used by permission.

<sup>19</sup> The courtyard orientation that prevailed in the Christian-run *bagnos* is also a central feature for other self-contained spaces of forced enclosure, such as foreign merchant housing, or *funduqs*, in North Africa and the *fondachi* for Germans and Turks in Venice. Ennio Concina, *Fondaci: architettura, arte, e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia, e Alemagna* (Venezia: Polis Marsilio, 1997).



## Livorno's Citadel of Slavery

The location of the *bagno* within the urban fabric of Livorno was significant. As one of many modifications to Bernardo Buontalenti's original city plan, the large asymmetrical building nestles into the irregular street patterns of the old port. Although the edifice interrupts the rationalized grid of the new city, the site remains strategic in its proximity to the harbor and the *biscotteria* military ovens which produced galley food rations. Moreover, the *bagno* became integral to the civic, economic, and religious core of the city, illustrated clearly in a schematic rendering of Livorno's central piazza (Figure 5) that highlights how the *bagno* (E) lay directly across the street from the governor's palace (D) and just one block from the Piazza d'Arme (A) and Duomo (B). In an environment encompassing a palpable threat of slave revolt and rampant government corruption, the *bagno's* location allowed governors to monitor its potentially dangerous residents and their administrative guardians.

With a capacity of three thousand people, Livorno's *bagno* was designed as a fortified edifice to manage all incarcerated populations. Residents included *schiaivi*, galley slaves; *forzati*, criminals condemned to forced labor; political prisoners; and *bonavoglie*, indentured servants voluntarily working off financial debts.<sup>20</sup> Whereas large-scale military endeavors such as the North African Bône expedition contributed roughly fifteen hundred Maghrebi slaves to the Tuscan duchy in 1607, most prizes resulted in a more modest influx.<sup>21</sup> The majority of the slave population comprised Muslim males from the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, but records also attest to a number of Jewish slaves, in addition to Germans, Englishmen, Armenians, and Schismatic Greeks, and even a sporadic presence of women and children.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The *bagno* population fluctuated seasonally when the galleys were out to sea. Most reports indicate that the number of *forzati* in Livorno tended to be slightly fewer than the number of slaves. For example, on May 26, 1684, the commissioner of the *bagno*, Matteo Prini, reported seven hundred fifty slaves, seven hundred eight forced laborers, and one hundred seventy *bonavoglie* voluntary laborers residing in the *bagno*; ASF, MP, 2086, f. 497. However, on June 19, 1680, the three galleys were out to sea and only one hundred eleven slaves, one hundred forty-five forced laborers, and three voluntary laborers resided in the *bagno*; ASF MP 2099 f. 23. Sometimes the categories of galley slave and galley *forzati* become indistinguishable, when administrators grouped them together as *uomini della catena*, or men of the chain.

<sup>21</sup> For the typical pattern of slave entries, see Salvadorini, "Traffici e schiavi": 67-104.

<sup>22</sup> Although slave booty passing through the *bagno* often included women, Livorno did not officially participate in the sale of female or child slaves. Instead they were sold in the slave market in Messina. For example, the capture of one of the Sultan's ships engaged in the Bône expedition in 1607 included thirty-eight women and six children, many infected with syphilis; ASL Governatore ed Auditore, Atti civili 52 f. 521, 522, 529. One sick and two "gravely ill" Germans are identified as "Schiavi d'Alemagnia" present in the hospital of the galley crews; ASF MP 2086, f. 1318.

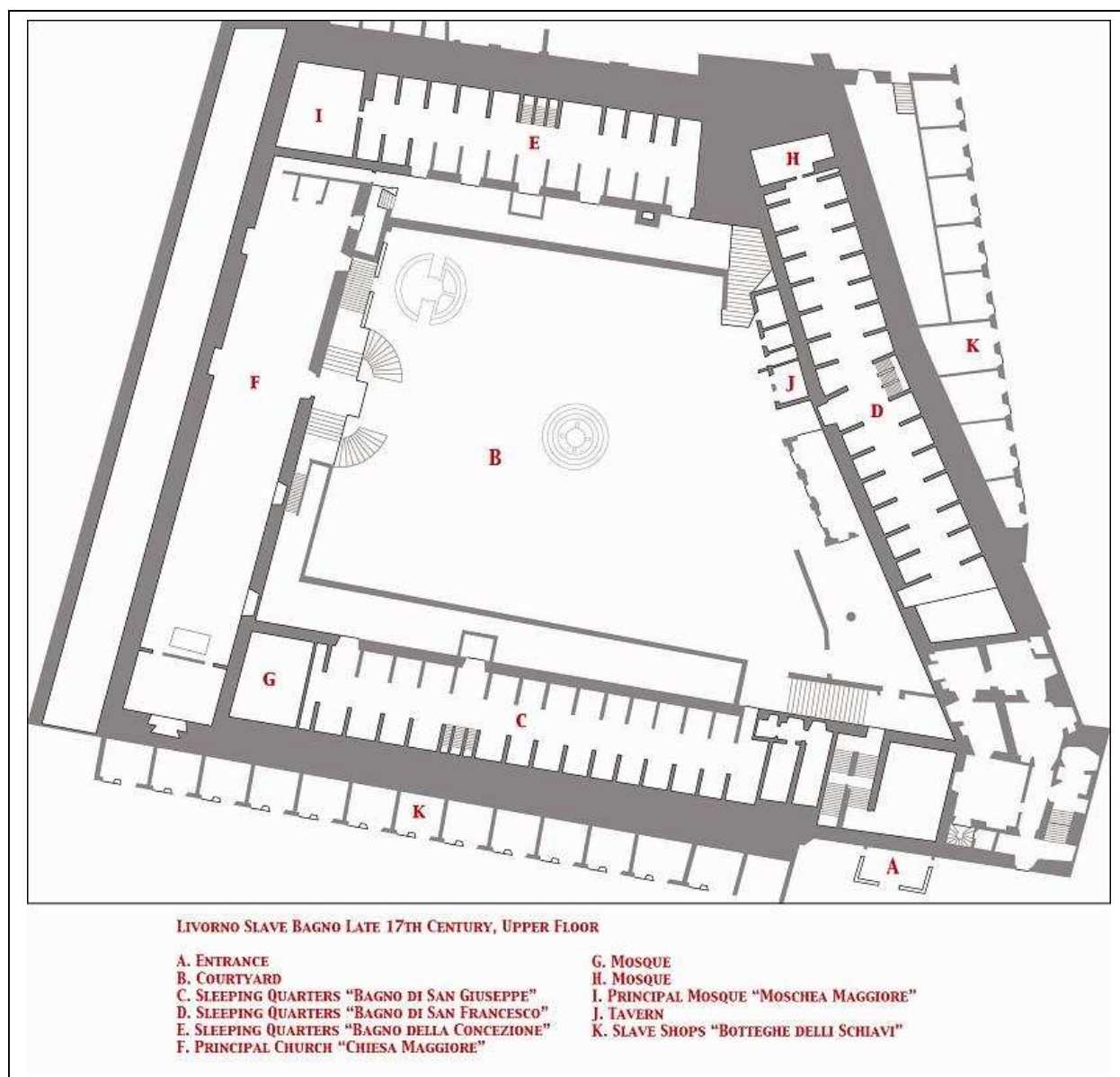


Figure 5. Detail of the upper level of Livorno's bagno courtyard. Copyright Scott Ferebee; used by permission.

Extant floor plans illustrate how the *bagno* functioned as a self-contained entity within the port.<sup>23</sup> The multi-level building complex, oriented inward around a large courtyard with a central cistern, had military sentinels positioned along the perimeter to monitor access into and out of the structure. Inside, a diverse arrangement of rooms accommodated every aspect of life, with the ground floor dedicated to administrative offices, workshops, warehouses, a tavern, and accommodations for

<sup>23</sup> Based on late seventeenth-century floor plan from the Florence State Archive, ASF Pianta dello Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche 148. The earliest complete floor plans of the *bagno* date to the early eighteenth century, although partial plans exist from earlier periods, such as the ink wash drawing of the *Bagno's* harbor-side entrance by Francesco Cantagallina in 1644. ASF Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, 148 A,B,C,D,E,F,G and ASF MP 2086 f. 1383, 1385. Plans from the 1620s confirm that the house of the commissioner of the galleys was located off of Piazza d'Arme but had direct access into the *bagno*. ASF, Carte Stroziane Serie I, 148. Matteoni, 33.

guards and galley captains. Two long corridors attached to the southwest wall housed a hospital and provided access to the *biscotteria*. On the upper levels, slaves and forced laborers slept in large communal dormitories and worshiped in one of the many designated religious spaces.

Livorno's *bagno* fostered a microculture of forced pluralistic cohabitation, wherein a single edifice accommodated multiple races, religions, languages, classes, and education levels. While Jewish and Protestant slaves remained a minority presence, the number of Christian *forzati* frequently rivaled that of Muslim slaves. Although officials attempted to segregate prisoners according to age, gender, and religious creed, ample infractions of such rules occurred.<sup>24</sup> Growing concern over spiritual and physical consequences led to the installation of the Capuchin religious order inside the *bagno* in 1666. Capuchin reforms sought to separate Christians and Muslims physically by creating separate medical facilities. Moreover, they encouraged surveillance over the spiritual health of Christian *forzati* through the onsite presence of Father Ginepro da Barga.<sup>25</sup> Although the religious practices of non-Catholics were technically beyond his purview, Padre Ginepro's spiritual authority directly affected Muslim slaves who sought conversion and *forzati* who hoped to purchase their freedom.<sup>26</sup>

On a daily basis, Christian *forzati* and Muslim slaves suffered the punishing effects of galley service and backbreaking labor. Heavy chains and shackles could be imposed on both, depending on their age, likelihood to escape, and financial ability to bribe officials.<sup>27</sup> Despite these parallel fates, their religious and personal backgrounds remained quite different. *Forzati* typically included Christian subjects serving penal sentences for offenses that ranged from minor infractions to extremely violent crimes. While the *forzati* population did contain some men unjustly convicted or disproportionately sentenced, the majority were criminal deviants.<sup>28</sup> *Bagno* records offer personal vignettes, such as one man sentenced to three years of galley service for "trying to kiss a woman," or another who confessed to having "robbed a silver plate" while working as a cook on the duke's galley.<sup>29</sup> However, violent rapists, murderers, pedophiles, and political insubordinates remained far more representative. Numerous slaves and *forzati* were registered with mutilated faces, their noses or ears previously cut off as punishment for prior infractions. While some *forzati* received clemency for good service, many served a virtually lifelong sentence, certainly the case for Giovanni di Benedetto

<sup>24</sup> A cache of *Fabbrica* records indicate that among the many abuses occurring in the *bagno*, the rape of young male slaves and *forzati* became particularly prevalent. Thus it makes sense that in the 1640s the guardian of the young boys was listed as seventy-four years old; ASF, MP, 1814 insert I, f. 52, f. 53-58.

<sup>25</sup> F. Cavallo, "La fama di santità di un cappuccino nella Livorno di fine seicento: padre Ginepro da Barga (1630–1709)," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* X (2002): 31-57.

<sup>26</sup> When a slave requested to be transferred to the Christian quarters instead of residing among the Turks, Medici officials had the Capuchin monk Padre Ginepro investigate the slave's spiritual orthodoxy; ASF MP 2086, f. 48, 57, 62.

<sup>27</sup> Even Medici soldiers spent short periods in chains and shackles as punishment for allowing slaves and *forzati* to escape. They could avoid this punishment by paying a fine; ASF MP, 2086, f. 33.

<sup>28</sup> The *bagno* population also included nonviolent men, such as the English surgeon and Calvinist William Davies who spent eight years as a slave of the grand duke due to his political and religious affiliations. In 1614 he published his memoirs recounting the experience; Algerina Neri, *Uno schiavo inglese nella Livorno dei Medici* (Pisa: ETS, 2000).

<sup>29</sup> The crime of stolen kisses seems common, and sentences for it ranged dramatically. Whereas Bastista di Tofano Bracci was sentenced to two years of galley service in 1588, in 1641 twenty-six-year-old Piero Dani dal Croce was condemned to the galleys for life for stealing a kiss in church; see ASF MP 2132, Insert 1, unpaginated, and ASF MP 1814, Insert 7, f. 661.

da Chiaveri, who was “put in chains” in 1609 after breaking into the *bagno* in an attempt to steal slaves. Thirty-three years later, Chiaveri remained in the *bagno*, and records from 1642 indicate he continued to perform hard labor at roughly the age of eighty.<sup>30</sup>

Despite their markedly sordid histories, many *forzati* became fully integrated into the labor economy and bureaucracy of the *bagno*. While the vast majority served as galley oarsmen, *forzati* were also distinguished with the epithets of skilled craftsmen, such as “woodworker of the galleys,” “hay keeper,” and “mattress maker.” Others performed management positions, such as “sacristy keeper in the church of the *bagno*,” “secretary of galley provisions,” “secretary of the *bagno* entrance,” and “guardian of the *bagno*’s young boys.”<sup>31</sup> During the galley off-season, ambitious *forzati* could earn money to spend in the *bagno* tavern or save with the future hope of negotiating their freedom.<sup>32</sup> However, despite vocational opportunities available to *forzati* within the *bagno*, they often endured stricter physical restraints than Turkish slaves, since their ability to blend with the general populace made them a higher flight risk.<sup>33</sup>

The slave population of the grand duke included men from all social levels, drawn from diverse religious, educational, and linguistic backgrounds. *Bagno* officials meticulously recorded each slave’s name, age, birthplace, and details of capture.<sup>34</sup> However, just as the *Quattro Mori* sculpture depicts three distinct physiognomies and yet identifies the subjects as four Moors, Medici bureaucrats routinely used the appellation Turkish to identify all Muslims from the Ottoman Empire and North Africa provinces. Thus *bagno* documents often conflate geographic and linguistic distinctions between Arabic-speaking Moors from North Africa and Turkish-speaking Ottomans from Anatolia.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, ducal authorities knew that such distinctions mattered greatly within diplomatic and economic intrigues. As a result, preconditions for diplomatic reciprocity permitted resourceful slaves to exercise a remarkable degree of economic, religious, and political agency within Livorno.

In a world where freedom carried a negotiable price, government officials repeatedly expressed concern over slaves’ possession of currency. This anxiety resulted in a 1616 edict that prohibited

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<sup>30</sup> Politically important prisoners also joined the ranks of the *forzati*, such as three political rebels from Bologna who arrived in the *bagno* in 1673 with instructions from the grand duke to maintain, “extraordinary diligence in guarding them . . . [So] that they do not have the opportunity to escape it is necessary to put double chains and irons on their feet . . . [and] observe them closely when they speak amongst themselves, and frequently review the letters they write or correspondence that they receive from others, and if one of them communicates a plan to escape, give immediate alert, and in the occasion that the galleys are deployed outside, these [men] must always remain in the *Bagno*”; ASF MP 1814, f. 51-57.

<sup>31</sup> ASF, MP, 1814 insert I, f. 51-58.

<sup>32</sup> On April 22, 1679, a *forzato* petitioned for his freedom and offered three slaves in his stead; ASF, MP, 2086, f. 57.

<sup>33</sup> Slave and *forzati* escapes were treated very seriously. The integrated efforts of military and civil officials sought to catch escapees by collaborating with officials beyond the duchy. For one example from 1680, see ASF 2086, f. 17.

<sup>34</sup> The level of specificity in describing a slave’s origin ranged from cities including Bursa, Susa, Rhodes, Algiers, Tripoli, Bona, Bizerte, and Fez, to more general geographic identifiers such as “the Black Sea” or “Anatolia”; ASF MP 2086. Some records include slaves’ former profession and degree of wealth; see University of Pennsylvania Rare Books Library Mss. Coll. 771, Folders 1-8.

<sup>35</sup> ASF, MP, 2086, f. 497. Wettlinger’s study of slaves in Malta notes a similar conflation; Wettlinger, 36-37.

slaves from engaging in commerce. However, the duchy considered captivity in the *bagno* a privilege compared to the miserable conditions of sleeping aboard galley ships. Consequently slaves, *forzati*, and *bonavoglie* alike were required to pay the grand duke for their maintenance.<sup>36</sup> These contradictory demands forced slaves to disobey the official prohibition and seek legal and illicit economic opportunities. The permeability of the *bagno* walls augmented slaves' economic opportunities in Livorno. Slaves' physical attributes, such as their racial profile, shackles, and shaved head, seemed adequate to prevent escape.<sup>37</sup> Thus, unlike most *forzati*, slaves gained permission to leave the *bagno* to work in the port during the day, returning to incarceration in the evening. As a result, civil and criminal records testify to slaves employed as barbers and vendors of water, wine, tobacco, and used clothing within and near the *bagno*. This practice became so ubiquitous that in 1630 the duke repealed the prohibition against slave commerce, and by 1648 slaves had begun selecting a delegate to represent their collective mercantile interests.<sup>38</sup> Given the demographic diversity among the slave population, the position of "mercantile slave boss" required a highly literate and polyglot individual who could register collective concerns and effectively report them to government officials. Although *bagno* officials tried to curb abuses resulting from slaves' modest economic enfranchisement and physical mobility, slaves frequently bribed guardsmen to temporarily leave the *bagno*, or purchased wigs and clothing to facilitate their own escape. Fears that allowing slaves to leave the *bagno* facilitated illicit social and sexual relations between Muslims and Christians became equally problematic.<sup>39</sup>

Although the religious toleration outlined in the *Livornina* settlement incentives did not officially extend to Muslims, the exigencies of international diplomacy required reciprocal acknowledgement of their right to religious expression. Just as *bagnos* throughout the Maghreb were served by Christian chapels and religious orders, Livorno's Turkish slaves were granted the use of three spaces designated as mosques for daily worship.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, each galley crew appointed a designated leader recognized by the grand duke with the title of *coggia*, based on the Turkish term *hodja*, meaning teacher, religious leader, preceptor or master. Exempt from physical labor, these individuals led Muslim religious practices. Moreover, *coggias* represented the official voice of the slaves and thus frequently were summoned by ducal authorities to communicate with ambassadors and customs officials from the Barbary coast.

So the architectural and bureaucratic setting of the *bagno* developed a locus for official and informal diplomatic exchange. Educated slaves served as translators and interpreters for state business, and the selection of *coggias* offered slaves an almost consular form of representation. While *coggias* sought to reconcile the interests of slaves and officials, at times their efforts were perceived as

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<sup>36</sup> ASF MP 2086, f. 117.

<sup>37</sup> At times this rationale led *bagno* officials to detain suspicious foreigners in the *bagno* until they could produce documentation proving their freedom.

<sup>38</sup> ASF MP 2086, f. 89-91.

<sup>39</sup> July 2, 1648; ASF MP 2168.

<sup>40</sup> Francesca Trivellato claims there was also a mosque space to serve Turkish slaves in seventeenth-century Marseilles; Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*, 82.

expressions of political insubordination.<sup>41</sup> One such diplomatic crisis culminated in the summer of 1680, resulting in a conflictual exchange between the *bagno*'s heterarchy of secular and religious leadership. After letters written by Muslim slaves complaining of ill treatment in Livorno reached the *Bey* of Tunis, the Medici duchy received a stern warning that reciprocal tortures would befall Christians enslaved in the North African port. This produced a frenzy of internal state correspondence that reveals how the duchy relied upon the slave bureaucracy to quell what they considered unsubstantiated rumors. Acting on orders of the Secretary of War, the commissioner of the *bagno*, Matteo Prini, called on Padre Ginepro to help interview the *coggias* concerning the affair. In his follow-up report to the Secretary of War he recounted:

I called the Muslim preachers [*coggias*] that serve as assistants here and collectively they were angry regarding the affair. In the presence of Father Ginepro and myself they said that they had not written these letters nor did they know could have . . . I strictly told them that they will be treated more harshly than are our Christians in the Barbary Coast if they do not stop . . . particularly considering the good liberty that the Grand Duke grants . . . in allowing them to trade in Livorno . . . which they don't enjoy in their own country.<sup>42</sup>

Although the *coggias* sought to allay discontent by blaming the letters on escaped or ransomed slaves enacting revenge, Commissioner Prini remained distrustful. He issued orders to punish the slaves “doubly . . . and stay vigilant particularly concerning the Mercantile Slave Boss.”<sup>43</sup>

A few days later, the four *coggias* and mercantile slave boss jointly issued a formal declaration confirming the slaves' fair treatment. This detailed report was written in Turkish with an Italian translation and addressed to customs officials in Tunis. They attested to the slaves' humane treatment and outlined their religious and economic privileges in the port of Livorno. The *coggias* and mercantile slave boss attributed many of these rights to the intercessory efforts of Padre Ginepro. Though likely pressured into performing this act of diplomatic reconciliation, this episode highlights how the Medici duchy depended upon the *bagno* bureaucracy and slave hierarchy to facilitate informal diplomatic ties with the Barbary coast provinces and Ottoman Empire.

Despite the availability of tools of physical subjugation, the Medici regime exercised limited control over the economic, spiritual, and political lives of their slaves. The international diplomatic debacle of August 1680 reveals the intricacies of a legitimate power struggle between captive and

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<sup>41</sup> ASF MP 2086 f. 96.

<sup>42</sup> “Tocante al particolare che VSill.mi me scrive per le relazione che possa essere state scritte da questa schiavi Turchi a lor paesi di essere qui loro mal trattati e che persino essere Cause che quei Barberi strappazzino la i nostri Crestiani e particolarmente i Religiosi che dimorino cola di non potere assistere a i sant.na seramenti a esse, i [di ?] come a loro bisogni ho chiamato a me questi loro pappasii che qua sono assistenti et erame matoli tutti in tale affare et alla Presenza del Pre fra Ginepro et anco poi da per me i quali dicendomi che non anno scritto ne tan poco sapere che scriva ne che possa havere fatto questo passaggio gli ho rapresentato che il Prov.re Seren.mi ne sia molto incolera e che se non muteranno stile le gli caminera con rigore di piu di quello che viene fatto ai nostri Cristiani in Barberia, pero stieno avvertiti se anno loro di Godere la Buona liberta che gli da SAS in tanto nel Governo quando essere rispettati . . . e potere trafficare per Livorno . . . che tanto non godono a lor paese”; ASF MP 2086 f. 89 verso.

<sup>43</sup> ASF MP 2086, f. 89 verso.

captor. Through licit and illegal maneuvering, slaves traversed Livorno's physical and legal boundaries, and over time the administration was forced to accommodate these developments. As a result, hybrid architectural, bureaucratic, and diplomatic forms emerged reflecting the influence of both the Medici masters and their non-Catholic slaves. This dynamic process begs reconsideration of the *bagno* within the context of other spaces of forced enclosure, such as the Jewish ghettos built in the late sixteenth century. Although spatial restrictions are often employed as a punitive tool, even the most ostensibly disenfranchised population can influence the dynamics of a given social and physical sphere.<sup>44</sup> Thus the walls used to restrict and segregate a designated population at times could inadvertently offer protection, strengthen individual agency, and encourage social cohesion. In Livorno this resulted in a remarkable degree of accommodation and, for Muslim *bagno* slaves, far more dynamic economic, social, and political agency than the cowering Moors of the *Quattro Mori* sculpture suggest.

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<sup>44</sup> On the microcultures that formed within the Roman ghetto, see Kenneth R. Stow, *Theater of Acculturation: the Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2001).

## *"A Spectacular Liturgy of State": King Charles I and the Order of the Garter*

By Nile Blunt

In the final hours before his execution in the winter of 1649, King Charles I of England prepared to part from the world that he had seen turned upside down. These preparations included giving away what was left of his personal belongings to his attendants and companions. The very last of these possessions was his badge of the Order of the Garter. The king gave the gold and enamel bejeweled badge to his confessor, Bishop Juxon, with instructions to deliver it to the nineteen-year-old Prince of Wales.<sup>1</sup> Although it was later confiscated from Juxon and was never to reach the prince, the king's bequeathing of this object to his eldest son represented a highly symbolic act. In passing on his personal insignia of the Order of the Garter, he symbolically transferred the mantle of kingship. Indeed, as we shall see, for King Charles I the Order and its rituals encapsulated all of the ideals of his kingship and clearly articulated his political and religious points of view.<sup>2</sup>

Although the exact date of its foundation is unknown, it is generally accepted that King Edward III created the Order of the Garter in the winter of 1348. Since then it has served as the most important and exclusive chivalric order in England. Edward III founded the Order in part to increase his personal prestige both at home and abroad. He wanted to promote an image of himself as a chivalric monarch in the tradition of the mythic King Arthur by surrounding himself with an elite group of heroic knights.<sup>3</sup> Although it has existed from the fourteenth century onward, each monarch's interest in the Order increased and diminished based on a number of factors, ranging from political considerations to personal taste.

Charles I took a great personal interest in the Order of the Garter, and the chivalric ideals represented by the Order remained very much in line with his worldview. During the first years of

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Partridge, 'O Horrible Murder:' *The Trial, Execution, and Burial of King Charles I* (London: The Rubicon Press, 1998), 91.

<sup>2</sup> Passing on the badge was something of a family tradition with the Stuarts. For instance, on the evening that Prince Henry died, King James I sent a messenger to the Palatine to tell his nephew Prince Frederick that the King would now think of him as his first-born son. As if to symbolize the transfer of his affections, the king invested him with the badge of the Garter that Henry had worn. The young Prince Charles's role at the ceremony, held privately on December 21, 1612, was that of a younger son, stooping to attach the Garter around Frederick's knee; Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch* (London and New York: Routledge, 1983), 14.

<sup>3</sup> D. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325 – 1520* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 164.



his reign, Charles embarked on a reformation of what he saw as the moral deficiencies of the royal household, in part by using the Order to help establish his vision of high medieval dignity and decorum, while also emphasizing Platonic themes of harmony and virtue.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the king's interest in the Order, which was deeper than that of his father and their Tudor predecessors, reflect his greater desire to give his court and his reign the patina of high medieval, and thus sacred, kingship that had slowly waned over the preceding one hundred fifty years.

Moreover, the king's devotion to the Order of the Garter led him to greatly increase its ritual and material splendor. The antiquarian and first Garter historian Elias Ashmole recognized Charles as a "great restorer of the ancient Solemnities and Discipline" of the Order when he noted:

King Charles I . . . was . . . the greatest increaser of the honor and renown of this most illustrious Order. He, taking into his princely thoughts all things whatsoever, which carried any show or probability of adding luster thereunto, designed and endeavored, the most complete and absolute reformation of any of his predecessors.<sup>5</sup>

In the fourth year of his reign, the king formed a commission with the expressed purpose of reforming and enhancing the rituals of the Order.<sup>6</sup> One major outcome was re-establishment of a medieval tradition wherein the festivals of the Order were celebrated with great pomp at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. While King Charles enhanced the rituals, places, and materials associated with the Order to their most decorous levels since the late Middle Ages; the selection of Garter knights was not always subject to such high standards of dignity. Membership in the Order was initially based on the idea of the sovereign surrounding himself with heroic and chivalric knights—illustrious company that would increase the prestige of the Crown and the monarch himself. However, by the reign of Charles I Garter knighthood had become a gift for companions of the king, an expected honor for family members, and a special distinction for foreign princes, as well as a bribe for wealthy men whose support the king wanted.<sup>7</sup>

In his capacity as England's "fount of honor," it was the monarch's prerogative to select whomever he wished to become a Garter knight. Indeed the king often selected members of his entourage and family to be honored with the Garter. For instance, in the first year of his reign

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<sup>4</sup> See John Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe, 1500 – 1750: Ritual, Politics, and Culture under the Ancien Régime* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999) and R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), the most important source for the Order of the Garter during the reign of Charles I, by the celebrated antiquarian and royalist supporter. King Charles II and contemporaneous knights highly praised the work. Ashmole, an intellectual of great repute in his own time, took a scholarly approach to writing this history. In writing about the Garter during the reign of Charles I, he relied heavily on institutional records and other forms of empirical evidence. Quotation, 446.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 69.

<sup>7</sup> See Raymond Waddington, "Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24/1 (1993): 97-113 for a discussion of how Elizabeth used election to the Order of the Garter in especially political ways.

Charles selected the Duc de Chevreuse, a companion of the king and his wife who held an important post in the household of the queen.<sup>8</sup> The year of Charles's accession also saw the earl of Holland offered the knighthood. In 1617 King James I appointed the earl as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince Charles, during which time he became a close confidant of the future king.<sup>9</sup> Charles also granted membership in the Order to foreign princes, either as recognition of a special relationship or as a decisive diplomatic maneuver. In 1625 the Duke of Brunswick was installed as a Garter Knight, and in 1628 both the King of Sweden and the Prince of Orange received the same honor, presumably because of the support they offered England during the Anglo-Spanish War.<sup>10</sup>

The two eldest sons of Charles's beloved sister, Elizabeth of Bohemia, were both presented with the Garter while they were relatively young men.<sup>11</sup> The Princes Charles-Louis and Rupert were each invited to England by their royal uncle to be installed in the Order not for any explicit reason other than the king's affection for them as his nephews. The king's own two eldest sons were also made Garter knights while still young boys; he elected both the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York to the Order at the age of nine, in the years 1639 and 1642, respectively.<sup>12</sup> The election of the Prince of Wales had special significance, given that in the same year the King appointed four Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the prince, thereby granting him his own separate household and demi-court within the king's larger establishment.<sup>13</sup>

The king also pursued more overt tactical purposes in selecting of some of his Garter knights. In times of crisis or financial strain the king used knighthood as a bargaining tool. For instance, in 1642 Charles promised both the Baron of Cherbury and the Earl of Worcester Garter knighthood in return for loans of ten thousand pounds each.<sup>14</sup> Again in 1645 he attempted to placate the Marques of Ormonde with a promise of knighthood, after the Marques threatened to resign his post as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>15</sup>

While Garter knighthood enhanced the social and political standing of its members, the Order of the Garter itself also served specific purposes for the sovereign. The elaborate ceremonies and splendid materials of Garter festivities brought prestige and glamour to the court and in doing so enhanced the king's magnificence. Celebrations associated with the Order comprised an elaborate, costly, and politically potent set of events conducted once each year over three days during the Feast of Saint George. The two most important events of the festival, the Chapel service and the royal

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<sup>8</sup> Public Records Office, Lord Chancellor's Department (hereafter PRO LC) 5/38, fol. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 164.

<sup>10</sup> PRO LC 5/38, fol. 100 and 64.

<sup>11</sup> Allen B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, vol. 24, 1636 – 1639 (London, 1923), 30.

<sup>12</sup> For the Prince of Wales, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* vol. 24, 404. For the Duke of York, Public Records Office, State Papers (SP) 16/390/8.

<sup>13</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. 24, 404.

<sup>14</sup> Carlton, 248.

<sup>15</sup> Carlton, 283.

banquet, served as the pinnacle of ritual splendor for the Caroline court each year. The festivities also included chapter meetings, installations of new knights, and the semi-public Garter procession.

In view of the magnitude of Order of the Garter celebrations, advance preparations proved necessarily extensive and costly. Purchase of cloth for the costumes of the sovereign, knights, officers, and Prelate of the Order became a primary consideration.<sup>16</sup> Warrants were sent in advance to the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe to requisition fine materials; the wardrobe accounts for the Order's early history abound with entries for the purchase of costly textiles, such as velvet, woolen cloth, taffeta, silk, and furs.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, efficient furnishing of food supplies was particularly essential to the organization of the festivities, especially given the large numbers of additional personnel in attendance upon the king and knights. Foodstuffs varied widely, from oats for horse fodder to the luxurious provisions for the feast itself, which cost an estimated nearly seven hundred fifty pounds per annum.<sup>18</sup>

The chapel service epitomized the same ecclesiastical *gravitas* of all religious ceremonies at this court. Given the pious complexion of the Caroline court it is no surprise that the religious rites of the festival reached far back to the ancient solemnities of pre-Reformation England. Ashmole records that chapel ceremonies of Charles's reign were always "performed with great veneration, and all due reverence," acknowledging that this king remained a "high promoter of Ecclesiastical decency and holy discipline."<sup>19</sup> The highly ritualized services featured ceremonial ablutions at the beginning and end of the ceremony. During the service the king and knights received Communion, and the officiating prelate offered prayers for the members of the Order, read apropos scripture, and, genuflecting before the altar, presented lavish offerings of plate from the knights and sovereign for subsequent use in the chapel.

A key moment in the service occurred during the offering of this silver plate, when the bishop of Winchester in his capacity as prelate of the Order read three verses from scripture, each invoking both the material obligations of the faithful and the magnificence of the Lord. These verses typically varied little from year to year. The first is taken from the Book of Exodus, chapter 35, verse 4: "Take from among you a contribution to the Lord; whoever is of a willing heart, let him bring as the Lord's contribution: gold, silver, and bronze." The second, from the same chapter, verse 21, reads: "Everyone whose heart stirred him and everyone whose spirit moved him came and brought the Lord's contribution for the work of the tent of meeting and for all its service and for the holy garments." The last comes from the Gospel of Matthew, chapter 2, verse 1: "On coming to the house, they saw the child with his mother Mary, and they bowed down and worshiped him. Then they opened their treasures and presented him with gifts of gold and of incense and of myrrh."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The Warrant Book, LC 5/38, contains commands for the livery for each Garter Knight newly elected to the Order early in Charles's reign. See notes 28 and 29.

<sup>17</sup> Huge Collins, *The Order of the Garter: 1348 – 1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 204.

<sup>18</sup> Collins, 207.

<sup>19</sup> Ashmole, 495.

<sup>20</sup> Ashmole, 495.

From the king's point of view and his fervent belief in "the Beauty of Holiness," precious objects in silver served to define the majesty of God and His church. Lavish offerings to God reflected not only the glory of the Lord, but also the status of the donor. As God's deputy on earth, the king presented rich gifts to the Lord both to express his own piety and to proclaim his proximity to the Lord. Thus this moment became religious and political, both announcing and promoting the king's agenda.

After the chapel service, the knights and sovereign attended a magnificent banquet in Saint George's Hall. Even more than the activities of the chapel, this meal represented an occasion of material splendor and deep ritual significance. The meal began with the ceremonial washing of the king's hands and a benediction by the prelate. The king then assumed his place at the Presence Table, under the Canopy of Estate.<sup>21</sup> Music played while servants brought the first course up from the kitchens and placed it on the king's table, then subsequently on the tables of the knights.<sup>22</sup> After the first course was cleared, the king and his knights performed an important ceremony, "Crying of Largesse," which both symbolically represented and physically demonstrated the king's munificence and the knights' dependence upon the sovereign as the fount of honor and granter of charity. The knights stood, approached the sovereign, and requested a sign of his beneficence. Then they proclaimed in unison the king's styles and titles in Latin, French, and English. Finally, the treasurer of the Household placed the sovereign's largesse, represented by silver coins, into the hat of one of the knights, who distributed them to the others.<sup>23</sup>

This ceremony demonstrated the important notion of the subject's dependence on the generosity of the monarch in two ways. For the knights to dine at the king's expense enacted Charles's role as *paterfamilias* of his people. Furthermore, the distribution of charity to the knights reinforced the idea of the king as the greatest patron in the realm. Once this ceremony had ended, servants brought the second course and served it in the same manner as the first. At the end of the meal, the knights washed, rose, and stood before the king, where they each bowed three times. After this the prelate of the Order offered another benediction, and the king washed his hands once more, signifying the end of the meal.<sup>24</sup>

Religious elements clearly imbued royal protocol. In fact, the two separate narratives of the banquet and the chapel service share the same ritual vocabulary. For instance, the banquet began and ended with ritualized ablution—washing the king's hands—just as ceremonial washing preceded and concluded the chapel service. Moreover, Saint George's Hall where the meal took place acted as a semi-sacral space. The king's table, like an altar, sat the east end of the room raised on a dais and surrounded by a railing. A railed table, adorned with exquisite plate serving as the focus of ritual

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<sup>21</sup> Ashmole, 589.

<sup>22</sup> The Garter Meal consisted of only two courses, extraordinary considering that most other royal meals comprised a much larger number of small courses. This protocol perhaps was modified to better facilitate the ritual moment of "crying of largesse."

<sup>23</sup> Ashmole, 591.

<sup>24</sup> Ashmole, 593.

activity, would have evoked specific and perhaps controversial religious and political resonance for observers and participants of the time, particularly given the prominence of Catholic-like rites such as the aforementioned ablution and the end of the meal when the prelate, chaplains, knights, and attendants bowed—and sometimes genuflected—before the Presence Table, just as priests genuflected before the altar.

The material aspects of these ceremonies also enhanced the connection between the secular and the sacred. As in other facets of court life, silver plate represented a key element of these proceedings. Indeed, silver provided the glittering backdrop against which these ceremonies were performed and acted as the thread that drew secular and religious aspects of the festivities together. If, as stated earlier, royal protocol and religious rites adopted the same vocabulary, it is reasonable to argue that they were written in the same language—the language of things. Gilt plate occupied a central role on the Lord's altar and the king's dining table. Thus plate can serve as a vital source for our understanding of the connection between court dining and religious ceremonies. Like many of his other cultural and artistic pursuits, Charles took an extraordinary interest in silverwork and sought to increase its significance in the Garter ceremonies.

On November 24, 1625, the king commanded that each Garter knight should freely and liberally bestow a piece of plate valued at no less than twenty pounds.<sup>25</sup> Four years later the king's innate desire for beauty, order, and uniformity led him to decree that each present knight should send at least twenty pounds to Windsor to be used to commission a new uniform set of plate. The knights then entreated the king that he himself, by way of example, should bestow some larger amount toward the plate, to which he “most readily and willingly condescended.”<sup>26</sup> Christian Van Vianen, a member of an illustrious family of goldsmiths based in Utrecht, was chosen to create the new set of plate. His father Adam had created the revolutionary auricular style, and his uncle Paul had been goldsmith to the Emperor Rudolph II in Prague.<sup>27</sup> In his youth Christian served as apprentice to his father and his uncle, both of whom made their marks early in their careers among seventeenth-century goldsmiths. Indeed, Christian too is widely considered to have “brought the auricular style to England.”<sup>28</sup> For this important commission Van Vianen was paid 12 shillings per ounce, typical of the very high sums demanded by court goldsmiths and jewelers. He delivered an initial nine pieces of plate in June 1637; the total cost came to over seven hundred pounds. These pieces included “[t]wo little candlesticks, chased and gilt, two chalices, with four patens, two great candlesticks, two little basons and one great bason all three of which contained the whole history of Christ, in chased work.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ashmole, 491.

<sup>26</sup> Ashmole, 491.

<sup>27</sup> The auricular style, thus named because the fleshy, organic folds and curves of the metal are reminiscent of the cartilage of the human ear, became very popular with the king and the nobility after Van Vianen came to London in 1630 and set up a workshop in Westminster.

<sup>28</sup> Claude Blair, ed., *The History of Silver* (London: Orbis, 1987), 96.

<sup>29</sup> Ashmole, 492.

The King offered Van Vianen a second commission for altar plate the following year, amounting to a total of seventeen pieces costing nearly sixteen hundred pounds. This commission included "two great Candlesticks, weighing together 471 ounces; on the foot of the one, was excellently chased, the Histories of Christ's preaching in the Mount; and on the other, those of the lost Goat and Sheep." There were two book covers, both weighing 233 ounces. The one meant for a Bible was chased with "the Histories of Moses and the Tables, David and the Ark on the one side, and on the other, Christ's preaching on the Mount, the sending of the Holy Ghost, and St. Paul falling from his Horse." The other was intended for the Book of Common Prayer having what Ashmole describes "as the Angel of Incense on the one side and the King healing the Evil, and the manner of our Preaching and Christening" on the other.<sup>30</sup> The king commissioned spectacular silver plate to both express his piety and reveal his magnificence. While from the descriptions of the pieces we can assume that the embossed designs and scenes on the plate also served the king's agenda, unfortunately a close reading of the iconography of the king's plate is impossible. During the Civil War the Parliamentary army, acting as both plunderers and iconoclasts, looted Saint George's Chapel, accounting for the permanent loss of all of the precious objects crafted by Van Vianen for the Caroline court.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the ritual behaviors and material culture exhibited during the Feast of Saint George, the Order itself contributed in important ways to the cultural and political life of the court. In reviving and enhancing its role at court, as well as fully immersing himself in the ritual life of the Order, the king enhanced his personal magnificence and attempted to shape the cultural, religious, and political complexion of his household. While the cultural dimensions of the Garter may seem obvious, the religious and political effects of this institution and its rituals require deeper examination. However, the ceremonial dining and religious rituals of the Order both affirmed the sacredness of the king's authority and the inviolability of the bond of loyalty between monarch and subject. In this way, it appears that Charles's relationship to the Order and his use of its ceremonies offers further evidence of the sacralization of his kingship, even before his "martyrdom" at the hands of the regicides in 1649. These ceremonies offer a case study for understanding how ritual behavior and material culture served as a singular, interconnected, and potent aspect of Caroline kingship. The rituals and materials of the Order of the Garter worked together to demonstrate to the court and the wider world the nature of the king's chivalric and nostalgic high medieval attitudes toward both religion and rule, guided by the ritualized conflation of the secular and the sacred. Indeed, the two major annual festivities of the Order offered a moment of religious, cultural, and political confluence wherein key secular and sacral elements of Caroline kingship collided in what has been referred to as "a spectacular liturgy of state."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ashmole, 492.

<sup>31</sup> Maurice Bond, ed. *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1384 – 1667* (London: Oxley, 1947), 50.

<sup>32</sup> Sharpe, 220.

*“Law, doth make the Irish grow civil,  
and become English”: Sir John Davies and the  
Reformation of the Irish Constitution*

By Jane Wong Yeang Chui

The English conquest of Ireland in 1603, so famously styled the “Elizabethan conquest of Ireland,” ironically ended nearly a week after the queen’s death. The historic event inspired celebrations all across the country, but for some military victory did not quite constitute a complete or perfect conquest; the war marked only the beginning of a much longer process of reforming Ireland. Sir John Davies, the English solicitor general of Ireland, maintained:

For, the Husbandman must first breake the Land, before it bee made capeable of good seede: and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not forth with cast good seed into it, it will grow wilde againe, and beare nothing but Weeds. So a barbarous Country must be first broken by a warre, before it will be capeable of good Gouernment; and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it bee not well planted and gouerned after the Conquest it wil est-soones return to the former Barbarisme.<sup>1</sup>

With the end of the war, the troublesome garden that was Ireland entered a new phase of colonial planning and governance. As chief law officer in Ireland between 1603 and 1619, Davies proposed, developed, and imposed into practice many legal policies. This essay concerns Davies’ unique approach to imposing English common law in the newly conquered island, the way he linked law and customs into an inseparable entity and in doing so simultaneously implemented legal and cultural reform.

Davies’ method in accessing law and protection in Ireland paints an accurate picture of shifting attitudes toward Irish natives at the turn of the century. His model comprised exclusion and inclusion, the former condemned by lack of institutional protection, and the latter presenting a model of ultimate privilege. This state of affairs cautions against reductive approaches that conflate the distinctive modes of suppression between the natives and the Old English (Anglo-Irish) residents beyond the jurisdiction of English rule. Even then Davies reminds us that natives were not

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<sup>1</sup> John Davies, *Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued* (Ireland, Shannon: Irish University Presses, 1969), 4-5; hereafter *Discovery*.

subject to English laws: "the Irish were not permitted to have the benefit and protection thereof, but were left to bee governed by their owne lord and lawes."<sup>2</sup> This view accorded wholly with the changing agenda of the crown. The exclusion of natives from English legal privileges asserted the barbarism of the local Brehon Law, "which by reason ought not to bee named a Law, but an euill Custome."<sup>3</sup> Davies' reasoning falls in line with Nicholas Canny's interpretation of Irish conquest: in proving the savagery of the Irish, the English "were absolved from all normal ethical restraints" of their brutality against the natives. But after defeating the "wilde Irish," English officials changed their tune:

there is no Nation of people vnder the sunne, that doth loue equall and indifferent Iustice, better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it bee against themselues; so as they may haue the protection & benefit of the Law, when vppon iust cause they do desire it.<sup>4</sup>

Davies deemed the years that immediately followed 1603 crucial in determining the success or failure of colonization. He attributes the "perfect conquest" of Ireland to two principal factors, military victory and civil governance: "For, to giue Lawes vnto a people, to punish and pardon Malefactors; to haue the sole authority of making warre and peace, and the like; are the true markes of Soueraignetie."<sup>5</sup> To establish this, Davies believed that the whole of Ireland, natives and Anglo-Irish, had to be brought "vnder one forme of ciuil gouernment," and more specifically under English common law. Only then could Ireland be "entirely Conquered, Planted, and Improoued; and returned a rich Reuennue to the Crowne of England."<sup>6</sup> Davies and other English legal theorists considered common law, peculiar only to England, superior to other laws, for it originated from time immemorial and consisted of unwritten laws. These characteristics made common law unique in that the English perceived it to be the law of the people, not the ruler. This kept the king in check, since he was subject to the law and not immune to it by virtue of kingship. Unlike written Roman or Canon law, common law derived its effectiveness and functionality from years and years of trial and error, founded on the living conditions and practices of the English people. In short, law that stood the test of time must, in essence, be the best law and in Davies' mind the most suitable for the colonization process in Ireland:

[T]his Customary Law is the most perfect and excellent, and without comparison the best, to make and preserve a Commonwealth. For the written Laws which are made either by the Edicts of Princes, or by Councils of Estates, are imposed upon the Subject before any Triall or Probation made, whether the same be fit and agreeable

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<sup>2</sup> John Davies, "Lawes of Irelande": a tract by Sir John Davies," ed. Hiram Morgan, *The Irish Jurist* xxvii-xxx (1993 – 1995), 309.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 126.

<sup>4</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 287

<sup>5</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 132



to the nature and disposition of the people, or whether they will breed any inconvenience or no.<sup>7</sup>

Statute laws, on the other hand, fell short of establishing absolute English rule over Ireland. For instance, Davies admits that laws originally passed in 1365, and renewed again in 1498 and 1536, to deter Englishmen of the Pale from adopting native traditions had been effective to a degree, but they were not consistently executed, and eventually “the Subiectes rebelled and digressed from their allegiance, and the Land fell to ruine and desolation.”<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Poynings Law, which stated that parliamentary sessions in Ireland could only be proposed by the Lord Deputy and the Irish council and officially approved by the King’s seal in England, made legislative reformation immensely slow and inconvenient. After enumerating several benefits of this statute law, Davies concludes it to be essentially useless: “[T]hese good Laws & prouisions made by Sir Edward Poynings, were like good Lessons set for a Lute, that is broken and out of tune; of which Lessons, little vse can be made, till the Lute bee made fit to be plaid vpon.”<sup>9</sup> The instability of Poynings Law and the ambiguities of its goals are suggested in numerous attempts to suspend and alter the law in favour of the crown during the Tudor era.<sup>10</sup> The opposition the executive faced in the parliaments of 1534, 1536, 1569, and 1557 indicate the growing estrangement between representatives of the Irish parliament and the crown. Even as late as 1613, at James I’s first Irish parliament, Lord Deputy Arthur Chichester proposed to suspend Poynings Law to “facilitate private bills and thereby soften catholic opposition to the government’s religious and financial measures.”<sup>11</sup> But surprisingly, unlike former parliaments where similar proposals were opposed by the Irish representatives, it was James who rejected it this time, possibly because he insisted on having complete control over the Irish parliament, and more likely to assert his place over common lawyers like Coke, whose fierce advocacy of the superiority of ancient constitution over royal prerogative constantly frustrated James’s absolutist ideas of divine kingship.

One of the most important statute laws passed in Ireland during the Tudor years, the “surrender and regrant” policy, was enacted by two-time Lord Deputy Anthony St. Ledger in 1540 to 1547 and 1550 to 1556. The law operated alongside the royal proclamation that had changed the relationship between the two countries when Henry VIII was declared King of Ireland and England in 1542. This policy granted English titles and protection to powerful landholding Irish chiefs, if they recognized the English monarch’s sovereignty and swore loyalty and obedience to the crown through the symbolic act of “surrendering” their land, which was then returned intact. Though St. Ledger’s intentions appeared to promote English sovereignty in Ireland, the law garnered critics. Many

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<sup>7</sup> Quoted in J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and Feudal Law* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 33.

<sup>8</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 216.

<sup>9</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 236.

<sup>10</sup> T. W. Moody, “The Irish Parliament under Elizabethan and James I: A General Survey,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* XLV. 6, Section C (1939), 43.

<sup>11</sup> Moody, “The Irish Parliament,” 56.

prominent figures from Thomas Cromwell's circle found his policy too "liberal" and preferred more aggressive and interventionist methods. Davies agreed:

And thus far did Sir Anthony Saint-Leger proceed, in the course of Reformation; which though it were a good beginning, yet was it far from reducing Ireland to the perfect Obedience of the Crown of England. For all this while, the Prouinces of Conaght and Vlster, and a good parte of Leinster, were not reduced to Shire-Ground. And though Mounster were anciently diuided into Counties, the people were so degenerate, as no Iustice of Assise, durst execute his Commission amongst them . . . no Reuenue (certain or casuall) did acrow to the Crowne out of those Prouinces.<sup>12</sup>

Davies further asserted his complaint about St. Leger's surrender and regrant policy in 1603 when, he wrote, "no royal title could be found to the whole of Donegal."<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the crown's revenue had been "both certaine and casuall" in the counties of Ulster, Munster, and Connaght during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, where "the Kings writ did run, and the Common-Law was executed."<sup>14</sup>

Davies' criticism of statute law primarily concerns two issues. First, statute laws, even when put in place and executed, did not extend beyond the Pale areas. Under these conditions England could never consider her conquest complete, much less perfect; Davies obsessively reminds readers that "two-thirds" of Ireland continued to be uncivilized and wild, without the governance of the king's writs.<sup>15</sup> Second, he asserts that the Irish remained too barbaric to understand and adopt "civilized" English laws. In fusing the ineffectiveness of statute law in Ireland and the reasons that *caused* them to be deficient, Davies constructs a discourse not unlike his militaristic counterparts in Elizabethan England, only in reverse. Instead of justifying English brutality as a way to civilize the savage Irish, Davies' theory implies that civilized English statute laws are *made* useless by the natives, who prefer to cling onto Brehon law. His criticism of the governors who passed statute laws in Ireland is minimal; he places the causes of their failures squarely on the shoulders of the Irish. This interpretation sheds more light on Davies' conviction that common law was the end-all solution to solving the "Irish problem." Interestingly, his perception of common law and its associations with social customs seems unlike that of most common lawyers in seventeenth-century England. J. G. A. Pocock mentions this point only in passing in *The Ancient Constitution and Feudal Law* but does not consider its full implications within the context of Davies' criticism of statute law, which I believe shows Davies' "common law mind" to be uniquely distinct from the more common "common law mind" in England.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 247-48.

<sup>13</sup> Hans S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 37.

<sup>14</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 216-17.

<sup>15</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 7, 42, 122, 135.

<sup>16</sup> Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution*, 35.

The antiquity of English custom and its intrinsic associations with the “force of Law” remained of utmost importance in Davies’ Irish policies. Davies can only represent the common law mind insofar as he idealizes the idea of an ancient constitution, which common lawyers believed existed in England before the Norman conquest. Beyond this, Davies’ idea of common law and custom diverges from seventeenth-century common law minds because his interpretation of custom emphasizes social concerns over legalistic and judicial ones. This explains why J. W. Tubbs criticizes Pocock for overgeneralizing the notion of the common law mind. He notes the complexities in distinguishing common law from customs and the usage of these terms from the sixteenth into the seventeenth century. When Davies wrote *The Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued* in 1612, law records frequently referred to common law as “the custom in relation to letters, counts, pleas and judgements,” but certainly “not those of the people.” Tubbs astutely highlights the emphasis that Davies placed on not only national but social and cultural precedence: “Unlike sixteenth-century lawyers, who in describing the common law as common usage or common custom, nearly always meant only the usage or custom of the bench and bar, Davies identified the English people as the source of the common law.”<sup>17</sup> Davies’ interpretation of common law fits well with the English view that the Irish were intractable; the English attributed Irish refusal to abide by laws to their barbaric customs. For instance, Davies expresses a notable disgust for the Irish practice of fostering, and he weaves this into his customs-and-force-of-law ideology:

For Fostering, I did neuer heare or read, that it was in that vse or reputation in anie other Countrey, Barbarous or Ciuill, as it hath beene, and yet is, in Ireland . . . the reason is, because in the opinion of this people, Fostering hath alwayes beene a stronger alliance then Bloud; and the Foster-Children doe loue and are beloued of their foster-fathers and their Sept, more then of their owne naturall Parents and Kindred . . . These were the Irish Customes, which the English Colonies did embrace and vse, after they had reiected the Ciuill and Honorable Lawes and Customes of England, whereby they became degenerate and metamorphosed like Nabuchadnezzar: who although he had the *face of a man, had the heart of a Beast* . . . For heeretofore, the neglect of the Lawe, made the English degenerate, and become Irish; and now, on the other side, the execution of the Law, doth make the Irish grow ciuill, and become English.<sup>18</sup>

The Irish, and the “degenerate” Old English so famously condemned in Edmund Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596/1633) for “turning native,” are described as beasts. Davies’ commentaries on Irish fostering practices illustrate that customs and law were bound together as an inextricable knot, but more importantly they determined familial landholding practices and, in turn, state ownership and distribution of land.

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<sup>17</sup> J. W. Tubbs, “Custom, Time and Reason: Early Seventeenth-Century Conceptions of the Common Law,” *History of Political Thought* XIX.3 (1998), 368-69.

<sup>18</sup> Davies, *Discovery*, 178-182, 272, emphasis added.

Common law landholding traditions rely on a rigid hierarchical system heavily dependent on kinship and ancestry and in stark contrast to Irish customs. Irish chiefs did not necessarily pass their land on to their sons or daughters, and Davies, like many English authors writing on Ireland in the period, framed the chaotic Irish forms of land distribution within the practice of tanistry. Following this seventh- to eighth-century tradition, an Irish chief selected a successor, or tanist, during his lifetime to inherit his title and properties. The potential tanist was not necessarily the eldest son of the chief and might not be his offspring at all, since "he that hath the strong arm and the hardest sword" among men of the same clan was elected tanist.<sup>19</sup> The nature of such an election, according to most English writers, inevitably led to bloodbaths. The criteria of selection—a demonstration of sheer brute force—gives credence to Giraldus Cambrensis' twelfth-century claim that the Irish had "an ancient and wicked custom, they always carry an axe in their hands instead of a staff, that they may be ready promptly to execute whatever iniquity their minds suggest."<sup>20</sup>

Davies' treatment of custom and force of law ensures that common law encapsulates both law proper and custom proper at the same time, which in effect results in what a modern anthropologist calls "the product of organized force":

The customary and the legal orders are historically, not logically related. They touch coincidentally; one does not imply the other. Custom, as most anthropologists agree, is characteristic of primitive society, and laws of civilization . . . 'The dispute,' writes William Seagle, "whether primitive societies have law or custom, is not merely a dispute over words. Only confusion can result from treating them as interchangeable phenomena. If custom is spontaneous and automatic, law is the product of organized force."<sup>21</sup>

As military men were once convinced that Ireland could only be conquered through brute force, administrators remained certain that reformation of the Irish government could only occur through "organized force" in the form of legal and cultural suppression. Directly and indirectly, Davies' policies effected radical changes that prepared the land for colonization in the years that followed the Nine Years War. Studies on the transformation of early modern Ireland have more to gain from understanding the motivations, intentions, and processes of Davies' policies than from pondering whether he fits Pocock's description of the common law mind, especially since "the early modern mind was capable of conceiving 'of both a sovereign king and a sovereign common law,' of both 'absolute royal prerogatives and absolute rights to property.'"<sup>22</sup> Precisely because Davies adjusted his strategies and systematically applied them in a bottom-up manner—building his arguments on the

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<sup>19</sup> Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies*, 189.

<sup>20</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *The historical works of Giraldus Cambrensis, containing: The topography of Ireland, and The history of the conquest of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1913), 135.

<sup>21</sup> Stanley Diamond, "The Rule of Law versus Order of Custom." *Social Research* 38.1 (1971), 44-45.

<sup>22</sup> Janelle Greenberg, *The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 116.

basic premises of cultural customs, to legal administration, to advocating royal prerogative—he could shape an Irish constitution that favored the conditions of colonization. Turning the Irish English constituted only one part of Davies’ “perfect conquest”; the other lay in turning Ireland into England.

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## *John Brinsley's Ludus literarius and the Ritualization of "Writing Faire"*

By Corrine E. Hinton

Since their inception in the early sixteenth century, English grammar schools sought to achieve one primary goal: teaching English youth to produce "elegant and eloquent expression."<sup>1</sup> With an educational foundation predicated on humanist values, these schools prepared their pupils to enter the university—and the civic duties they would hold thereafter—by providing linguistic as well as moral training. Educators sought to socialize their pupils to the behaviors and the cultural values necessary for becoming good students and good citizens. Realizing the Renaissance humanist agenda posed practical and pedagogical challenges for grammar school masters, however, John Brinsley published *Ludus literarius; or, the Grammar Schoole* in 1612, a manual designed to simplify the humanist educational project by offering replicable, effective teaching methods for the rigorous curriculum. Brinsley's account details more than just the practices he deems necessary for developing satisfactory penmanship. He devotes an entire chapter early in the work to preparatory activities, including proper selection of ink and paper, the correct fashioning and use of a copybook, and the exact process for making, replicating, and holding a pen. Previous scholarship has saluted Brinsley and his treatise's contributions to Renaissance culture, education theory, rhetoric, Latin instruction, and orthography. What has yet to be considered, however, is the way Brinsley ritualizes these pre-writing activities as a tool for socialization, not only of grammar school pupils but of their masters as well.

While education refers broadly to the acquisition of knowledge, it also hones decision-making and problem-solving capabilities—how to make the best use of one's knowledge. The latter is more a matter of ethical behavior and moral responsibility than one of information. The ways education serves as a mechanism for influencing moral behavior and citizenship fosters debate among scholars from almost all disciplines, including the social sciences, the biological sciences, and the humanities. As some see them, ritual studies scholar Catherine Bell explains, "[e]ducational institutions clearly attempt to do more than simply impart information through verbal and written instruction. They are concerned with fundamental forms of socialization that involve the internationalization of cultural values."<sup>2</sup> According to Judith Kapferer, socialization operates on two levels: through "the organiza-

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<sup>1</sup> Don Paul Abbott, "Rhetoric and Writing in the Renaissance," in *A Short History of Writing Instruction, from Ancient Greece to Twentieth-Century America*, ed. James J. Murphy (Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 1990), 147.

<sup>2</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 152.

tion of attitudes and behaviors within . . . the school” and the “promulgation of a broader set of values and attitudes” considered valuable outside it.<sup>3</sup> Educational systems socialize pupils by establishing a rigid hierarchy with the teacher at the helm; by controlling students’ access to information, including class materials, resources, technology; by rewarding discipline, conformity, and hard work; and by punishing noncompliance.

Educators create a link between behavior and culture by ritualizing acceptable behaviors in the classroom. For example, from the time they begin kindergarten most young children learn to raise their hands when they wish to speak. Students internalize this behavior as the teacher doles out rewards—praise or physical—to those children who raise their hands and punishments—dispraise or physical—to those who do not. Teachers may ignore children who speak out of turn until they decide to comply. Consequently, children learn that what they say is more valuable when they deliver the message couched in this ritualized practice. “[R]itualization is a way of acting that specifically establishes a privileged contrast, differentiating [ritualized practices] as more important or powerful.”<sup>4</sup> By instituting privileged contrast, ritualization aids socialization. Those who embrace the ritualized practices separate themselves from those who do not, shaping notions of group identity, a sense of inclusion—or exclusion for the outsiders—and citizenship.

In England the educational system in place during the seventeenth century also socialized its young citizenry, particularly within the confines of the grammar school. And in the grammar school, “grammar meant Latin grammar”; Latin proficiency remained essential for both aesthetic and practical purposes.<sup>5</sup> Not only did the language put students in touch with revered thinkers of antiquity, but it also provided them access to important contemporary knowledge. Nearly all books necessary for professions in statesmanship, medicine, and law were either written in or translated into Latin.<sup>6</sup> The grammar school also served as the bridge from elementary or primary instruction to university, typically serving a student from age seven or eight to about seventeen or eighteen. The length of time a boy spent in grammar school under such an intense, rigorous curriculum contributed to “the pervasiveness of [Renaissance] teachers’ control over their charges’ behavior and thinking.”<sup>7</sup> And perhaps no other educational philosophy touted more influence than Renaissance humanism.

Although Renaissance humanism included several schools of thought, a few select features connect them. Hanna Gray writes, “The bond which united humanists, no matter how far separated in outlook or in time, was a conception of eloquence and its uses . . . . Classical rhetoric . . . constituted the main source” of inspiration.<sup>8</sup> Renaissance educators borrowed quite extensively from

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<sup>3</sup> Judith L. Kapferer, “Socialization and the Symbolic Order of the School,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1981): 258.

<sup>4</sup> Bell, 90.

<sup>5</sup> Abbott, 147.

<sup>6</sup> Walter J. Ong, “Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite,” *Studies in Philology* 56 (April 1959): 104.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Erdmann, “Imitation Pedagogy and Ethical Indoctrination,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 23 (Winter 1993): 2.

<sup>8</sup> Hanna H. Gray, “Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (October-December 1963): 498.

ancient scholars of rhetoric in forming their educational philosophies. Most notably, they adopted the teachings of Quintilian and Cicero, both of whom stressed how greatly a man's character influenced his rhetorical prowess. Hence thought and action were linked in a man's rhetorical education, or, as Nancy L. Christiansen asserts, "[L]anguage is behavior and behavior is language."<sup>9</sup> Thus the primary educational philosophy employed during the Renaissance fused "humanist learning, medieval courtesy, and Christian morality," a synthesis that would produce learned, articulate, ethical, obedient supporters of the realm.<sup>10</sup>

An educational agenda, however, would remain ineffective without either teaching methods in place to support it or mechanisms for social control designed to advance it. In order to put this agenda into pedagogical practice, humanists like Desiderius Erasmus wrote treatises outlining methods for specific use in the grammar school.<sup>11</sup> These methods, such as those presented in Erasmus' *De conscribendis epistolis* and *De ratione studii*, all supported the same goal: "to encourage students to absorb ethical lessons while developing the skill to use language to advocate actions."<sup>12</sup> Students absorbed such lessons through imitation pedagogy. Most grammar school masters employed this method: teaching that reduced student learning to imitating, memorizing, modeling, and replicating. Using approved textual examples, masters asked their students to memorize key passages, translate those passages across several languages, and learn to replicate their writing styles by starting with the *progymnasmata*. The *progymnasmata*, collections developed and perfected by ancient scholars like Hermogenes, Theon, and Aphthonius, provided students with rhetorical exercises in ascending difficulty, from a simple fable to a complex thesis using illustrative model literature. According to Edward Erdmann, the examples selected for imitation "served not only as a means by which student writers might assimilate the characteristic style and habits of thinking of the models they choose, but, in fact, such exercises were tools for students' ethical indoctrination."<sup>13</sup> Indoctrination, or socialization, gained support from political influences on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century educational directives. Since Henry VIII's reign the state, rather than the Church of England, maintained authority over English schools, a move Henry initiated to "insure his own sovereignty because he could control the education students received."<sup>14</sup> Through a royal decree, Henry restricted the textbook from which grammar school teachers could teach to William Lily's *Latin Grammar* (1540). By standardizing the primary text, encouraging student learning through imitation, and asserting an education that coupled rhetorical knowledge with social responsibility, the educational system of the Renaissance created near-perfect conditions for socialization.

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<sup>9</sup> Nancy L. Christiansen, "Rhetoric as Character-Fashioning: The Implications of Delivery's 'Places' in the British Renaissance *Paideia*," *Rhetorica* 15 (Summer 1997): 298.

<sup>10</sup> Richard S. Christen, "Boundaries between Liberal and Technical Learning: Images of Seventeenth-Century English Writing Masters," *History of Education Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1999): 34.

<sup>11</sup> Abbott, 147.

<sup>12</sup> Erdmann, 5.

<sup>13</sup> Erdmann, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Grant M. Boswell, "The Rhetoric of Pedagogy: Changing Assumptions in Seventeenth-Century English Rhetorical Education," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 16 (Summer 1986): 111.



Renaissance humanism, imitation pedagogy, and political pressure all defined the educational landscape in which John Brinsley taught while headmaster at Ashby-de-la-Zouch grammar school. Referred to as one of the “two great authorities for the text-books employed in English schools in the first half of the seventeenth century,” his *Ludus literarius* outlines a precise curriculum for the grammar school master to implement in his classroom.<sup>15</sup> He structures his treatise as a dialogue between two former university fellows, Spoudeus and Philoponus. A lengthy exchange between the two men, both teachers, details Brinsley’s educational program for grammar school masters and their pupils. Spoudeus asks Philoponus for assistance in understanding how best to educate, discipline, and prepare his students for their futures beyond grammar school. The two pedagogues cover the fundamental skills necessary for the major rhetorical forms, including theme-writing, orations, and declamations. Through Spoudeus, Brinsley identifies concerns common to many grammar school masters, parents, and critics of the educational system during the time. And through Philoponus, Brinsley delivers his theory of education with scientific precision, outlining the steps of his instructional process as well as the students’ responses to, challenges of, and potential rewards for completing each step.<sup>16</sup>

Previous critical examinations of Brinsley’s work have called attention primarily to the practicality of his pedagogy as well as the authenticity of his portrayal of the English grammar school in the early seventeenth century. E. T. Campagnac, editor of the 1917 reprint of *Ludus literarius*, notes the treatise’s “central value . . . is that it is a study of human nature; it is a piece of research thoroughly scientific.”<sup>17</sup> Other scholars focus on his realistic portrayal of the challenges of and teaching practices within the grammar school classroom.<sup>18</sup> Few scholars reference specific portions of Brinsley’s work; many instead address the holistic contributions it has made to the fields of education, rhetoric, or seventeenth century-English culture. However, Herbert Schultz and Don Paul Abbott do review Brinsley’s concern with his pupil’s handwriting. Schultz describes Brinsley’s practical contributions to historical orthography, citing in particular his desire to protect the positions of grammar school masters from usurpation by professional scribes, his creative yet practical response to the labor of copybook-making, and his “brief instruction” in the pre-writing activities discussed in chapter four.<sup>19</sup> Abbott examines these pre-writing activities in greater detail from a technological perspective, calling them “necessary because of the relative newness of writing with pen and ink in the classroom.”<sup>20</sup> While this consideration soundly reflects the practical needs

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<sup>15</sup> The other authority is Charles Hoole’s *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*, published in 1660. Foster Watson, “The Curriculum and Text-Books of English Schools in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century,” in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. VI. October, 1900, to March, 1902 (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1903), 159

<sup>16</sup> E.T. Campagnac, introduction to *Ludus literarius; or the Grammar Schoole*, by John Brinsley (Liverpool: The University Press, 1917), xxix.

<sup>17</sup> Campagnac, xxix.

<sup>18</sup> For testimony to *Ludus literarius*’ authenticity, see John William Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education 1600 – 1700* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 20-21. On pedagogical practices, see D.R. Woolf, “Speech, Text, and Time: The Sense of Hearing and the Sense of the Past in Renaissance England,” *Albion* 18 (Summer 1986): 175, 183.

<sup>19</sup> Herbert C. Schultz, “The Teaching of Handwriting in Tudor and Stuart Times,” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 6 (August 1943): 383-414.

<sup>20</sup> Abbott, 155.

for such precise instructions, Abbott does not hypothesize what larger institutional motives might also be at work, motives that may produce different interpretations.

Walter Ong establishes the foundation for understanding Renaissance pedagogy as ritual in his 1959 essay, "Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite." He suggests that Latin instruction during the time was "an echo, devious and vague but unmistakably real" of ceremonial puberty rites.<sup>21</sup> Through the theories of anthropologist Arnold van Gennep in his *Les rites de passage*, Ong inspects critical physical, instructional, and social components of Latin education during the Renaissance, comparing them to "the ceremonial induction of adolescent youths into full participation in tribal, as opposed to family and clan, life."<sup>22</sup> Ong's review of the Renaissance humanist agenda, grammar school curriculum, and preferred pedagogical practices shape his conclusion about the critical role Latin instruction played in the physical, moral, and cultural development of young English pupils. My examination of Brinsley's *Ludus literarius* extends this argument, providing textual evidence of the specific way particular behaviors were ritualized to aid in socialization of not only grammar school pupils but also their masters.

The contents of the fourth chapter of Brinsley's treatise dominate this analysis primarily because the section appears prior to the writing portions of the curriculum, implying students would need to achieve these skills before advancing. Brinsley begins chapter four with Spoudeus outlining how writing well, both in form and in substance, proves a great benefit to the students as well as a source of "notable grace to schools, and also to all learning," if masters can impart it to their pupils.<sup>23</sup> From the start Brinsley makes clear that elegance—the manner of one's writing—is just as important as eloquence—the substance. According to Brinsley, the two must be in balance. He wants to ensure that teaching a technical skill like handwriting is controlled and "prevented from debasing true liberal learning."<sup>24</sup>

Spoudeus demonstrates how to control handwriting by first defining the pedagogical difficulties that accompany "faire writing."<sup>25</sup> He tells Philoponus that the source of the problem lies with the masters. Most masters lack the ability to write well and thus have little authority in teaching the subject to their students, unless they have received special training from scribes or were born with an uncommon aptitude for writing. Spoudeus laments that students may very well learn proper penmanship directly from the scribes, the course many grammar schools took when faced with the same situation. Several grammar schools turned over the authority of handwriting lessons to professional writers, a decision that, according to Brinsley, diminished the overall authority of the grammar school master. "Seeking to prevent curriculum tension and instructional inconsistencies by

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<sup>21</sup> Ong, 104.

<sup>22</sup> Ong, 105.

<sup>23</sup> John Brinsley, *Ludus literarius; or, the Grammar Schoole*, ed. E.T. Campagnac (Liverpool: The University Press, 1917), 27.

<sup>24</sup> Christen, 48.

<sup>25</sup> Brinsley, 27.

eliminating the need for a specialized writing master,” Brinsley provides the material in chapter four: lucid, repeatable instructions for advancing the writing skill of the master as well as his pupils.<sup>26</sup>

Before Philoponus imparts his wisdom about writing pedagogy to Spoudeus, he asks Spoudeus to outline his current methodology. As the wise mentor, Philoponus must be able to identify the gaps in Spoudeus’ teaching to reassert his own superior position. Here Brinsley provides a brief overview of the most common approach to teaching handwriting, to more effectively and authoritatively emphasize the success of his instructional methods. As a “constant source of complaint to the writing masters,” the drudgery of copybook making becomes Spoudeus’ first grievance, the endless fashioning of “which hath bin no small toile unto me.”<sup>27</sup> He explains that he forces his students to write copies, provides them with correction and guidance “for writing so badly,” and shows them “how to amend their letters,” methods Philoponus confirms are “done in most Schooles.”<sup>28</sup> The reader can expect, then, that Brinsley’s own method will diverge from these commonly-accepted strategies.

Brinsley then outlines four major steps for teachers to improve their understanding of how to teach handwriting and help develop the pupil’s good penmanship. These opening guidelines establish how long students should spend writing each day—as close to an hour as possible; what tools students should have at their disposal during writing time; the proper condition of their ink, paper, and writing books; and the rule that each student should make his own pen. Brinsley delivers the first three pieces of advice to his fellow grammar school masters in a repetitive phrasal structure that demonstrates a subtle insistence on compliance: “The Scholler *should be* set to write,” “There *must be* special care,” “The like care *must be*.”<sup>29</sup> But in the fourth guideline, which introduces the importance of pen-making, Brinsley shifts his structural perspective from a subtle insistence to blatant persistence. He uses direct imperatives that address both the master and the student directly: “Choose the quill,” “Make it cleane,” and “Cleane it strait up the back.”<sup>30</sup> Two consequences arise if a pupil fails to accomplish this task. First, “the making, and mending of pens, will be a very great hinderance, both to the Masters and to the Schollers,” and second, once out from under their master’s guidance, pupils will fail to write at all because “they know not how to make their pens themselves.”<sup>31</sup> Brinsley details the proper procedure for making the pen, including selecting and cleaning the quill, using a pen-knife to secure the best cleft, and cutting the nib “so as it may let down the inke, and write cleane.”<sup>32</sup> This imperative structure, coupled with the threat of consequences to both teacher and student, reaffirms Brinsley’s own authority on the matter, and the authority of those masters who will use the same commands.

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<sup>26</sup> Christen, 45.

<sup>27</sup> Schultz, 412; Brinsley, 28.

<sup>28</sup> Brinsley, 28.

<sup>29</sup> Brinsley, 29, emphasis added.

<sup>30</sup> Brinsley, 29.

<sup>31</sup> Brinsley, 29.

<sup>32</sup> Brinsley, 29.

Once he has created a strong, well-fashioned pen, the student and his creation are subjected to the approval of the master. For Brinsley, the student without the skill to fashion his own pen properly is equally as unable to "attaine [the ability] to write faire."<sup>33</sup> This approval process serves several purposes. Most obviously, the student receives affirmation of his accomplishment. However, it also strengthens the hierarchy within the classroom; the master holds the power to determine whether or not the pupil can advance. Likewise, it is the master's responsibility to ensure that he does not pass any pen unbecoming of such approval. To approve a subpar pen, even mistakenly, is to commit an ethical disservice against the student and against one's own authority as teacher.

From pen-making, Brinsley moves to the fashioning of student copybooks. To combat the inconvenience and impracticality of making copybooks, Brinsley suggests what Herbert Schultz calls an "ingenious device."<sup>34</sup> Brinsley's method calls for students to adhere a copybook to the top of the writing book so "that his eye may be upon the copie, and upon his letter both together."<sup>35</sup> This mini-book could be removed when the student filled the page. As he did with the pen, Brinsley's Philoponus provides precise details for the dimensions and number of copies within a book as well as the two primary handwriting styles to be practiced and perfected: "halfe Secretary, halfe Roman."<sup>36</sup> Brinsley then leads the master through proper use of the copybook necessary to perfect every letter, lowercase and capital, so that "no difference can be found between it and the copie letter, that it cannot be discerned whether is the better."<sup>37</sup> Insistence upon total interchangeability between a student's handwriting and the model presented in the copybook provides another example of how Brinsley values conformity over originality. The exemplary student surrenders his own identity in favor of that which has been identified and formalized as the ideal. For Catherine Bell, formalization encourages social control by restricting "access to the necessary skills or training."<sup>38</sup> By formalizing handwriting instruction into a series of repetitive, repeatable, rewardable, or punishable behaviors, grammar school masters are able to control the progress of their students.

In this chapter, as with others in the text, Brinsley carefully leads teachers through the actions their students are to complete, the precise process by which those actions are to be completed, and the benefits of completing those actions correctly. While Abbott justifies his precision as necessary due to emerging technologies, Brinsley's insistence that these steps were vital to writing accurately and legibly remains superfluous. For Brinsley, the quality of one's writing materials—ink, pen, and copybook—determines the quality and persuasiveness of one's writing. Moreover, inability to master these steps through the processes he details negatively affects the pupil's overall writing ability. Thus the students who master the art of writing faire separate themselves from those who do not; conversely, no matter how well a pupil translates Latin or completes his exercises, if his handwriting suffers, so does his writing. "Central to ritual and ritualization," Bell tells us, are "certain features—

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<sup>33</sup> Brinsley, 30.

<sup>34</sup> Schultz, 412.

<sup>35</sup> Brinsley, 30.

<sup>36</sup> Brinsley, 31.

<sup>37</sup> Brinsley, 32.

<sup>38</sup> Bell, 121.

formality, fixity, and repetition.”<sup>39</sup> Brinsley’s pedagogical methods embrace all three of these central features and support the imitation pedagogy in vogue at the time. With clear, precise instructions he eliminates the grammar school master’s need to tailor any of his recommendations for application to a particular class. Without concern for individualization, the teacher is forced into standardization: he need not think but merely repeat. Brinsley is not simply equipping grammar school masters with the proper tools to teach writing. He is also socializing these educators through ritualized behaviors of their own. They then use these behaviors to induct new members, their pupils, into the privileged group by imparting wisdom that Ong asserts “was thought of as stored behind doors linguistically controlled from the inside.”<sup>40</sup>

Like other notable grammar masters of the time, Brinsley applies imitation pedagogy to learning Latin. Unlike some of his education counterparts, however, he widens the applicability of this pedagogy beyond coursework to include other practices within the classroom. The behaviors he details in *Ludus literarius* should be recognized as rituals because they establish Bell’s “privileged contrast,” a way of differentiating particular acts and thus the group members who perform these acts, from commonplace activities, as a way to show exclusivity and superiority. Much of the relationship between mastery of superior penmanship and advancement into the educational elite is bolstered by the features of the Renaissance educational landscape. Brinsley’s *Ludus literarius*, then, serves as an instance of how such a ritualized educational environment developed and operated as a socializing system in early modern England.

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<sup>39</sup> Bell, 92.

<sup>40</sup> Ong, 119.

## *The Unwilling Suspension of Disbelief: Representations of Female Responses to Early Modern Drama*

By Eric Dunnum

When attempting to understand how audiences responded to the early modern stage, critics have perhaps too quickly relied on the concept of dual consciousness. This concept has been asserted by contemporary scholars of audience reception such as Michael Shapiro, Jeremy Lopez, and Anthony B. Dawson, but can be traced to Samuel Johnson and Coleridge.<sup>1</sup> The theory suggests that early modern audiences always remained aware that they were watching a stage representation, but at the same time were encouraged to imagine what they were watching was real. For evidence of this theory, one need only think of the chorus in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, which asks the audience to forgive the unrealistic London stage and imagine they are watching battles being waged throughout England and France. The Chorus asks,

Can this cock-pit hold  
The vastly fields of France? Or may we cram  
Within this wooden O the very casques  
That did affright the air at Agincourt?  
O pardon: since a crooked figure may  
Attest in little place a million,  
And let us, ciphers to this great account  
On your imaginary forces work.

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<sup>1</sup> See Michael Shapiro, *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage: Boy Heroines and Female Pages* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1994), 46; Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2; Anthony B. Dawson, "Performance and Participation" in *The Culture of Playgoing in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11-37. For early development of this concept see Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, vol. 2, in *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, eds. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, 16 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 7:6,134; and Samuel Johnson, "Preface [to Shakespeare], 1765" in *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. A. Sherbo, *The Yale Edition of the Words of Samuel Johnson*, ed. E. L. McAdam, Jr., 16 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958 – 1990), 7:77. Dawson cites William Archer as the originator of the term "dual consciousness" in "The Paradox of Acting" and "Masks or Faces," ed. Lee Strasberg (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957), 184-200. However, Archer uses the term to describe the actor's consciousness, not the audience's.

Suppose within the girdle of these walls  
Are now confined two mighty monarchies (12-17)<sup>2</sup>

Shakespeare's chorus, however, provides us with a fairly atypical example of how early modern plays asked their audience to respond to drama. More often, early modern playwrights actively dissuade audiences from willfully suspending their disbelief and so cultivating a dual consciousness. In fact, plays often mock or render ridiculous those characters who do suspend their disbelief. They depict these characters, often female, as losing their willpower and their ability to tell the difference between fact and fiction, stage and reality. These characters do not deliberately suspend disbelief; they become helpless victims of the seductive illusion of performance. By gendering and then satirizing suspension of disbelief, playwrights privilege one reaction to performance: not dual consciousness but a single consciousness that always recognizes the artificiality and fictionality of the stage.

This essay will first identify three fictional female audiences who are mocked for suspending disbelief.<sup>3</sup> Female characters in William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor*, and Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* watch inset plays (plays-within-plays) and respond to these performances by forgetting they are watching fictional dramas. The playwrights then make clear that this is not the proper way to respond to drama, not an acceptable form of playgoing. The second part of this paper argues that by discouraging their audience's imaginative powers, playwrights attempted to keep an unruly and potentially dangerous audience from becoming too immersed in the performance. In short, playwrights satirized active participation in performances in order to create passive audiences.

The mechanicals' scene from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* demonstrates in a satirical and hyperbolic manner why playwrights might want to discourage women from suspending disbelief. While preparing for their performance, the mechanicals go out of their way to make sure the audience has no choice but to view the performance as purely fictional and artificial. They do so because they are worried that women in the audience will be transported by the performance and forget they are watching a play. Bottom fears that when his character Pyramus attempts to kill himself, the women may confuse reality with performance and think that Bottom/Pyramus is actually attempting suicide. To solve this problem, Bottom proposes a piece of metadrama that will assuage the women's fear that Pyramus might actually kill himself.

Write me a prologue, and let the prologue seem to say we will do no harm with our  
swords, and that Pyramus is not killed indeed; and for more better assurance, tell

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<sup>2</sup> William Shakespeare, *Henry V. The Norton Shakespeare*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 2008). All subsequent Shakespeare quotations are from this edition and cited in the text.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar account of women's response to early modern drama, see Richard Levin, "Women in the Renaissance Theatre Audience," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40/2 (1989): 165-174. However, Levin is less interested in women's physical and emotional responses to drama than their approval or disapproval of a particular drama, so Levin focuses on how the early modern theater courted women's approval by placing sympathetic women on the stage.

them that I, Pyramus, am not Pyramus, but Bottom the weaver. This will put them out of fear. (3.1.15-20)

To combat women's inability to differentiate between performance and reality, Bottom resolves to bring the fictionality of the performance to the surface of the production so the women in the audience will have no choice but to respond to the performance as purely fictional and consequently will be unable to suspend disbelief. Throughout the rest of the scene Bottom continues to come up with more schemes that highlight the artificial nature of the stage: he has Snug speak through the lion's mouth and announce himself as an actor (3.1.32-40) and has an actor play the part of a wall (3.1.57-60).

Shakespeare is clearly mocking the mechanicals and their crude dramaturgy; however, the mechanicals' fear that female audience members might mistake their performance for reality is legitimized when we read their production alongside Massinger's *The Roman Actor*. The mechanicals' fear that women in the audience will believe Pyramus will actually kill himself clearly parallels Domitia's reaction in *The Roman Actor* to Paris acting the part of a suicide. Paris plays the part of Iphis in a performance of *Iphis and Anaxarete*, and when he reaches the point in the narrative where he will kill himself, Domitia, who is in the audience, interrupts the performance and tries to save Iphis/Paris' life. Her outburst seems to catch everyone by surprise. Her husband Caesar, in particular, seems both annoyed and confused by her interruption and chides her for her ridiculous behavior, "Why are you transported thus, Domitia? 'Tis a play;/Or grant it serious, it at no part merits/This passion in you" (3.2.284-287).<sup>4</sup> Caesar believes that his wife has been "transported" or excited beyond control, and deems this passionate response to the performance inappropriate. He does not applaud her love of the theater or her ability to willfully suspend disbelief. Instead, he scolds her for lacking the ability to clearly perceive the difference between fact and fiction. In response to the admonishment, Domitia even apologizes for losing control: "Let me, sir,/Entreat your pardon; what I saw presented/Carried me beyond myself" (3.2.290-293). Domitia responds to the performance in much the same way the mechanicals fear women in the audience will respond to their production; she forgets she is watching a play and responds to a fictional suicide as if it is really happening.

Furthermore, Paris does not interpret Domitia's outburst as an affirmation of his superior acting ability. Instead, he seems as puzzled as her husband. He responds to her interruption by reassuring her "I ne'er purpos'd, madam,/To do the deed in earnest" (3.2.285-287). The word "earnest" in Paris' response has a particular resonance within early modern drama. One of the oldest definitions of earnest is "Seriousness as opposed to jest or play" and comes from the Old English word for "in reality."<sup>5</sup> For instance, the words "earnest" and "jest" are set against one another in *Richard III* when Buckingham realizes that he will actually receive what he pretended to ask for: "That high all-seer

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<sup>4</sup> Philip Massinger, *The Selected Plays of Philip Massinger*, ed. Colin Gibson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). All subsequent quotations are from this edition and cited in the text.

<sup>5</sup> "Earnest," n.1 *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1989, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50071564>.



which I dallied with/Hath turned my feigned prayer on my head,/and given in earnest what I begged in jest” (5.1.20-22). And in the fourth act of *The Roman Actor*, Caesar responds to a character’s attempt to change his sword with a stage sword by stating, “In jest or earnest this [sword] parts never from me” (4.2.233). Caesar’s point is that either within a performance or outside of performance (that is, the reality outside the inset play that Caesar is playing a part in), he will keep the same sword. In *Richard III*, “feigned” action is linked with jest, and in *The Roman Actor*, stage performance is linked with jest, and both are set in opposition to earnest. Caesar’s and Buckingham’s diction demonstrates that earnest here signifies reality as opposed to fiction, and Caesar’s comment produces a special emphasis on the difference between reality and stage performance. Thus when Paris says he did not intend “to do the deed in earnest,” he is making a fairly explicit reference to the bright line between reality and stage performance, a line that Domitia seems to have transgressed by suspending disbelief and becoming too immersed in the performance.

A more sustained representation of women’s reaction to performance occurs in Beaumont’s *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. In this play Nell and her husband George provide a running commentary on the play they are watching. Once again, women are transported by illusionary drama. For instance, when two of the play’s characters, Rafe and the Tapster, fight over a bar bill, Nell asks her husband if he thinks the actor Rafe, a friend of theirs, will actually have to pay the Tapster. George responds by assuring her “No, Nell, no, nothing but the old knight is merry with Rafe” (3.2.27-28).<sup>6</sup> George is telling his wife that the whole thing is in jest, just as Caesar tells his wife that the play they are watching is not in earnest but in jest; Rafe is not seriously being asked to give the Host money because the interaction between the two is not happening in earnest.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, though much depends on how the actor plays his part, George seems to patronize Nell, telling her, as one would tell a child, “Don’t worry, none of this is real.” Nell seems to take George at his word until the Host threatens to jail Rafe. At that point, she is no longer sure the Host, whom she calls the Knight of the Bell, is just joking or being merry: “Look, George, did not I tell thee as much? The Knight of the Bell is in earnest” (3.2.38-39). Again, the word earnest here carries a special significance and is contrasted with George’s earlier assertion that the “old knight is merry with Rafe.”

If we understand Nell’s and Domitia’s reactions to performance as inappropriate, clearly these plays did not expect audiences to suspend disbelief and become immersed in the performance. Instead they insisted audiences always perceive the performance as not “in earnest” but always “in jest.” Why, then, would playwrights actively dissuade women from being transported by their performances? I propose that playwrights mocked these fictional female audiences’ responses to

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<sup>6</sup> Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Eric Rasmussen (New York: Norton, 2002). All subsequent quotations are from this edition and cited in the text.

<sup>7</sup> This scene seems to be directly influenced by several scenes from *Don Quixote*, most notably Volume 1, Chapter 17, where Quixote mistakes an inn for a castle, something he does more than once, and refuses to pay the fee. And of course *Don Quixote* also mocks those who confuse fiction with reality. See Steven H. Gale for a discussion Cervantes’ influence on Beaumont; he cites the inn scene on 94-95. Gale, “The Relationship between Beaumont’s *Knight of the Burning Pestle* and Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*,” *Anales cervantinos* 11 (1972): 87-96.

performance in order to control a real audience that was already, from the playwrights' perspective, too immersed in the performance. I further argue that women were not the only object of the playwright's ridicule but rather constituted a convenient way of mocking both male and female audience members into a state of passivity. Playwrights dissuaded women from becoming transported by their performances to construct a passive audience out of male and female playgoers.

Early modern audiences could be notoriously unruly; playgoers interrupted performances by coming on stage, an activity clearly mocked in *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, loudly cracking nuts, obtrusively opening beer bottles, and in general causing a nuisance. Ann Jennalie Cook captures these audience disruptions: "In short, the action in the audiences competed with the entertainment on the stage."<sup>8</sup> However, beyond these annoying interruptions, the threat of rioting provided a more serious reason to encourage passivity. Although only two recorded incidents exist of riots in theaters, a Shrovetide riot in 1617 and another in 1626, London authorities and the larger culture feared that a riot could break out at any time, a perhaps not-unfounded concern.<sup>9</sup> Numerous riots occurred outside theaters throughout the early modern era; in 1595 London alone suffered fifteen.<sup>10</sup> Anxiety over riots in the theater can be gleaned from censorship records. The Master of Revels seems to have more or less forbidden riots enacted on stage for fear of inciting the audience to follow suit. Edmund Tilney's suppression of the riot scene in the play *The Book of Sir Thomas More* represents a famous example of such censorship.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, playwrights often were held legally and politically responsible for the actions of their audiences. For instance, in 1597 a warrant was issued for Ben Jonson and Thomas Nashe after their play *The Isle of Dogs* incited a small-scale riot. The Privy Council describes the disturbance as "very great disorders committed in the common playhouses both by lewd matters that are handled on the stage and by resort and confluence of bad people."<sup>12</sup> The council does distinguish between the actions of the "bad people" and the "lewd matters that are handled on the stage," but the Privy Council's ruling implies that if these "bad people" create a disturbance, the fault at least in part lies with the subject of the performance and so with the playwrights. Furthermore, playwrights often faced political repercussions for their audiences' actions. As Jean Howard and others have shown, the playhouse represented a politically contested public space. Powerful groups, including Puritans

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<sup>8</sup> Ann Jennalie Cook, "Audiences: Investigation, Interpretation, Invention" in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 311. For more on audience behavior see Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 45-49.

<sup>9</sup> Cook, 312. Cook also points to several "lesser incidents," brawls in the audience that led to arrests. These fights took place at the Fortune in 1611, 1614, and 1626, and at the Red Bull in 1610, 1622, and 1638. Cook does not site the disturbance caused by Jonson's and Nash's *The Isle of Dogs* (discussed below).

<sup>10</sup> For a description of these riots see Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion, and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), especially 82-100. For a history of riots leading up to the English Revolution, see David Underdown, *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603 – 1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>11</sup> For accounts of the censorship of *The Book of Sir Thomas More* see Dorothy Auchter, *A Dictionary of Literary and Dramatic Censorship* (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 320-323, and Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 81-86.

<sup>12</sup> Quotation from Auchter, 172.

and London magistrates, wanted the playhouses closed, while the playgoing public and aristocratic patrons wanted them open.<sup>13</sup> Writers who expressed the antitheatrical position, such as Anthony Munday, Steven Gosson, and Henry Crosse, often linked audiences' behavior to the content of playhouse performances. Thus, audiences' unruly behavior could become a political liability, making playwrights' attempts to dissuade audiences from getting lost in a performance an act of self-preservation. Satirizing dual consciousness represented a hedge against the audience becoming too immersed in the performance and actively participating in it. Playwrights attempted to limit the disruptive energy their performances might unleash, energy they would ultimately be held accountable for.

In the end, female audiences became a convenient object of ridicule because many considered women highly susceptible to performance's seductive power. As Andrew Gurr and Karoline Szatek point out, "A great deal throughout the period was written by men about how plays could so easily corrupt women."<sup>14</sup> For instance, an early antitheatrical writer, John Northbrooke, asserts that plays teach "unlawful appetites, and desires, with their bawdy and filthy sayings and counterfeit doings."<sup>15</sup> But he singles out women as particularly prone to the corrupting force of performance: "[W]omen (especially) should absent themselves from such plays" because "the nature of women is much infected with this vice."<sup>16</sup> So when playwrights mock women for becoming too immersed in the performance, their ridicule may be a rejoinder to antitheatrical writers anxious about the effect of plays on women. Laura Levine calls this phenomenon "*anti-anti-theatricality*."<sup>17</sup> In other words, playwrights internalized the antitheatrical position and demonstrated that they too disapproved of the effect performance had on female audience members. In fact they actively dissuaded them from getting lost in the performance—from taking the performance in earnest.

But they directed this message not only at female audience members; it also would resonate with men. Men anxious not to appear feminine would avoid responding to performance in a feminine manner. Indeed, scholars have long noted that part of early modern masculine anxiety involved the fear that too many men were behaving like women. In fact the widely accepted one-sex model of biological gender produced a cultural fear that if men acted like women they could physically

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<sup>13</sup> Jean Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 1994). Too many studies to cite here discuss political aspects of early modern drama.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Gurr and Karoline Szatek, "Women and Crowds at the Theater" *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England: An Annual Gathering of Research, Criticism and Reviews* 21 (2008): 157.

<sup>15</sup> John Northbrooke, *A Treatise Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with Other Idle Pastimes* (1577) in *Shakespeare's Theater: A Sourcebook*, ed. Tanya Pollard (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 7.

<sup>16</sup> Northbrooke, 9.

<sup>17</sup> Levine defines anti-anti-theatricality: "Playwrights like Shakespeare and Jonson are both contaminated by the anxieties of the attacks they defend against and obsessively bent on coming to terms with them." Laura Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization 1579 – 1642* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.

become women.<sup>18</sup> Thus men often organized their identity and behavior in opposition to female identity and behavior. So by gendering audience response, playwrights could at the same time satirize female responses to drama to dissuade women from acting on the impulses created through performance and stigmatize that same behavior in men.

Several eyewitness accounts suggest that men also were susceptible to the seductive power of the stage, which suggests that playwrights' satire of female responses to performance represented not a comment on women's actual behavior but an exploitation of already established cultural stereotypes. For instance, Thomas Palmer, in a dedicatory verse for Beaumont and Fletcher's 1647 folio, describes men so taken in by the illusion of a stage battle that they leaped on the stage to join the fight.<sup>19</sup> And Edmund Gayton recounts a visit to the theater when he saw a male audience member jump on stage to help Hector fight the Greeks.<sup>20</sup> Thus being transported by the illusion of drama was not solely a feminine characteristic in the reality of the early modern playhouse.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, within the representational world of early modern drama, women were ridiculed for their responses because the culture considered women as particularly susceptible to the illusionary aspects of performance.<sup>22</sup> Mocking women became simply a convenient way of demonstrating to the audience that this kind of behavior was not acceptable. By exhibiting appropriate behavior, playwrights attempted to pacify the unruly early modern audience.

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<sup>18</sup> For studies of male anxiety as related to the one-sex model, see Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England 1500 – 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). For a broad historical study of the one-sex model and how this produced the fear that men could become women, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). For how antitheatrical writers used this cultural anxiety to attack the theater see Levine.

<sup>19</sup> Palmer, "Master John Fletcher his Dramaticall Workes Now at Last Printed" in *Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (London, 1647).

<sup>20</sup> Gayton's *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote* (London, 1654), 3. Both Gayton's story and the Palmers dedicatory verse are cited by Alan C. Dressen, *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 7-8.

<sup>21</sup> However, it is interesting to note that specific reactions are gendered: after seeing a play, men lust for blood and women lust for men.

<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, fictional representations of women's responses to drama cannot be compared to eyewitness accounts since, as Charles Whitney has pointed out, "Aside from queens there is still not a single unimpeachable example of an individual, identifiable woman's response to particular dramatic material before the Restoration." *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 201.

*Changing Attitudes toward Advertising:  
The Evolution of the Printed Madrigal Book  
in Venice, 1538 – 1580*

By Sherri Bishop

The firms of Antonio Gardano and Girolamo Scotto dominated the Venetian music printing industry during the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Each firm responded quickly and decisively to take advantage of recent advances in printing technology, resulting in an unprecedented number of printed collections available to eager buyers. The greater number and diversity of such prints forced Gardano and Scotto to consider new and varied approaches to advertising their publications, and each came to rely heavily on the popularity of the composers whose names headlined the title pages. This essay will argue that Gardano and Scotto advanced composer-oriented marketing strategies during these years as a deliberate reaction to the increasingly competitive and commercialized approach to music printing in Venice, and that these strategies represent a new and important way in which printers and publishers attempted to sell their collections to an ever more musically literate audience. Though such approaches to advertising changed and developed over the course of the century, they remained a constant fixture in the marketing of printed music collections, and specifically collections of madrigals, during the formative years of the Venetian music printing industry.

The early years of the sixteenth century encompassed a transitional time in the dissemination of polyphonic music.<sup>1</sup> Since each part was printed separately, polyphonic music was inherently more difficult and more expensive to print. New technologies allowed for creation of printed musical works published by a generation that strove to retain the beauty and attention to detail that had long been a hallmark of well-made manuscript collections. Ottaviano Petrucci's 1501 publication of the *Odhecaton A* marked a breakthrough in the use of moveable type for music printing. Though his multiple-impression techniques were not entirely new, his decision to apply these techniques more widely to the printing of polyphonic music proved a new and critical development in the history of

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<sup>1</sup> The earliest printed music consisted largely of liturgical music consisting of a single musical line. As printing techniques continued to evolve, the printing of polyphonic music (music with more than one musical line) became a primary concern among many early sixteenth-century printers.

music printing.<sup>2</sup> Stanley Boorman has argued that Petrucci's contributions to music printing "ushered in, almost single-handedly, a revolution in the availability of music and in the level and spread of musical literacy, a revolution almost as significant for music as Gutenberg's was for other texts."<sup>3</sup>

Although Petrucci's innovations in music printing introduced a new level of craftsmanship to the trade, precisely the level of detail required for such prints made his collections costly and time-consuming to produce. Petrucci's contributions arguably remain among the most important in the history of music printing, but it was Parisian printer Pierre Attaignant's systematic development of a single-impression technique in 1528 that led to the establishment of a truly commercialized music printing industry.<sup>4</sup> The single-impression method, faster and requiring less-skilled labor, drastically cut the production costs associated with publication of polyphonic music. The subsequent rapid increase in output resulted in the gradual decline of what Jane Bernstein has called the "artisan stage" of music publishing and led to a period of production motivated largely by commercial concerns. In Bernstein's words, "the aesthetic appearance of earlier music books was sacrificed in favor of mass production."<sup>5</sup>

Over the next decade, these new advances in printing techniques quickly spread beyond Paris into Italian print shops and eventually reached Venice in 1538, where the firms of Gardano and Scotto rapidly made the city the pre-eminent center of music printing and publishing in all of Europe. Gardano and Scotto were not just printers: over time, they were responsible for overseeing an entire workforce; coordinating all aspects of book production; maintaining financial records; soliciting other printers, publishers, and composers to work in cooperative ventures; and supervising a distribution network in Venice and beyond. As Bernstein has pointed out, though no single modern term encompasses all the roles played by these multifaceted bookmen, their contemporaries

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<sup>2</sup> Early attempts at printing multiple parts from woodblocks were plagued by inconsistencies often associated with woodblock printing, including but not limited to the uneven distribution of ink and problems associated with accurately carving musical notation into wood. Petrucci's multiple-impression technique required a printer to run a sheet through the press three times: once for the staves, once for the notes, and once for the text. Over time, he improved the method to allow for only two passes, staves and text together, then notes. This technique had been used by printers of liturgical music, both in Venice and elsewhere, since the late 1480s, though with fairly limited success. Petrucci's refinement of the technology produced far superior results, with an elegance previously seen only in manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>4</sup> Printers in Venice, Vienna, and London had been sporadically experimenting with single-impression printing methods as early as 1507, but Attaignant successfully adapted the technique on a large scale. In contrast to Petrucci's method of running each sheet through the press more than once to print each element of the music and text, Attaignant developed a series of pieces of type containing both the note and the lines of the staff in a single unit. The difficulty here, of course, was in designing pieces of type with very evenly spaced lines, allowing for multiple pieces to be placed side-by-side to give the illusion of a continuous staff. These pieces were then collected into forms and locked into place before they were run through the press. For the most comprehensive study of Attaignant and his work, as well as an example of one of the earliest attempts to catalogue the output of a major sixteenth-century music printer, see Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 22; Bernstein, *Music Printing in Sixteenth-Century Venice: The Scotto Press* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 27.

referred to them simply as *mercatori*, merchants.<sup>6</sup> Their careers were alike in many ways: each had experience in composing, each interacted with the most prominent members of Venetian musical circles, and each competed to print much of the same repertoire during the middle decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Within this repertoire, each chose to make the madrigal the cornerstone of his musical output.

It is hardly a coincidence that the rise of the Italian madrigal corresponds directly to the rise of the Venetian music printing industry. As James Haar and others have noted, the madrigal became unquestionably the dominant Italian secular genre in the sixteenth century, and its popularity spread not only throughout the Italian peninsula but throughout nearly all of northern Europe as well, where the genre was composed, printed, collected, and performed with great regularity.<sup>8</sup> The earliest madrigals began to appear in Florentine and Roman manuscripts c. 1515 – 1520, and the first printed collection devoted entirely to madrigals was published as early as 1530.<sup>9</sup> Though madrigals were printed fairly regularly throughout the 1530s, genres such as the chanson and the motet were more often featured in printed collections. Not until the late 1530s did publishers begin to view the madrigal as one of the most commercially viable genres. Exactly why Gardano and Scotto chose to focus on the madrigal almost from the start of their respective careers remains unclear; it is obvious, however, that the introduction of the single-impression technique and the concurrent growth in popularity of madrigals quickly led to a rapidly commercialized approach to Venetian music printing.

In the increasingly competitive Venetian music printing industry, the title page rapidly became the primary method by which a publisher could attract a potential buyer or patron. The earliest title pages developed from a basic need to have a blank page to protect, and later to label, unbound copies of printed materials. These early title pages from the end of the fifteenth century contained only the most essential information, sometimes abbreviating the title itself.<sup>10</sup> By the 1520s publishers had adopted the practice of filling the entire page with details, typically including a long, formulaic title, information regarding the place and date of publication, and decorative marks associated with a particular printer or publisher.<sup>11</sup> Title pages for music collections also tended to mention the genre

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<sup>6</sup> Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music*, 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the most significant difference between the two lies in the history of each family's firm. The Scotto firm was founded in 1479, and had developed a thriving business printing literary and academic texts as well as music by the time Giralamo Scotto began actively managing the press in 1539. By contrast, Antonio Gardano opened his print shop in late 1538 with little or no established reputation in Venice and chose to focus almost exclusively on music.

<sup>8</sup> James Haar, *Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350 – 1600* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 49.

<sup>9</sup> *Madrigali de diversi musici libro primo de la serena* (RISM 1530<sup>2</sup>). The earliest example of a madrigal in a printed collection also dates from 1530 (*Libro primo de la fortuna A* (RISM 1530<sup>1</sup>)). See François Lesure, *Recueils imprimés XVI<sup>e</sup> – XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B/I/1 (G. Henle Verlag, München, 1986). The sixteenth-century madrigal is considered a separate genre from its counterpoint in the fourteenth century; here the reference to the “earliest madrigals” refers only to the sixteenth-century manifestation of the genre.

<sup>10</sup> Margaret M. Smith, *The Title Page: Its Early Development 1460 – 1510* (London: The British Library, 2000), 16-22.

<sup>11</sup> Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450 – 1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 1976), 85. See also Rudolph Hirsch, *Printing, Selling, and Reading 1450 – 1550* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 25-26.

and number of pieces in the collections, frequently accompanied by a declaration of the novelty and accuracy of the music found within.

By the 1530s and the beginning of increasingly widespread publication of madrigal collections, the formulaic wording of title page began to shift away from emphasis on genre and toward a more pronounced emphasis on the names of famous composers. This gradual evolution in title page wording speaks to an attempt to appeal to a buying public that was willing to buy a collection based on the reputation of a given composer. Such a trend suggests that potential buyers may have been looking not just for madrigals, but for madrigals attributed to renowned composers such as Jacques Arcadelt or Philippe Verdelot.<sup>12</sup> The phenomenon of composer as brand name developed directly out of this newly commercialized music printing industry and continued to play a seminal role in the further development of both the madrigal and the printing industry as a whole.

Of the nearly two hundred fifty madrigal collections printed by Gardano and Scotto in the years 1538 – 1560, approximately half were vanity prints, collections of pieces by a single, often little-known, composer. Such prints were almost certainly intended for a small, predetermined audience of close acquaintances of the composer, patron, and possibly the publisher, which makes them the least interesting from a commercial standpoint. Multi-composer collections represented a safer way to appeal to a broader and still-developing market, since chances were good that potential buyers would recognize the names of at least a few of the composers whose pieces were included in a given collection.<sup>13</sup> A survey from these years suggests three distinct kinds of title pages found in multi-composer collections, each reflecting a particular marketing strategy: single-named-composer prints, *con alcuni altri* prints, and anthologies.

Single-named-composer prints include collections in which a single composer's name features prominently on the title page, though the contents of the collection include works by a number of additional composers. In a 1559 collection (Figure 1), we see the name of a single composer, Orlando di Lassus, highlighted in large type near the top of the title page. An example from 1552 (Figure 2) illustrates an occasion in which the composer's name is treated as just another word in the title, a reminder that the composer's name was often integrated into the title of a collection rather than simply set apart in large type on the title page. In each of these cases, a single composer's name appears on the title page, giving the appearance of a monograph despite the presence of attributions to a number of other composers within each partbook; lacking a better term, I refer to these as "single-named-composer" prints. In such prints, the named composer is often—but not always—responsible for a majority of the pieces found within the collection. While in many cases pieces by other composers likely were added simply to fill space, the decision to include these extra pieces might also have been motivated by commercial concerns. The publisher's aim could be two-fold: first, the publisher could capitalize on the popularity of a single composer to sell as many copies as

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<sup>12</sup> Both Verdelot and Arcadelt had fully-established careers before their works began appearing in print, and many madrigals by each composer had been widely circulated in manuscript form in Florentine, Roman, and Venetian circles by the time of the earliest Venetian prints.

<sup>13</sup> Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569 – 1611* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 32.



possible; and second, works by other composers—and by extension, those other composers—could benefit by association, increasing the likelihood that their names would be recognized in future publications.



Figure 1: *Di Orlando di Lassus il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque voci, nouamente per Antonio Gardano stampato* (RISM 1559<sup>23</sup>). Newberry Library Case VM 1579.5 .L34s; used by permission.



Figure 2: *Il secondo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a quattro voci nouamente con ogni diligentia ristampato* (RISM 1552<sup>21</sup>). Used by permission of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna.

In *con alcuni altri* collections a single composer's name features prominently on the title page, accompanied by the names of one or more additional composers and/or the inclusion of a phrase, such as *con alcuni altri*, with several others, or *de altri eccellentissimi autori*, by other excellent authors, to indicate the presence of works by other composers. Figure 3 shows a title page with Maistre Jhan is named as primary composer, followed by the phrase *de altri eccellentissimi autori*. Maistre Jhan is obviously the only named composer in this title; his importance is highlighted not only by positioning his name in the first line of the title but also by including his position at the court of Ferrara.



Figure 3: *Il primo libro de i madrigali, di Maistre Jhan, maestro di capella dello eccellentissimo signor Hercole duca di Ferrara, & de altri eccellentissimi autori. Nouamente posto in luce* (RISM 1541<sup>15</sup>). ©The British Library Board, shelfmark A.203; used by permission.

The title page in Figure 4 clearly identifies Cipriano de Rore as the composer of interest, but specifically notes additional madrigals by “M. Adriano,” the noted Venetian madrigalist Adrian Willaert, as well as those by *altri autori*, other authors. Though the exact nature of Rore’s relationship with Willaert remains something of a mystery, the two composers operated in the same Venetian musical circles, and potential buyers familiar with the music of one composer would likely have been familiar with the music of both.<sup>14</sup> This is not the earliest title page on which Rore is featured and Willaert named as a secondary composer, and by 1552 the success of Rore’s music was not dependent on his connection to Willaert. This example illustrates, however, the continuing popularity of this strategic

<sup>14</sup> Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 262.

approach to using composers' names on title pages from this period. This multifaceted approach to the use of names on title pages allowed publishers to simultaneously take advantage of the popularity of a single, often well-known composer while relying on the marketability of a print advertised as a multi-composer collection.



Figure 4: *Di Cipriano di Rore il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci insieme alcuni di M. Adriano et altri autori novamente ristampato* (RISM 1552<sup>24</sup>). Property of Accademia Filarmonica di Verona; used by permission.

The third category, anthologies, includes multi-composer collections whose title pages do not single out composers' names but instead focus on characteristics such as genre, number of voices, and perhaps compositional novelty. Though the title pages of anthologies typically omit composers' names altogether, several examples from this period include the names of each of the composers whose works feature in the collection. In either case the emphasis on a single composer is not longer of concern. The earliest collections of polyphonic music, such as those printed by Petrucci and his contemporaries, often comprises genre-specific anthologies. Gardano and Scotto wisely continued to take advantage of the popularity of certain styles and genres by publishing anthologies of their own. The title page layouts of such collections remain quite similar to those of the single-composer title pages described above, though no composers' names are included; in some examples the phrase "D'autori" replaces inclusion of a specific composer's name, and in others a reference to the genre or the name of the partbook takes pride of place (see Figures 5 and 6).



Figure 5: *Il secondo libro de li madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori a misura di breve novamente stampato a quatro voci* (RISM 1543<sup>18</sup>). ©The British Library Board, shelfmark A.227.d; used by permission.



Figure 6: *Il vero terzo libro di madrigali de diversi autori a note negre, composti da eccellentissimi musici, con la canzon di cald'arrosto, nouamente dato in luce. A quatro voce* (RISM 1549<sup>31</sup>). ©The British Library Board, shelfmark A.277.g; used by permission.

In a somewhat unusual example from 1540, Scotto chose to include the names of nearly all the composers featured in the collection on the title page of the cantus partbook (Figure 7), but did not

include the names of any individual composers in the title of the collection: *Le Dotte, et eccellente compositioni de i madrigali a cinque voci da diversi perfettissimi musici fatte*, or *Learned and excellent madrigal compositions in five voices made by various most perfect musicians*. The decision to include all composers' names on the title page, rather than highlighting just one or two, strongly suggests that Scotto conceived of this collection as an anthology designed to promote the overall excellence of the newly popular madrigal genre.

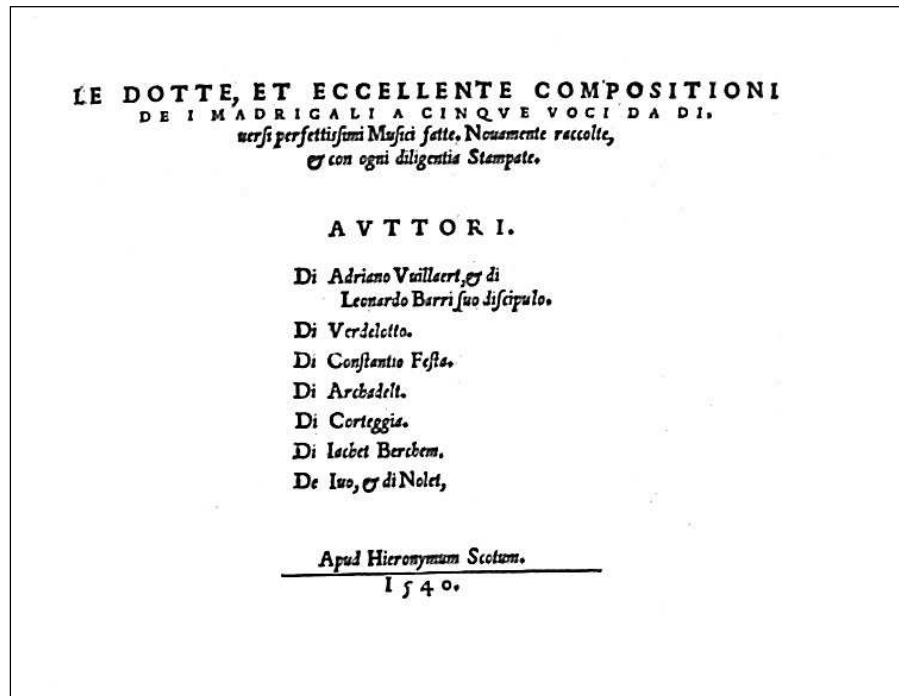


Figure 7: *Le dotte, et eccellente compositioni de i madrigali a cinque voci da diversi perfettissimi musici fatte. Nouamente raccolte, et con ogni diligentia stampate* (RISM 1540<sup>18</sup>). Property of München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 52 Beibd. 7; used by permission.

In response to Scotto's print, Gardano issued his own version of the *Le Dotte* collection the following year, but with one significant difference in the title (Figure 8): *Le Dotte et eccellente compositioni de i madrigali di Verdelot, a cinque voci, & da diversi perfettissimi musici fatte*, or *Learned and excellent madrigal compositions in five voices made by Verdelot and by various most perfect musicians*. Rather than taking the opportunity to advertise the works of a number of well-respected composers, Gardano chose to promote Verdelot; this one seemingly minor change in the wording of the title, along with the prominence of Verdelot's name on the title page, changed Scotto's anthology into a collection featuring a single composer *con alcuni altri*. This decision is perhaps more remarkable since only about one-fourth of the madrigals in this collection are actually attributed to Verdelot; other than reordering the contents and inserting two additional madrigals, Gardano's collection remains identical to Scotto's. Bernstein suggests that Gardano's decision to single out Verdelot in this particular edition may have allowed him to promote it as a companion to the other two Verdelot editions he issued in

1541; if this in fact is the case, it speaks strongly to Gardano's composer-oriented marketing strategies in the early years of his career.<sup>15</sup>



Figure 8: *Le Dotte et eccellente compositioni de i madrigali di Verdelot, a cinque voci, & da diversi perfectissimi musici fatte. Novamente ristampate, & con diligenza correte* (RISM 1541<sup>17</sup>). Used by permission of The Library of Congress, Music Division.

From 1538 through 1560, the three types of multi-composer collections described above were issued in almost equal numbers. The following twenty years, 1561 through 1580, witnessed a dramatic rise in the overall number of printed madrigal collections, accompanied by a marked shift in the number of each type of multi-composer collection, as the following chart demonstrates:

	1538 – 1560	1561 – 1580
Single named composer	36	70
Single composer <i>con alcuni altri</i>	33	19
Anthology	32	33

<sup>15</sup> Bernstein, *The Scotto Press*, 255.



The most immediately apparent change is the number of single-named-composer collections, which nearly doubles in the period after 1560. Before 1560 these single-named-composer collections typically included pieces by several other composers, despite the implications of the title page, and the named composer was not necessarily responsible for the largest number of pieces. By the early 1560s this type of collection more often included a majority of works by the composer named, with only a few—often one or two—pieces by one other composer. Though still technically multi-composer collections, such examples echo the character of a vanity print, with added pieces to fill space and round out the print. Of seventy single-named-composer collections printed after 1560, thirty fall into this category. While the number of anthologies remained almost the same in this later period, the number of collections featuring a single composer *con alcuni altri* decreased significantly.<sup>16</sup>

The nature of *con alcuni altri* prints changed considerably after 1560. Most importantly, many title pages that make reference to additional unnamed composers feature more than one named composer. In other words, we no longer see a single composer *con alcuni altri*, but several composers' names combined with a phrase to indicate inclusion of pieces by others. Before 1560, with this type of collection printers and publishers could exploit the popularity of multiple composers while singling out a particularly well-known composer, making the title page a more powerful marketing tool, but by 1560 both the madrigal and the printing industry had secured a place in the musical culture of the city. Collections featuring a single composer *con alcuni altri* became a marketing necessity in the 1540s and 1550s—a reliable way to sell a collection to a musically discerning audience. Once the popularity of the madrigal—and more specifically the printed madrigal—was well-established, and publishers no longer needed to rely as heavily on composers of especially high stature, this type of collection seems to have fallen out of favor. The *con alcuni altri* print was replaced in large part by a growing number of single-named-composer collections featuring both well-established composers and composers in the early years of their careers, yet another sign that the madrigal book in the 1560s and 1570s could be marketed on the strength of the genre itself.

This gradual shift away from emphasizing famous composers suggests that the strategy of featuring a single well-known composer as a means of advertising a given publication was a product of its time, providing publishers with a way to connect to an ever-more-discriminating public. In the years immediately following the introduction of single-impression printing in Venice, both the madrigal and increasingly commercial approaches to music printing represented new additions to Venetian musical life. During these formative years, the composer-oriented marketing strategies Gardano and Scotto developed allowed them to promote a relatively new genre by using the names of already popular composers. While such composers must have also benefited, at least in some measure, from the exposure that came with a featured spot on a title page, it seems that the publishers stood to gain as much or more from a successful approach to advertising. Perhaps the

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<sup>16</sup> Anthologies remained consistently popular as a staple of the Venetian publishing market. As an obvious method of paying tribute to a person, place, or event, anthologies became as popular with important patrons as with the general public. See James Haar, "Some Sixteenth-Century 'Thematic' Madrigal Anthologies," in *Music in the Theater, Church, and Villa: Essays in Honor of Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver*, ed. Susan Parisi (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2000), 66.

best example is the series of Verdelot prints mentioned earlier. Verdelot, a member of the pioneering generation of madrigalists, reached the height of his career in the 1520s and may well have died by the early 1530s.<sup>17</sup> Manuscript copies of his music circulated widely in Venetian and Florentine circles for years before Gardano's first Verdelot prints appeared.<sup>18</sup> Although Verdelot's legacy was likely strengthened by the success of these publications, clearly this is not a case in which the composer's career was dramatically affected because his works were printed during the early years of commercial music printing. Rather, I argue, Gardano's decision to print and reprint Verdelot's madrigals—while singling him out as a star composer—represented a deliberate attempt on Gardano's part to make a name for himself in the increasingly competitive milieu of Venetian publishing.

Almost no evidence documents the sixteenth-century buyer's response to any contemporary approaches to madrigal marketing. If we accept the premise that printers and publishers had a reasonably accurate awareness of their potential audience, however, we can begin to evaluate the priorities of the buying public by examining the priorities of publishers who shaped and defined the market. We cannot know for sure the publishers' intentions, but trends in the use of composers' names during the first decades of commercial music printing suggest a deliberate attempt to capitalize on the popularity of a small group of well-known composers in what Claudio Sartori has referred to as a "monopolizing of the composers of the greatest fame."<sup>19</sup> Gardano and Scotto issued and reissued collections promoting the most successful composers of the day, which in turn increased the popularity of those composers, thus making the publishers themselves increasingly successful. Gardano in particular seems to have gone to great lengths to feature well-known composers prominently on his early collections' title pages, perhaps in an effort to match the success of the long-established Scotto printing dynasty. This trend toward commodifying composers resulted in a phenomenon Kate van Orden has called the "brand name composer," in which buyers respond as much to the presence of a composer's name as to the genre or style.<sup>20</sup> Though Arcadelt and Verdelot may not have benefited directly from new advances in music printing technology, the success of the printed collections bearing their names allowed future generations of composers to take advantage of the ways their music—and their names—could quickly become recognizable to an increasingly diverse buying public. Together Gardano and Scotto created a series of brand-name

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<sup>17</sup> The last definitive documents place Verdelot in Florence in 1527, where he was probably active until at least 1529 or 1530. The absence of Verdelot pieces in the famous music published in 1539 for the wedding of Cosimo de' Medici and Eleanor of Toledo may indicate that Verdelot was dead by 1538, though his relatively well-known pro-republican stance may also have played a part. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), I:151-7; H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), I:41-65.

<sup>18</sup> The earliest Venetian print of Verdelot's music actually dates from 1533: *Il primo libro de madrigal di Verdelotto* (RISM 1533<sup>2</sup>), printed by Andrea Antico and featuring works by Verdelot, Maitre Jan, and Andreas de Silva.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Thomas Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982), 312.

<sup>20</sup> Kate van Orden, "Books in Print in Sixteenth-Century France," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Washington DC, 2005.



composers for the first time in music history, resulting in a new and continuously developing approach to marketing printed music collections.

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## *Sanctdaemonium: Anglican Anti-Syncretism and the Demonization of Catholicism*

By Kerry A. Delaney

The Protestant Reformation began in continental Europe, influencing its later English counterpart. Ultimately the Anglican church defined a unique structure against those European origins. While Europe experienced its own extremely deadly witch scares and hunts, English beliefs in and practices of persecution developed from a shared history into an essentially Anglican pursuit. This essay considers how Anglican reformers revised continental and historical practices to define their beliefs within the Christian cosmology, moving through a selection of prose works and concluding with the problematic play, *The Witch of Edmonton*, by Thomas Dekker, William Rowley, and John Ford, which calls into question a number of Anglican practices. How did the Anglican reconstruction of Christian history ultimately problematize its own development? Did fears of recusancy to Catholicism and pagan belief complicate the unification of a singular Anglican sect? Finding themselves within these tensions, how could English citizens define their beliefs without risking incorporating the “wrong” elements?

Christianity is famous for using syncretism to expand its numbers. Christian missionaries incorporated elements of worship integral to the religions of groups they encountered, as well as using the familiar to explain the practice of their new religion.<sup>1</sup> While this approach functioned with great success when Christians encountered religions of difference, such as native religions of Europe, such attempts became problematic when the purpose became not the spread of Christianity over the “other” but the composition of one Christian sect over and against another. As exemplified in Anglicanism’s emergence out of Catholicism, the work of syncretism reversed, so that church leaders worked to exclude rather than include, excise rather than incorporate. Alexandra Walsham writes, “[u]nderlying much anti-Catholic polemic was therefore a practical, pastoral concern about the Reformation’s poor psychological progress and precarious hold at the parochial level.”<sup>2</sup> Rather than simply asserting that Anglicanism was better, reformers needed to demonstrate how the

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<sup>1</sup> A prime example of Christian syncretism is the Christmas holiday celebration, scheduled to coincide with traditional pagan winter celebrations and incorporating symbols from those traditions, most notably the Christmas tree.

<sup>2</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: St. Edmundsbury Press, 1993), 101.

alternative—the citizens’ religious past—was not only worse but diabolical.<sup>3</sup> If true religious choice existed, reformers feared recusancy.<sup>4</sup>

Many scholars assert that the surge of English belief in witches and demons during this Reformation represents no coincidence, but rather an active movement of emerging Anglicanism. They generally accept that Anglican accusations equating witchcraft and Catholicism with demonology are constructed similarly and seek the same goal: the self-definition of the emerging English church. However, most of these works focus on Anglican figurations of either Catholicism *or* witchcraft, not both at once. Scholars note parallels between the two while avoiding explicit connection. James Sharpe in his exploration of witchcraft, for instance, writes, “What is striking, however, is the frequency with which Roman Catholic practices were directly attacked or popular superstitions abutting on witchcraft were equated with them.”<sup>5</sup> While he briefly notes that witchcraft seemed more prevalent in areas known to be more Catholic, Sharpe follows the general trend of not pursuing the relevance of these equations.<sup>6</sup>

This cross-figuration of witches and Catholics to achieve the same definition of Anglicanism leads Nathan Johnstone to state, “Scapegoats were necessary at all levels of society facing, or so it believed, a combination of crises of order, and in the fears of many Catholics and witches became fused into a single diabolic threat to society.”<sup>7</sup> While Johnstone locates this fusion at the bottom of society, I place it at the top, among those driving reform. This essay argues that this similarity was not merely coincidental, but the same attack—a way for Anglican officials to define themselves through a retrograde anti-syncretism, creating a new religion through excision and purification. While the reformers presented a multiplicity of “others” to the citizenry, including Jews and Turks, necromancers and Catholics remained decidedly local and native threats. Reformers had to not only continue the work of demonizing historical paganism, but also expand this work to include Catholicism. This necessitated reversing the work of syncretism, the mixing of Christianity with paganism that had produced medieval Catholicism. Anglicanism sought to remove itself from this religious family tree, locating itself before and beyond this contamination by disavowing its “mixed” mother church and forcing her back onto her othered origins. In doing so, it not only excised

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<sup>3</sup> Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006); see the chapter “The Synagogue of Satan: Anti-Catholicism, False Doctrine and the Construction of Contrariety,” 27-59, on not only how but why the movement to demonize Catholicism emerged during the Reformation as part of the construction of Anglicanism. Johnstone states “By highlighting the diabolism of hated aspects of Catholic worship, Protestants implied an ideal of faith in practice to which they believed they conformed,” 28.

<sup>4</sup> The term commonly used at the time to describe Anglican converts who relapsed into Catholicism.

<sup>5</sup> James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 82-85.

<sup>6</sup> Alan Macfarlane’s major critique of this movement, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1970), disavows any explicit connection between religious tension and witch fears and hunts, stating that no evidence suggests the persecuted were disproportionately Catholic, and that Puritans were no more involved in persecutions than others, nor were ecclesiastical courts harsher than or even as harsh as civil, 186-189. Yet he acknowledges that his conclusions arise from a study at the individual level, and he still chooses to focus his book on a region “renowned for its radical religious tradition,” 186.

<sup>7</sup> Johnstone, 28.

practices deemed “tainted,” but also defined itself negatively through these excisions, declaring what Anglicanism was by damning what it was not.<sup>8</sup>

Belief in witchcraft and persecution of witches was not new during the early modern period. The history of England included instances of malevolent witchcraft from its very origins. Witchcraft and magic had also become an inextricable part of Judeo-Christian tradition, explicitly mentioned throughout the Bible, as well as forming part of the religion’s informal mytho-history.<sup>9</sup> In the Anglican view, those seeking power through both demonological and Catholic means follow similar patterns of heresy, violating the first commandments, “Thou shalt have no other Gods before me . . . Thou shalt not bow downe thy selfe to them, nor serue them.”<sup>10</sup> While Catholics may not believe that their saints and the Virgin Mary replace God, or witches believe that Satan and their familiars do the same, Anglicans considered where they place these figures in the scale of creation problematic. The sainted and demonic alike serve as intercessors between humans and God, disrupting the holy relationship between supplicants and Creator. Rather than praying directly to God, those fallen individuals instead direct their offerings and supplications to this middle level, losing sight of true glory for something more immediately present. The need for such intercessors refutes the efficacy of the corporealization of God in Christ. Incapable of relating to Christ in his incarnation and suffering, the misguided instead turn to demons or to the saints and Mary. The latter two represent ostensibly ordinary individuals elevated to holy levels, yet still willing to turn back from heavenly bliss to assist those on earth. These interpretations composed only a portion of changing conceptions of the demonological and its followers.

Though beliefs waxed and waned leading up to the Reformation, during the early modern period reports and fears of witchcraft increased greatly. Changing responses to this increase are evident not only in physical manifestations, such as violent destructive acts seeking to eradicate magical practitioners and Catholics, but also in the textual history of the time, in pamphlets, treatises, and printed plays. The approaches of these works vary wildly: comic or serious, poetry or prose, casual rant or academic intellectualizing. While these documents at times argue against each other, questioning the motives and evidence of their opponents, the most popular of them fairly uniformly accept a few key arguments: the devil works in the world, influencing humanity; magic or necromancy was possible; and Catholics were involved in demonology to their own reprehensible ends. The cross-figuration ran both ways—not only did accounts of witch trials and demon encounters often include Catholic elements, even with no other explicitly Christian details, but Anglicans figured Catholics as witches and sorcerers.

A major issue of any excising movement is where, or if, it should stop. A society such as England, founded through traditions and religion, sought to unite invading settlers including Anglo-Saxons and Normans, while excluding religious and ethnic others. What elements must reformers

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<sup>8</sup> For example, the Eucharist, worship of saints and the Virgin Mary, and confessions to priests.

<sup>9</sup> The most famous and unequivocal biblical reference is certainly: “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.” (Ex. 22:18, King James Version).

<sup>10</sup> Ex. 20:3, 5, King James Version.

remove to distance themselves and what must they keep for the sake of a stable society? Including too much of the other can obscure one's origins; excluding too much can lead to something akin to the Calvinistic elect of the Puritans, where individuals are labeled as not only outside of God's salvation, but without even the possibility of obtaining it. While determining who earned salvation from God remained problematic, reformers presented their followers with a multitude of those who did not belong to God's elect. Within the anti-syncretic movement, those accused of witchcraft and Catholicism became easy targets.

Publications concerning witchcraft abounded at the time, spreading messages of true religion as well as the tawdry and fear-mongering. One striking instance is a pamphlet from the trial of Agnes Waterhouse, a woman accused of and confessing to witchcraft yet proclaiming a desire for God's mercy. Relating the events of her final interrogation, the account reads:

And being demaunded whether she was accustomed to go to church to the common prayer or deuine seruice, she saide yea & being required what she dyd there she saide did as other women do, and prayed right hartely there, and when she was demanded what praier she saide, she aunswered the Lordes prayer, the Aue Maria, and the belefe, & then they demaunded whether in laten or in englyshe, and shee sayde in laten, and they demaunded why she saide it not in engly[ . . . ]e but in laten, seing that it was set out by publike authoritie and according to goddes worde that all men shoulde pray in the engly she & mother tounge that they best vnderstande, and shee sayde that sathan wolde at no tyme suffer her to say it in englyshe, but at all tymes in laten.<sup>11</sup>

While her familiar seems to take no issue with Waterhouse's Christian worship, it insists on the Catholic practice of Latin prayer. The mere gesture of prayer is not efficacious. As long as she prays in a language she does not understand, perhaps with less than pure intention, her prayers represent empty gestures that fool her fellow parishioners but allow her unholy intercessor to remain.

This false worship replicates the directive given by many Catholic priests to those Catholics remaining in secret in England. As Alexandra Walsham notes, Pope Pius V officially condemned Catholic recusancy or pretended Anglicanism in the 1560s, yet for political reasons this ruling encountered difficulty in dissemination throughout England. Many lay Catholics and clergy believed it acceptable not only to attend Anglican services but to receive the Eucharist.<sup>12</sup> Many believed that the pope deemed the physical well-being of his followers more important than their outwardly manifested religious practice and allowed Catholics to outwardly manifest Anglicanism while continuing their Catholic faith in private, particularly with prayer. The presence of Catholic clergyman in England, both holdouts from conversion early in the Reformation and continental missionaries

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<sup>11</sup> John Phillips, *The Examination and confession of certaine wyches at Chensforde in the countie of Essex*, 1566. Original in Lambeth Palace Library; Early English Books Online, 2008. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, Image 22.

<sup>12</sup> Walsham, 22-23, 50-52.

dispatched by rival powers, presented a magnified threat as they could not only draw damnation upon themselves but might win good Anglicans back to their tainted religious history.

Major factors contributing to equating Catholicism with witchcraft include notions of ongoing miracles, particularly exorcisms. Anglicanism fashioned itself as purifying Roman Catholicism, including the belief that the age of miracles and control over the supernatural had passed. Yet when English citizens confronted apparent cases of demonic possession or wished to protect their families from that threat, strict Anglicanism proscribed true apotropaics to ward them away.<sup>13</sup> For instance, Nathan Johnstone elucidates how the Anglican baptism no longer included exorcism, but instead a promise for the child to “renounce the devil”; this shift placed the aegis for warding off evil not on a ceremony but on the individual’s awareness of the threat of demons and personal strength to resist. This shift only increased the draw of old ceremonies and practices for citizens frightened by the perception of growing witchcraft and devilry surrounding them. The dual condemnations of magic and Catholicism seemed not parallel, but directly at odds; why would Satan empower Catholics to drive out demons, lessening the power of hell on earth? This contradiction left reformers to construct additional refutations and assurances for doubters and burgeoning recusants.

Explanations for the triangular structure of witches, demons, and Catholics, and the dangers of all, appear not only in common belief and pamphlet literature, but also in longer academic treatises. King James wrote his condemnation of witchcraft, *Daemonologie*, discussing the works of Satan and other demons in the world. Despite the possible conversion of James’ wife Anne to Catholicism, this work also includes sections connecting that church to the demonic. While he figures both witches and Catholics as demonologically inspired and empowered, James mostly keeps them as separate groups, at times at odds with each other. Yet he also specifically addresses questions concerning the Catholic power of exorcism in a chapter titled, “The description of Daemoniackes & possessed. By what reason the Papistes may have power to cure them.” Refuting the beliefs of many at the time, James writes:

[I]t is first to be doubted if the *Papistes* or anie not professing the onelie true Religion, can relieue anie of that trouble . . . but rather the Deuill is content to release the bodelie hurting of them, for a shorte space, thereby to obtaine the perpetual hurt of the soules of so many that by these false miracles may be induced

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<sup>13</sup> Johnstone describes the alteration between Catholicism and developing Anglicanism: “The [Catholic] church invested in a great number of rituals and artefacts by which the Devil might be fought off at any stage of life, from his automatic possession of the unbaptised child, through the vagaries of weather, health and fortune, to the death-bed’s final struggle to determine the destination of the soul [. . .] as their [Anglican’s] anti-Catholic writings sought to convince men of the diabolism hidden in the familiar and comforting rituals of the traditional church, their liturgical approach, their sermons and their conduct books persuaded them to feel the Devil’s presence by discerning his agency within their most commonplace experiences,” 60-61.

or confirmed in the profession of that erroneous Religion: euen as I told you before that he doth in the false cures, or casting off of diseases by Witches.<sup>14</sup>

James echoes other reformers in condemning Catholicism as the pawn of Satan, whether Catholics are aware of this or ignorantly pious. He casts Satan as a kind of missionary or proselytizer, using false miracles to create a congregation of the damned on earth. James also does not miss an opportunity to relate this illusory Catholic power to those of witches and folk cures. He connects the Roman church not only to magic, but also to popular traditional pagan beliefs, though they might not be explicitly related to witchcraft.

While Anglican factions sought to efface Catholic ceremony and pagan ritual from society, they argued over incorporating traditional celebrations, such as festivals and games. In 1618, James I published the *Book of Sports* in response to his observance of “the prohibiting and vnlawfull punishing of Our good people for vsing their lawfull Recreations, and honest exercises upon Sundayes and other Holy days.” While Puritans were accused of these persecutions, James notes that the regions where they were prevalent were also known for Catholic recusancy. He expresses a concern that Puritan asceticism and the absence of celebratory activities might tempt citizens back to festival-laden Catholicism; otherwise, in the absence of state sanction, individuals might turn to less wholesome activities and debauchery.<sup>15</sup> James prescribes May Games, morris dances, and maypoles: pagan-originated divergences taking place on the day of the Lord.

Such continuing questions over the line between the proper and the traditional influence the events in *The Witch of Edmonton*, written nearly a century after the English Reformation began. While fears of witchcraft and Catholicism continued, the play’s distance from that past allows for greater variation in responses to such fears. *The Witch of Edmonton* presents a more complex view than the dichotomies presented in most treatises. It reveals the unsettled state of religion and the supernatural in the minds of citizens. Were witches demonically efficacious, practitioners of traditional beliefs, or whipping boys of small-town discord? What did the new religion condemn, and what was necessary to a nation’s continuing tradition? The figurations of and relationship among the witch, the fool, and the devil dog manifest these complications.

Mother Sawyer, though her character is labeled a witch in the “Dramatis Personae,” initially is not a true witch. Rather her first lines lament her marginalized and persecuted state, bemoaning:

And why on me? why should the envious world  
Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?  
'Cause I am poor, deformed, and ignorant,  
And like a bow buckled and bent together  
By some more strong in mischiefs than myself,  
Must I for that be made a common sink

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<sup>14</sup> James I, *Daemonologie*, (Scotland: 1597; San Diego: The Book Tree, 2002), 71-72.

<sup>15</sup> James I, *Book of Sports*, (London: 1618), 2, 4-5.

For all the filth and rubbish of men's tongues  
To fall and run into? Some call me witch,  
And being ignorant of myself, they go  
About to teach me how to be one; urging  
That my bad tongue—by their bad usage made so—  
Forspeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,  
Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse.  
This they enforce upon me, and in part  
Make me to credit it.<sup>16</sup>

A number of elements in this statement elucidate the history, present circumstances, and future direction of her life. While no true reason exists for her persecution, Sawyer has become the scapegoat of her community, fulfilling a necessary role of evil against which her neighbors can elevate themselves. As she states, she is attacked by her neighbors for her economic status, lack of education, and most importantly her malformed body, the reason for which she seems to cast upon an unknown magical figure. However, while she claims no true history as a witch, Sawyer proclaims that the constant figuration and condemnation by those in her community drive her to become what they believe. If she cannot escape the punishment of witchcraft, she resolves to enjoy its benefits as well.

Having no power of her own, Sawyer turns to demonological means to fulfill her societal role. She denies all goodness, substituting oaths for prayers to effect the evil she proposes. When the devil dog Tom first appears to her, he fashions himself as a kind of new savior for her, inverting true Christianity as the Anglicans say the Catholic church did. He tells Sawyer:

Come, do not fear; I love thee much too well  
To hurt or fright thee; if I seem terrible,  
It is to such as hate me. I have found  
Thy love unfeigned; have seen and pitied  
Thy open wrongs; and come, out of my love,  
To give thee just revenge against thy foes . . .  
And I'll effect it, on condition  
That, uncompelled, thou make a deed of gift  
Of soul and body to me.<sup>17</sup>

Just as Christ aligned himself with the marginalized and downtrodden, so does Satan in the form of this dog. He demands only that Sawyer openly and truly devote her corporeal and spiritual person to

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<sup>16</sup> Thomas Dekker, John Ford, and Samuel Rowley, *The Witch of Edmonton*, ed. Anniina Jokinen (1621, published 1658), hereafter *Witch*. Electronic text: *Luminarium*. <http://www.luminarium.org/editions/witchofedmonton.htm>, II.i.1-15.

<sup>17</sup> *Witch*, II.i.



him, and he will answer her prayers.<sup>18</sup> Of course, unlike true Christian devotion, Sawyer's hopes and prayers are to evil and earthly ends, rather than redemptive or heavenly. Isolated by and from her community, she seeks not acceptance into any sort of religious community, but revenge.

Beyond this anti-church inversion, Mother Sawyer's treatment of the dog Tom directly echoes Catholic worship by casting him as her connection with a universal power beyond the reach of normal humans. Her own body becomes both altar and offering, with a Eucharist of real, not symbolic, blood, echoing the real presence of Catholic transubstantiation rather than the mere representation of Anglican ceremony.<sup>19</sup> This ritual between Sawyer and Tom seals her intentions.<sup>20</sup> In exchange she may summon him with a prayer, but a very particular one; she must invoke the lines "If thou to death or shame pursue 'em,/Sanctificetur nomen tuum."<sup>21</sup> What to those unlearned in Latin might seem like "hallowed be thy name" is in fact flawed; the correct phrase is "sanctificetur nomen tuum."<sup>22</sup> Like Catholicism, Sawyer believes she understands this phrase, proclaiming "I'm an expert scholar;/Speak Latin, or I know not well what language,/As well as the best of 'em."<sup>23</sup> Of course, evoking Anglican reasoning for translating prayer into the common language, Latin was not widely understood. Tom's insistence on its use becomes just another trick played upon an earnest society, with obvious echoes of witch practice as exemplified in the Waterhouse account: the lamb's wool of empty piety concealing the wolf within the dog.

Expanding on this seemingly simple deceit, Tom has no intention of maintaining the sanctity of his covenant; rather, he has gained Sawyer's soul and is happy to turn his worshipper's devotion to chaos. After further encounters in which the townspeople again torment Sawyer, she is questioned by a justice, and she commands further demonic injury. Sawyer becomes increasingly desperate during Tom's three-day absence. When she is at this lowest point, bereft of any companionship and unable to gain true revenge against those who mock her, Tom finally answers her prayers. His reappearance, transformed from black to bright white, seems a mockery of Christian redemption. In his new, "clean" state, Tom reveals not a spirit of redemption but rather one of harsh truth, stating "when the devil comes to thee/as a lamb, have at thy throat."<sup>24</sup> Confronted with his newly realigned allegiance to those who seek her death, Sawyer accuses Tom of possessing a "puritan paleness," his

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<sup>18</sup> Tom further differentiates his covenant with Sawyer from the traditional Christian one by demanding that it be sealed with her blood rather than his, and warning "if thou deniest,/I'll tear thy body in a thousand pieces," II.i. Unlike the Christian covenant, which must be embraced fully and unreservedly, Tom demands only a token agreement, even if coerced with the threat of unimaginable torment: hell now or later.

<sup>19</sup> A particular element of the horror Anglicans expressed at Catholic transubstantiation was the anthropophagic or theophagic element, mitigated in practice because the Eucharist still appeared as bread and wine rather than flesh or blood. Tom's taking of his demonic Eucharist directly from the body of Sawyer disallows a similar mitigation, though both are cases of the ingestion of the *living* body of another.

<sup>20</sup> His powers accord more with the Anglican conception of devils in the world than the Catholic. Tom describes the limits of his powers, saying "now men that,/As he, love goodness, though in smallest measure,/Live without compass of our reach," II.i: goodness is the true apotropaic, rather than any relic or ritual.

<sup>21</sup> *Witch*, II.i.

<sup>22</sup> "The Lord's Prayer," *Latin Prayers*, EWTN, <http://www.ewtn.com/library/PRAYER/LATROSAR.htm>.

<sup>23</sup> *Witch*, II.i.

<sup>24</sup> *Witch*, V.i.

new-found zealotry legitimizing a history of sin and continuing destructive intent. Tom devilishly satirizes the recent development of the Anglican church, transforming then condemning his follower for those behaviors he so recently required of her. Damned and abandoned by him, faced with pending execution, Sawyer confesses:

all take heed  
How they believe the devil; at last he'll cheat you . . .  
Bear witness, I repent all former evil;  
There is no damnèd conjuror like the devil.<sup>25</sup>

Occurring after Tom has claimed her as wholly his, and coerced by her executioners, the sincerity of Sawyer's repentance seems questionable; she gladly would continue with revenge if only Tom would return to her. While she finally names the true actor behind the evil deeds, her intent and motivations remain evil, in both her mind and heart. No evidence suggests that at the end Sawyer receives comfort or relief from any source, facing imminent death and an uncertain afterlife.

While the playwrights use Mother Sawyer to problematize the figure of the witch, they use the young man Cuddy Banks to do the same for the characterization of the average English citizen. Exemplary in that he is not expressly extraordinary, Cuddy embraces those pagan-tinged ceremonies promoted by *The Book of Sports*, while espousing elements of common Anglican belief in his interactions with the supernatural. Often figured as a fool, he also successfully navigates multiple non-damning interactions with the devil Tom and becomes the most sympathetic character in the play. He first appears among clowns, plotting revels with the utmost seriousness. This soon leads to an interaction with the newly empowered Sawyer; he condemns his father for being her chief tormenter, dismissing the accusations against her and offering to pay for her injuries. Additionally, he seeks her aid in combating bewitchment of another sort: an infatuation.<sup>26</sup> While such magic may be fairly harmless, Cuddy nonetheless seeks in folk magic that which is not available in Christianity, entering potentially dangerous territory. This foray, though, results in nothing more than a trick by Tom culminating in Cuddy falling into a pond and emerging wet but otherwise unharmed.

These events end with Cuddy's first meeting with Tom and the start of a peculiar relationship between the two. As they converse and Tom reveals his super-canine abilities, Cuddy's treatment of him holds more to Anglican practices of dealing with the seemingly miraculous. Cuddy considers the canine demonic figure as merely a dog, albeit an extraordinary one. He treats Tom as neither decidedly supernatural nor magical, and not at all worthy of worship or recognition beyond what one might bestow on a normal dog.<sup>27</sup> Cuddy tells him "Well, you shall have jowls and livers; I have butchers to my friends that shall bestow 'em: and I will keep crusts and bones for you, if you'll be a

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<sup>25</sup> *Witch*, V.ii.

<sup>26</sup> *Witch*, II.i.

<sup>27</sup> This is not to say that Cuddy remains ignorant of reality, though. At one point he proclaims "If ever there were an honest devil, 'twill be the Devil of Edmonton, I see" (III.i).

kind dog, Tom.”<sup>28</sup> Rather than pushing for a greater devotion, Tom accepts this additional task as a kind of corollary minor amusement to his more serious work with Sawyer. Cuddy asks for no great deeds, and Tom demands no sacrificial recompense.

Further contrasting the destructive ends and *schadenfreude* of the relationship of Sawyer and Tom, Cuddy derives a more simple enjoyment from his relationship with Tom, at the expense of no one. Beyond the obvious appearance of witchcraft and its potential religious ramifications, the play also includes elements of problematically Catholic and pagan celebrations: James’ sports. Cuddy particularly revels in the morris dance, bringing the dog in as an additional visual treat for the participants, as Tom plays the fiddle and dances on two feet with the hobby-horse and other costumed revelers. Cuddy predicts the dog’s presence will add to the air of jocularly rather than engender superstitious fear or horror. This activity further illuminates how commonly society at this point accepted elements of witchcraft and the supernatural; in discussing the characters present in the dance, Cuddy says “I’ll have a witch; I love a witch.” A companion clown replies, “Faith, witches themselves are so common now-a-days, that the counterfeit will not be regarded. They say we have three or four in Edmonton besides Mother Sawyer.”<sup>29</sup> The trio of fools, decidedly flippant, note how the real-world presence of witches in their community can translate to morris mockeries of them. While the persecutions in the play demonstrate the continuing hatred and fear of witches, comments such as these show that their presence had become commonplace and even, in the proper setting, enjoyable.

This commonality did not signal the end of concerns, particularly of damnation. Cuddy reemphasizes the distance and normality of his relationship with Tom near the end of the play, saying “This remember, I pray you, between you and I; I entertained you ever as a dog, not as a devil,” to which the dog confirms “True;/And so I used thee doggedly, not devilishly.” This exchange occurs directly after Cuddy learns the fate of Mother Sawyer. He obviously wishes to confirm both to himself on an earthly level and to the dog as representative of the supernatural that the relationship remained appropriate and as religiously proper as possible. During their final exchange, Cuddy proves himself a better man and Christian, recognizing the evil in Tom yet still attempting to bring him to an honest redemption. He tells the dog “Were it not possible for thee to become an honest dog yet?—/’Tis a base life that you lead, Tom,” offering him ordinary canine employments like hunting, kitchen, or lap dog. Finding Tom unrepentant and now seeking a new master, Cuddy finally condemns him for his true character, threatening to drive him out of society.<sup>30</sup> This ultimately proves effective; at the end of the play, unlike Mother Sawyer, Cuddy bears no obvious lingering effects or taint of damnation. However, though order temporarily may reign again, Tom remains free in the world, seeking his next sport.

This absence of an effective end points back to early modern English society. The wavering reincorporation and condemnation of traditional practices complicated and problematized citizens’

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<sup>28</sup> *Witch*, III.i.

<sup>29</sup> *Witch*, III.i.

<sup>30</sup> *Witch*, V.i.

beliefs in and awareness of these presences in their own lives, prompting them to become—continuing the self-examination, confession, and redemption central to Protestantism—inquisitors of themselves and their communities. If one's neighbors could make deals with the devil, while those sitting in the next pew might secretly carry on Catholic masses at home after the Anglican service ended, how could one be sure of anyone beyond oneself and perhaps one's family? As ongoing early modern history demonstrated, even those at the pinnacle of society in the monarchy, ostensibly in command of the Anglican church, might either wrench the nation back to the control of the devilish Roman Catholic church or else harbor sympathies or leanings tainting the purity of true Christianity and risking damnation for all those led astray.

Furthermore, in such an inquisitorial atmosphere the process of scapegoating becomes not only possible but necessary; elimination of one target required a replacement. How could citizens hope for a good or rapid end to this? When those in control figure all opposition as demonic or ignorantly evil, it becomes difficult if not impossible for those in opposition to escape personal persecution as demonically inspired. While more moderate Anglicans such as James I defined themselves between extremes of Catholicism and Puritanism, they found themselves refigured by both not as reformers, but as the should-be reformed. English sects such as the Puritans continued the process of definition by excision, seeing the devil still rampant around them. This process only grew as Puritans rose to power in the nation. No matter how many repented or died, Satan's influence remained, found in new sects and practices throughout the country. With no foreseeable end, at least until the Second Coming of Christ, I assert that the pursuit became a kind of ritualized Anglican apotropaic—one of the very elements Anglicans abhorred in Catholicism. It might be impossible to eradicate the devil from the fallen world, but each of his followers converted or killed represented a blow against his anti-Christian plotting. Each retelling of such events, in print or on the stage, memorialized the ritual. Each repetition provided the audience with a cautionary catharsis, stressing the danger around them while reenacting and demonstrating the means to alleviate it. Though a unified church and a world free from evil seemed unattainable, the duty of every good Christian remained to seek them, by whatever means their leaders deemed necessary. A devil without is an easier target than one within.

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## *John Jarret and Roaring Dick of Dover: Popular Attitudes toward Drinking in Seventeenth-Century England*

By Mark Hailwood

Over the last decade early modern scholars have dedicated a noticeably increased amount of time to the study of drinking. Both historians and literary scholars have gone beyond a much older tradition that focused on the economic and social functions of institutions such as inns and alehouses to ask searching questions about the meanings of drinking practices and rituals to the people involved in them. They have turned their attention to exploring what contemporaries thought about who they drank with and the appropriate way to behave when drinking, a set of issues that have recently been labeled the “politics of company.”<sup>1</sup> At one level, scholars such as the literary critic Michelle O’Callaghan and the cultural historian Phil Withington have begun to explore attitudes of seventeenth-century literary and civic elites toward drinking, revealing the strong influence on those attitudes of Renaissance humanist notions of civility.<sup>2</sup> The idea of a refined, civil approach to drinking has also been identified in the works of Ben Jonson by the literary scholar Stella Achilleos, who found in Jonson’s writings “an ideal set of rules for refined drinking, under which polite conversation and literary activity were exalted over riotous behaviour and excessive drinking.” Participants in such sociability were urged to “outwit” rather than “out-drink” each other. This moderate and controlled merrymaking was set against the excessive and prodigal sociability that Jonson elsewhere called “the wild anarchy of drink.”<sup>3</sup>

These works offer interesting insights into the attitudes of civic and literary elites, but as yet no one has explored attitudes toward drinking of those of more humble social status: the frequenter of the lowly alehouse rather than the upmarket tavern or inn. In part this is because such “popular” mentalities are considered, for both methodological and theoretical reasons, extremely difficult or perhaps even impossible to reconstruct. This essay argues that a certain type of source, the seventeenth-century broadside ballad, may provide some insight into the attitudes held toward drink-

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<sup>1</sup> Phil Withington, “Company and Sociability in Early Modern England,” *Social History* 32 (2007): 291-307.

<sup>2</sup> Michelle O’Callaghan, “Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London,” in Adam Smyth, ed., *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 37-51; Withington, “Company and Sociability.”

<sup>3</sup> Stella Achilleos, “The *Anacreontea* and a Tradition of Refined Male Sociability,” in Smyth, 29-30.

ing by those at the lower end of the social scale. Fifteen years ago, Anthony Fletcher identified these printed ballads as “one of the great neglected forms of evidence for early modern mentality.”<sup>4</sup> Both before and since that time only a small number of scholars have attempted to put them to good use. In a study of plebeian attitudes toward marriage, for instance, James Sharpe claimed that ballads allowed him to “get closer to the attitudes and mores of what have so often been thought of as the inarticulate classes.” In her pursuit of popular religious attitudes, Tessa Watt argued that printed ballads could “provide an oblique approach to the area of unconscious or semi-conscious values and assumptions.” In Angela McShane’s view, these historians have used ballads to access “a more colourful viewpoint on early modern life than that conveyed by the inevitably bleak and negative court records.”<sup>5</sup> Put to good use in other contexts, the broadside ballads of the period may then provide an opportunity for an exploration of early modern attitudes toward drinking.

Despite some recognition of their potential, however, these sources remain neglected by seventeenth-century historians. This neglect is mainly due to a prevailing scepticism about the value of studying popular print to get at popular attitudes. A classic statement of this position comes from historian of popular culture Bob Scribner, who suggests that analysis of popular literary forms “may tell us more about the producers than about the consumers of these cultural products.”<sup>6</sup> However, an alternative view supports the value of such sources. Drawing on the theories of Roger Chartier, Tessa Watt argues that the clear distinction between producers and consumers drawn by Scribner may be misleading. Consumers also played a role in production, as patterns of consumption could be reflected back in future production, with a form of “creative consumption” occurring through the collective choices of buyers and the agency of commercially minded publishers.<sup>7</sup> Put more simply, the ballad-writer’s main motive was to make money, and thus his products were closely attuned to the tastes and predilections of his potential buyers. Furthermore, strong evidence demonstrates that humble alehouse-goers constituted a significant element among those potential consumers. In work on the market of broadside ballads, for instance, Angela McShane found evidence that the one-penny price tag conventionally attached to this form of print did not serve as a major social bar, and that men and women of humble social status did lay out money for such printed products.<sup>8</sup> Once purchased, ballads were intended not just to be read, but to be read aloud or sung—and the alehouse became a prime location for their oral performance by both ballad-hawkers trying to sell them and groups of drinking companions who had bought or learned them. Alehouses were not only filled with the sound of ballads, but could also be decorated with them; Tessa Watt has found evidence that alehouse-keepers and customers pasted them onto the walls. Patricia Fumerton has suggested that this decorative function, enhanced by elaborate borders and woodcuts,

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<sup>4</sup> Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500 – 1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), xix-xx.

<sup>5</sup> James Sharpe, “Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature,” in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 36 (1986), 73; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550 – 1640* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 325; Angela McShane Jones, “Rime and Reason”: The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640 – 1689 (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 2004), 8.

<sup>6</sup> Bob Scribner, “Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?” *History of European Ideas* 10 (1989): 176.

<sup>7</sup> Watt, 4, 324.

<sup>8</sup> McShane Jones, 83.

made the broadside ballad “the poor man’s oil painting.”<sup>9</sup> A whole genre of broadside ballads was dedicated to drinking and alehouse fellowship, and we may reasonably assume these ballads dominated the oral and visual experience of a visit to the alehouse.

I argue here, then, that attitudes to drinking may be reflected in broadside ballads that were likely to have been familiar to—and, albeit in an indirect way, *produced* by—participants in drinking from the lower end of the social scale. What attitudes, then, do these ballads reflect? The rest of this essay will focus on two particular characters from broadside ballads, John Jarret and Roaring Dick of Dover. Both represent commonly recurring generic characters in the ballads that deal with drinking and alehouse fellowship: Jarret, the wastrel husband, and Dick of Dover, the jovial good fellow. By taking a detailed look at these two representative ballad characters I hope to pull out broader conclusions about popular attitudes toward drinking in the period.

First, then, John Jarret, the subject of a 1630 ballad, *I tell you, John Jarret, you’l breake*.<sup>10</sup> The narrative voice is provided by Jarret’s long-suffering wife, who works through a list of Jarret’s drinking practices and warns him about their negative consequences, urging him to reform. She begins by invoking a favorite theme of the moral literature that condemned drunkenness, the idea that drunkards inverted the “gendered chain of being” that placed men above women and women above beasts on the grounds of the capacity to reason.<sup>11</sup> Drunkenness seriously impinged upon this capacity to reason and thus reduced men to the level of beasts; Jarret’s wife declares: “Men being drunkards are worse than base swines.” Yet Jarret is not only guilty of descending the gender hierarchy through his bestial transformation, he is also berated for a host of other drinking-related inversions of appropriate behaviour for a patriarchal male. In common with many other ballad prodigals, Jarret’s habits of sociability proves wasteful of the family resources: “You rise in the morning before break of day,/and unto the alehouse you straight make your way,/where you in a base manner at shuffle-board play,/until you have wasted your money away.” Jarret’s trips to the alehouse to play at the popular “pub game” of shuffleboard were not only day-long, but also daily. Thus Jarret’s frequent alehouse-haunting, as the contemporary expression would have it, in turn created an absence in the domestic home acutely felt by his patriarchal charges: “You into ill company daily doe come,/while I and your children sit sighing at home.” But not only Jarret’s physical absence undermined the proper patriarchal structure of his household; his fondness for the alehouse meant that he was failing to fulfill one of the defining duties of a patriarch, providing for his family through work: “When you in shop should be plying your work,/in some scurvy blind alehouse you all day do lurke, /more like than a Christian to some Jew or Turk,/if thus you neglect your living and work.” The broader implications of this profligate drinking begin to emerge here, with Jarret’s abnegation of patriarchal duties construed as an offence to Christianity. Nor are the

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<sup>9</sup> Watt, 220; Patricia Fumerton, “Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32.3 (2002): 499.

<sup>10</sup> W. G. Day, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library. The Pepys Ballads*, vol. I, no.170 (Cambridge, UK: Brewer, 1987).

<sup>11</sup> Alexandra Shepard, ““Swil-bols and Tos-pots”: Drink Culture and Male Bonding in England, c. 1560 – 1640,” in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin, eds., *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300 – 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 114.

negative effects of Jarret's drinking limited to disrupting his own microcosm of the divinely ordained patriarchal order. He is also condemned for an illicit relationship with a married woman, and the line: "Twixt her and her husband you daily breed strife," highlights that discord in one patriarchal microcosm would inevitably infect others, and posed a more general threat to the proper ordering of society.

The ballad concludes with his wife warning where this behaviour will lead Jarret; drinking, illicit sexual activity, and wasting resources become inextricably linked: "There commeth no goodness by following of queanes,/but riotous drinking and wasting of means,/who trusts to such harlots, on wickedness leanes,/and may with the Prodigall feed upon beanes." An attitude toward drinking shared with the more conventional moral literature of the time emerges from this ballad in particular, in common with many others condemning the prodigal drinking husband. The idea that drinking and drunkenness had the potential to invert the social order, the moral order, and the gender order was just as likely to emanate from the ballad page as the pulpit. However, the primary *emphasis* of the ballad literature on wastrel husbands does differ from that of the moral literature. The emphasis lies less on the general threat of drinking to the proper cosmic ordering of society than one particular strand of patriarchal duty—material provision. The dominant concern of Jarret's wife admonishes that he be wary of the immediate material concern of sliding into poverty. The tag-line of the ballad, which often carries the clearest articulation of the intended moral-of-the-story, warns Jarret to "have care of his estate in this hard time, lest he turne Bankeropt." The difficult economic climate—the year of its publication, 1630, was a year of harvest failure—is cited as justification of the complaint against his profligate drinking: "You see how the farmers doe hoord up their graine,/No eare will they lend to the poore mens complaine/ . . . This is no world to borrow nor lend,/Nor (if you consider it) vainely to spend."<sup>12</sup> Concern for order remains secondary to surviving difficult material conditions, and we may conclude from this that at the lower end of the social scale attitudes toward drinking were colored more by its economic irresponsibility than its sinfulness.

This condemnation of Jarret's drinking provides us with something of a conundrum: if attitudes toward drinking were so hostile, even in popular literature, how do we account for the large numbers of people who routinely took part in it? The answer may lie in the notion of moderation. This condemnation of drinking may represent an extreme outlook, and there were in fact many early modern drinking rituals that were deemed routinely acceptable to all but the staunchest advocates of temperance. Drinking could take on a functional role, providing a context for the amicable settling of business deals or neighborly disputes, or a suitable environment for courtship.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the excessive and prodigal nature of his drinking made Jarret a figure for condemnation, in contrast to more widely held ideas about an acceptable, moderate, even "civil," approach to drinking similar to

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<sup>12</sup> On the subsistence crises of 1629 – 1631 see A. B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> Keith Wrightson, "Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590 – 1660," in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590 – 1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure*, ed. Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (Brighton: Harvester, 1981).



that set out by Ben Jonson. To test this proposal we will now turn to a more positive representation of drinking in a broadside ballad, and to our second character, Roaring Dick of Dover, 'The Jovial Good Fellow of Kent'.<sup>14</sup>

The subject of a ballad published in 1632, Roaring Dick himself provides the narrative voice, and strikes a very different tone than John Jarret's wife from the outset:

Here's a health to all good fellows  
that intend with me to joyne  
At the tavern, or the alehouse  
And will freely spend theyre coyne  
But for such as hate strong liquor  
Are not for my company  
O it makes my wits the quicker  
When I taste it thoroughly.

This opening verse of the ballad sets out clear parameters of who is welcome to join in Roaring Dick's drinking company, and who is excluded from it. The willingness to "freely spend" and to "thoroughly taste" "strong liquor" are laid out as the primary entry requirements, conditions which do not marry easily with the idea of moderation either in spending or drinking. Reflecting on those who attempted to drink in company without sufficient willingness to spend lavishly, he declares: "Hee's no right true heated fellow,/that in company will drinke,/till such time as he is mellow,/and not freely spend his chinke." Roaring Dick also makes clear that those refusing to opt into the necessary milieu of prodigality should be excluded from company altogether: "Let such sharking base companions,/be kickt out of company,/for they be but beastly hang on's,/and will call [meaning call for drinks] but we must pay." The sociability delineated in this ballad, then, offers a clear inversion of the attitudes to drinking in the condemnatory ballads and conduct literature. Rather than prodigal spending being the unacceptable face of sociability, it is here stressed as a compulsory component of good fellowship. Celebrations of sociability often invert condemnatory tropes, rather than comfortably co-existing with them. Here the notion of the drunkard as a beast is turned on its head, with the frugal drinker who refuses to spend lavishly described as "beastly." Similarly, rather than impinging on reason, strong liquor "make[s] my wits the quicker." This ballad, then, in common with others that celebrate drinking and sociability, does not suggest a universal conformity in early modern society to the tidy set of attitudes to drinking associated with Ben Jonson. Excess, rather than moderation, is venerated as the guiding principle of consumption, and the label of beast is attributed not to those falling within a prodigal "wild anarchy of drink," but to those who refuse to engage lavishly in drinking and sociability.

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<sup>14</sup> Day, vol. I, no. 434.

This celebration of prodigality appears predicated on a belief that lavish spending on drink can, temporarily at least, bring about a state of communal merriment that alleviates the cares and constraints of difficult material realities, what we might call a liberating logic of prodigality. Precisely the precarious material existence underpinning criticism of Jarret also feeds into the more positive interpretation and function of drinking by Roaring Dick. The latter urges his companions: "Let's not spare while we have money,/for to pay for what we call,/We needs must spare when we have not any,/That's the greatest plague of all." When his purse does run dry Dick is still determined to overcome this financial predicament by further drinking and merriment, declaring: "Hang up sorrow, I can borrow,/money for to buy two pots/Who can say to live tomorrow/Then lets never sit like sots." Uncertainty over what the future may bring represents the ballad's central justification for drinking, a notion similar to "living for today." With money or without, drinking and joviality transcend dwelling on social and economic insecurity: "Wherefore should we live in sorrow,/Since we may imbrace true joye,/To day alive, and dead to morrow,/As most commonly they'll say."

If this attitude can be interpreted as a defiant, if short-term, response to the difficult realities of life for seventeenth-century plebeians, so too can another attitude expressed in the ballad: that those who do have wealth are missing out on all the fun. Roaring Dick offers the opinion that men of wealth have greedy minds, not contented ones:

There's many men get store of treasure,  
yet they live like very slaves,  
In this world they have no pleasure  
The more they have the more they crave  
Hang such greedy minded millers  
That will never contented be,  
I have heard by good advisers,  
That content lives merrily.

True joy and contentment instead are associated with prodigal drinking, while hoarding of wealth brings only boredom: "Then let's take some part of pleasure,/drinke and sing and freely pay./While our time and money lasteth,/Let's not prove Curmudgeon boores."<sup>15</sup>

This examination of the ballad characters of John Jarret and Roaring Dick of Dover suggests several conclusions about attitudes toward drinking and sociability held by those at the lower end of the social scale in this society. Members of the lower classes shared many of the fears about the effects of drinking held by preachers and writers of conduct literature, especially with regard to the negative impact of drinking on fulfilling patriarchal duties. These fears appear to have drawn force from concerns with their own precarious material condition. On the other hand, we have seen that this broader mentality of uncertainty and insecurity also informed a more obstinate, positive attitude toward drinking and sociability as a response to difficult material reality. These attitudes do not

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<sup>15</sup> Day, vol. I, no. 434.

conform with those that scholarly work has recently associated with seventeenth-century literary and civic elites. Whereas Ben Jonson emphasized moderation, ballads celebrating drinking exalt excess and evince a liberating logic of prodigality. This suggests a set of attitudes toward drinking held by those at the lower end of the social scale in seventeenth-century England distinct from those of civic and literary elites. I intend to pursue uncovering this “popular politics of company” further in the remainder of my doctoral research.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For more on my Ph.D. research please visit my electronic portfolio:  
[www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/postgraduate/eportfolios/m\\_hailwood/](http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/postgraduate/eportfolios/m_hailwood/)