



*Interstitial Readings:
Selected Proceedings of the
Newberry Library's Center
for Renaissance Studies'
25th Annual Graduate
Student Conference*

Chicago, IL
June 8th, 2007

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Introduction to Interstitial Readings:

Thoughts on the Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies' 25th Annual
Graduate Student Conference

*Megan Moore, The Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies &
Jason Cohen, University of Wisconsin-Madison*

As a public research institution, the Newberry Library serves a diverse and ever-expanding community of scholars from a wide variety of backgrounds and with an ever-increasing variety of interests. Recently, the Newberry's online cataloging project has been completed, giving users expanded access to our card catalog and making it possible for people to peruse our holdings from afar. This means that graduate students, too, who may be unfamiliar with our collections and have limited resources to come to Chicago to make themselves familiar with them, are suddenly able to browse through a Midwestern treasure trove of primary source medieval, Renaissance, and early modern materials from their own computers. Graduate students, faculty, and the public are now able to access our collections and use primary source materials in their work as never before. The Center for Renaissance Studies, which will soon celebrate its 30 year anniversary as one of the leading centers for the study of early European and American literature, history, and culture, is also the home to one of the few annual venues for discussions of graduate student work in premodern studies, and this conference has undergone considerable change as more graduate students become aware of the richness of our collections here, often through our new online catalog. The Center operates a consortium of 46 area universities and is therefore able to offer specialized programming, including lectures, seminars, graduate student seminars, and workshops, to a broad audience of scholars interested in Renaissance studies, and it serves as one of the largest meeting grounds for scholars from across the country to come and discuss highly specialized topics in premodern studies.

The graduate student conference, now in its 25th year, has traditionally offered a place for students interested in premodern studies to meet their graduate student colleagues and get feedback on what are often the preliminary findings of work related to later dissertations. This publication, the *Selected Proceedings of the Newberry Library Center*

for Renaissance Studies' 25th Annual Graduate Student Conference, is intended to showcase some of the best work to emerge from this conference. As a conference and as a publication, we are committed to sponsoring new and emergent means of disseminating our knowledge of the broad premodern period, and we find that digital publication allows us the best means of doing so. By going digital, as it were, but working within the peer-review system, the publication allows graduate students to put their work into dialogue in a larger environment of readers on the Internet within about 6 months of its appearance at a conference, while simultaneously ensuring that students retain the rights to further use their work in other media, scholarly work, and, possibly, later publications. This is crucial for graduate students who seek to create a dialogue with other emerging scholars in their fields of interest, but whose ultimate goal is often to incorporate early stages of thinking showcased at conferences into their dissertations. The combination of timely publication, peer-review, and scholarly feedback provides our participants with the occasion for a conference and publication that is unparalleled in scope and relevance by collections of conference proceedings that are, on their faces, similar. We aim in this effort first to address the often-neglected needs of graduate students to receive specific and pointed criticism at multiple stages of their thinking and writing; secondly, we believe that the conversations we build among graduate students and organizers contributes to an aspect of professionalization that is often under-represented in our profession – the community of scholars here develops connections among the disciplines and periods in ways that are more immediately possible under the Newberry's uncommonly collegial circumstances than those that might be developed at a single institution or one-time event.

At the Newberry, we are also interested in supporting the emergence of alternative forms of scholarly publication than the scholarly monograph, a topic of much recent discussion in national venues like the Modern Language Association, American Council of Learned Societies, and the American Academy of University Professors; we believe that supporting alternative forms of scholarly expression paves the way for creative and multidisciplinary thinking vital to the health and liveliness of humanities teaching, research, public outreach, and publication. Because of its situation

as an academic meeting place centered in academic thought but distinctively outside of the purvey of any one institution, the Newberry is uniquely poised to support such interdisciplinary, inter-institutional publication and collaboration possibilities. Further, while the humanities are poised at the leading edge of disciplines that develop content about literary and social topics for public as well as scholarly audiences, it has nevertheless been characteristic of institutions supporting the humanities to fall back to the trailing edge of technological assimilation. This paradox – one that becomes personal when we understand the need to make our fields relevant and accessible, and yet find ourselves continually faced with the problem of responding adequately to a changing set of disciplinary and professional conditions – is not diminishing; in fact, its requirements are becoming more pressing by the year.

The prestige and opportunity that the Newberry offers to graduate students across the region and nation empowers its scholars to respond to this challenging situation in ways that universities or specific departments cannot, including classically formulated graduate conferences, online publications in a single discipline, or even scholarship associated with interdisciplinary centers in university settings. This difference lies in the Newberry's capacity to pair strong graduate and professional organizers with an interdisciplinary model of participation from across the humanities and at widely varied stages of their studies. This particular digital publication represents one instance of our broader position as a leader in facilitating scholarly collaboration, and involves the work of each of the graduate student planning committee members, who represent several different institutions and departments, in cooperation with the Assistant Director of the Newberry's Center for Renaissance Studies. In what follows, each of our panel organizers will offer a written introduction to their panels. Vickie Larson, of the University of Iowa, led our first panel, "The Unstable Self"; Carrie Ruiz, UC-Boulder and Joshua Samuel Reid, University of Kentucky, led our second panel, "Spectacles in Translation"; Jason Cohen, University of Wisconsin—Madison, led our third panel "Broken Bodies, Broken Minds"; and finally, Megan Moore, of the Newberry Library, led our fourth panel "Confronting Empire." These panels coalesced to reveal a body of work very much interested in what we have come to understand as

an “interstitial” form of reading and presenting. By coining a term for the engagements in scholarship that we have seen mature over the course of this year, we mean not only to sponsor and, perhaps, characterize it, but also to nourish it and its evolution. The conversationality of our approach to the conference informs the work that we are presenting here – every paper, indeed every panelist – came away from their panels with a set of considerations and questions that arose from a combination of close concerns with their work and a broad concern with the relations among dynamic papers to one another in each panel. As a result, each of the papers represented in this collection has been altered to a lesser or greater degree from the original form in which it was given, not only to fulfill the length requirements of publication, but also to fulfill the concerns of our editorial cadre, which developed in tandem with an organizational and material set of concerns. We have, in effect, tried to present each of these papers as pieces that may be situated in the interstices of the others – sometimes complementing and at other moments providing stark contrasts to the ideological, literary, social, or historical formations that shape the arguments brought forward in any of these essays.

On a closing note, the third of our fourth panels, “Broken Bodies, Broken Minds,” has not been represented in this volume because of unfortunate conditions beyond our control. It featured work at the intersection of the visceral and mental experiences of literature, and was particularly revealing for the contributions it made to our understanding of how the emergence of the mental and visceral aspects of the material world are relayed in literature contingently through one another. Nathaniel Small, doctoral student at Northwestern University, discussed the troublesome and piercing event of laughter on stage: how, he asked, does the bodily convulsion of laughter signal an ambivalent epistemological or even ethical site? Andrew Grubb of the University of Louisville argued for a “corporate” understanding of the hybrid bodies of St. Christopher and St. Edmund in their Passion accounts; thus, Grubb suggested, the notion of political and institutional corporation is unsettled in the construction and mutability of the body in lyrical accounts. Finally, Lindsey Row’s provocatively anachronistic study on the “Rogue Disability” of Shakespeare’s *Richard III* supplied a point of closure for the panel by connecting the appearance of a seemingly allegorical

body marked out on stage and in narrative as “evil” with its more complexly indexed political role. The body is a site of dissimulation, Row claimed, and yet the act of witness is led astray when the body itself interferes with the processes of witness and testimony in which that body participates, and by which it may be implicated. This discussion of the excluded papers is perhaps the best example of the interstitial characteristic of our journal: for while the panel is not represented, we might look to any of the other papers for a kind of reading that takes account of the body-mind split through another lens that refracted, commented upon, and developed the works that we have been able to include. While no paper from the panel may be seen, the influence of the panel is still there, even if only interstitially. With that thought, this year’s editorial crew wishes to offer the parting shot – farewell, and good reading (between the lines).

The Unstable Self: Medieval and Early Modern Deployments of Selfhood

*Introduction by Vickie Larsen
University of Iowa*

The panel entitled, “The Unstable Self” gathered three papers contributing and responding to the ongoing critical discussions regarding the negotiation of the “Self” in late medieval and early modern literatures. The papers, although quite varied, encountered one another in their examination of a given subject’s awareness of his or her own self within a community of others who are continually and simultaneously seeing, assigning, and constructing for a self useful to the whole. These three papers examined the mechanisms through which the self, unified or otherwise, is being negotiated or deployed in response and opposition to the work of social regulatory discourses.

Christina Weber, M.A. McGill University, is currently working on a teaching certificate and a second BA in Education from Nipissing University in North Bay, Ontario. Weber's paper took up the portrayal of Roman women as patrons of building projects in the 16th century Italian texts of Agnolo Firenzuola, and the relationship of those literary representations to actual historical incidents of female architectural patronage in Renaissance Italy. Weber used the Roman widow Vittoria della Tolfa as a case study in the uses of historical architectural patronage in the creation and expression of the female subject in 16th century Aracoeli.

Ann Pleiss Morris, PhD student at the University of Iowa presented a paper examining the Induction (as distinguished from the Prologue) in early modern drama. She argues for a reading of the induction as a vignette featuring actors, as opposed to characters, who have the task of negotiating that unstable ground between life and drama as they bring the audience into the theater and into the fiction of the play. Pleiss is especially interested in the role played by boy-actors in this meta-theatrical scene. As English subjects of unstable meaning already, the boy-self that must be assembled and utilized in this role is, for Pleiss, an especially rich site for investigating social roles within and without the physical and institutional space of the early modern theatre.

Elon Lang, whose paper appears here, has a BA in English from the University

of Michigan and an MA in English from Washington University in St. Louis, where he is currently working on his PhD. Lang's paper argues that locating a unified self in the texts of Thomas Hoccleve is an exercise in error, as the "self" that is portrayed there would more accurately be described as "a pluralistic framework of subjectivities." Lang looks to *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve* and the *Series* for sites at which the speaker/self seems split into an "I" who is distinct from the poet himself, but who can merge with the poet when the need arises. Comparing the self to a metropolis "characterized by complex internal divisions," Lang confronts notions of late medieval "subjectivity" with the concept of an "always already" fragmented self, which Hoccleve disassembles and weaves through polyvocal texts. These selves along with a number of other voices that speak in Hoccleve's petitioning poetry, according to Lang, produce a useful dialog that allows the poet to play intertextual games with and within established forms such as rhetoric, narrative, and autobiography.

All three of these papers exposed the self as a product negotiated and expressed within complex performances for a social audience. These three authors and their audience pursued the idea of a stable self that operates in isolation from the social drama, and found, at least in its textual form, only a flexible and opportunistic social being.

**“Be waar, Hoccleue, I rede thee”:
Intertextual Subjectivity in Thomas Hoccleve’s Petitioning Poetry**

*Elon Lang
Washington University in St. Louis*

Thomas Hoccleve was a bureaucratic scribe at Westminster from the end of Richard II’s reign through the very beginning of Henry VI’s. Among the poetry he wrote on the side, which began to appear in the first 25 years after Chaucer’s death, his most substantial works include three narratives written to petition benefactors for supplemental income. The most widely circulated of these is the *Regiment of Princes*, which humbly offers advice on good governance to the prince who would become Henry V. The other two, which I will be focusing on in this paper, represent some of his earliest and latest work, respectively: the reflexively titled *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve* and a collection of translations set in a narrative frame that modern editors have simply named the *Series*. What particularly interests me about these poems are their narrative-voices and how these voices are constructed from first-person pronouns that, because of their postures of solicitation, have unstable antecedents.

The way these operate can be seen in the section of *La Male Regle* from which I excerpted my paper’s title. It comes about three-quarters of the way through the poem when the narrator relates a first-hand account of how he and his Privy-Seal Office colleagues handle a night of drinking. The narrator says:

...fynde kowde I no macche
In al the Priuee Seel with me to endure, ... (307-8)
But whan the pot emptid was of moisture,
To wake aftirward cam nat in my thoght. ... (311-2)
But on the morn was wight of no degree
So looth as I to twynne fro my cowche
By aght I woot. Abyde, let me see.
Of two as looth I am seur kowde I towche.
I dar nat seyn Prentys and Arondel
Me countrefete and in swich wach go ny me ... (317-22)¹

¹ I try to cite the most recent editions for each of Hoccleve’s poems in this paper based on my access to copies: *La Male Regle* in *Selections from Hoccleve*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 12-23. The *Regiment* is cited from the TEAMS edition: *Thomas Hoccleve, The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999). For the *Series*, I have cited the *Complaint and Dialogue with a Friend* from *Thomas Hoccleve’s Complaint and Dialogue*, ed. J.A. Burrow, EETS o.s.313 (Oxford: Oxford

It is possible to surmise from this narration, along with very convincing biographical data compiled and interpreted by J. A. Burrow,² that Hoccleve, who at the time of the poem's composition was nearing the end of his second decade in the Office of the Privy Seal and worked with two younger colleagues so named in line 321, may be describing a real or representative personal experience. If this *is* meant to be a moment of pseudo-autobiographical realism, then it may be included in this petition as a rhetorical maneuver by the poet to appeal for sympathy from a reader who might be able to relate to the personal and social betrayal he felt after waking hung-over to find that his buddies had not only recovered faster than him, but had also abandoned him.

This interpretation is immediately complicated, though, when trying to explain why the second half of line 319 (“Abyde, let me see”) is cast in the present tense and the imperative mood. This shift creates the narrative effect that the speaking-voice of the poem, in his desire to dramatize this moment from his unreformed past, *becomes* that former self again, *directly experiences* the frustration and bleary-eyed discomfort, and, fully aware of his narrative role in the fiction, *asks* his audience to wait while he looks around. While it could still be a product of autobiographical intent, this half-line shows that the speaking voice of the poem consists of at least two separate subjective perspectives of the event being described – recalling it versus experiencing it – and that the fictive space of the poem not only allows them to exist simultaneously but interweaves the two.

The voices in these lines, however, must again be reframed by the admonition in lines 351-52, which are presented as if “spoken” by the “I”-voice of the poem: “Be waar, Hoccleue, I rede thee therefore, / And to a mene reule thow thee dresse.” The “I”-voice in these lines seems to represent a *different* first-person narrator than the autobiographical-“I” passages like the above lines 307-22 encourage the reader to

U P, 1999), and excerpts from the remainder of the *Series* are cited from *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems in the Phillipps MS. 8151 (Cheltenham) and the Durham MS. III. 9*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS e.s. 61 (London, 1892). Parenthetical translations in modern English of select excerpts from these poems are my own, aided by The Electronic Middle English Dictionary, Frances McSparran (Chief ed.), U Michigan P, 2001. <<http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/med/>>

² From analyses of the documentary record we have about the personnel and activities of the English government's Westminster Offices in this period, an autobiographical interpretation of these verses seems plausible. The definitive source for such analyses is J. A. Burrow's, *Thomas Hoccleve, Authors of the Middle Ages*, v.4 (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994). John Prentys is named in n.54, p.14.

interpret. The first and second person pronouns here also align with those which follow, further confounding an autobiographical reading:

...of thy manuel labour, as I weene,
Thy lucre is swich þat it vnnethe is seene
Ne felt. Of yiftes seye I eek the same. ... (364-66)
Than wolde it seeme þat thow borwid haast
Mochil of þat þat thow haast thus despent
In outrage and excesse and verray waast. (369-71)

The narrator, from line 351 through this verse is dressing down what had been the autobiographical voice in the poem (now given the name ‘Hoccleve’) for spending beyond the means his labor provides him. He uses the verb “rede,” conjugated from the Middle English “reden,” in the sense of urging or advising *this* Hoccleve to attend to his ‘mean rule’ – his unruly behavior – drinking away his money and spending it on such luxuries as ferry rides on the Thames described elsewhere in the poem. The narrator, however, is sure to mention (366) that he can sympathize with this situation from *direct* experience: “Of yiftes seye I eek the same,” (i.e. “these gifts, the meager fruits of my labor, I also have”).

These complicated layers of voice bring to mind the questions Roland Barthes uses to introduce his 1968 essay “The Death of the Author.” To paraphrase his analysis of a sentence in Balzac’s *Sarrasine*, in which Balzac writes a description of an eccentric figure observed in the narrative, he asks: “Who is speaking thus?” Is it the hero of the story, rooted in his awareness of the scene? Is it Balzac the individual, drawing on personal philosophy, or Balzac the author professing ‘literary’ ideas? Is it a universal truth or psychology of his period? Says Barthes: “We shall never know for the good reason that writing is the destruction of every voice, of every point of origin.”³ Nowhere is this truer than in texts originally circulated in manuscript-form, which nearly always have come down to us through the interceding voices of various and multiple copyists. But even though most of Hoccleve’s work, including *La Male Regle* and the *Series* has actually survived in his own handwriting (see Figure 1: an image of his autograph on the last page of one of his manuscripts), Barthes’ sense that writing actually blocks access to

³ Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” in *Image–Music–Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142.

all that is signified by a representation of voice in text, still applies. Jorge Luis Borges in his short prose parable, “Borges and I,” written at least 10 years prior to Barthes’ essay, illustrates the effect of this with great clarity. In it the narrator says,

The other one, the one called Borges, is the one things happen to. ... I know of Borges from the mail and see his name on a list of professors or in a biographical dictionary. ... It would be an exaggeration to say that ours is a hostile relationship; I live, let myself go on living, so that Borges may contrive his literature, and this literature justifies me. ... my life is a flight and I lose everything and everything belongs to oblivion, or to him. // I do not know which of us has written this page.⁴

The narrator’s statement that he is not sure whether *he* or the public and extra-textual Borges, the author, has actually written the parable, underscores the irony in the fact that the narrative voice is just as textually constructed as the authorial persona from whom he distinguishes himself. Hoccleve’s twisting of pronoun references and antecedents in *La Male Regle* shows this same kind of differentiation between “speaking” voices in the poems. These distinctions in turn reinforce the poem’s rhetoric, attempting to assure his potential patron that the spendthrift’s and drunkard’s voice in the poem, is *not* the voice asking for money.

Lee Patterson, in his 2001 *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* article that examines the voices in Hoccleve’s poetry for what they reveal about the poet’s understanding of his self in relation to society, presents a claim that very directly represents what I find problematic about much of the criticism in the field which interprets Hoccleve’s work as autobiography. He suggests that “Hoccleve’s obsessive concern with representing his own inner life” is his goal and that “self-reflexivity” is “the fundamental topic of all his writing.”⁵ Now, at least partially, I agree: the nature of the “I”-voice and the type of subject it constructs is a common concern that all his poems deal with in some way. What I have trouble accepting, though, is the use of the term ‘self’ as Patterson here compounds it.⁶

⁴ Jorge Luis Borges, “Borges and I,” in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories & Other Writings of Jorge Luis Borges*, trans. James E. Irby (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1964), 246-7.

⁵ Lee Patterson, “‘What is Me?’: Self and Society in the Poetry of Thomas Hoccleve,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 23 (2001): 439-40

⁶ Self-reflexivity is used by Patterson as a focus for Hoccleve’s topicality similarly to how D. C. Greetham uses ‘self-reference’ in “Self-Referential Artifacts: Hoccleve’s Persona as a Literary Device,” *Modern*

Patterson attempts to account for Hoccleve's concerns with how his "individuality" relates to society, by claiming that Hoccleve "tries always to fit the self into a coherent and unifying narrative," but that the nature of that self and the political and material culture in which he lived always causes him to fail.⁷ This does suggest an explanation for ambiguities and inconsistencies that Hoccleve's texts seem to reveal about his motivations and rhetoric, but the assumption that a self can be read at all *in* the text or *through* the text to one informing it – even one that fails to cohere – is suspect. As Barthes puts it: "the author is never more than the instance of writing, just as *I* is nothing other than the instance saying *I*: language knows a 'subject,' not a person, ... empty outside of the very enunciation which defines it."⁸ David Lawton began to explore this concept in a 1987 paper on *Piers Plowman* on the basis that "the subject...is not a self, if by self we mean something whole or united."⁹ Like the examples from *La Male Regle* begin to illustrate, Hoccleve's subjectivity in his texts is actually polyvalent, blurring the lines between autobiography and textual personae used to support rhetorical stances.

Instead of attempting to establish a one-to-one relationship between voices in Hoccleve's text and the author's purpose for them, then, I propose that a model of subjectivity needs to be developed to account for the *multi*-vocality of Hoccleve's texts. In other terms, this means following up on the implications of Bahktinian heteroglossia by considering how discourses and voices all come into dialogue with one another in a text, and form a plural structure. Many critics have paid lip-service to Bahktinian readings of subjectivities such as voice in medieval texts – but the tendency (like we see in Patterson) has been to reduce multiplicities down to a few manageable categories rather than to account for their full pluralistic potential.¹⁰ Such as I showed in *La Male Regle*, moments in Hoccleve's poems when voices contradict or compete with each other for the reader's attention reveal a poet very aware of how multiple narrative layers

Philology 86.3 (Feb. 1989): 242-51, and how Derek Pearsall uses 'self-representation' in "Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*; The Poetics of Self-Representation," *Speculum* 69.2 (Apr. 1994): 386-410.

⁷ Patterson, "What is Me?" 440.

⁸ Barthes, "Death of the Author," 145.

⁹ David Lawton, "The Subject of *Piers Plowman*," *YLS* 1 (1987): 6.

¹⁰ Spearing tersely observes this in *Textual Subjectivity*, p.10, n.9, (see n. 14 below).

of a text can be twisted together for rhetorical effect. This awareness translates into a theme to which Hoccleve repeatedly returns. A text not only provides an interior means by which subjects can be manipulated and multiplied to create a particular reading experience, but also how, because of the material circumstances of circulation at the time, a text inherited a subjective unpredictability in how it would be read that necessitated conceiving of it as a multiplicity.

This theme is most directly expressed in the narrative of Hoccleve's *Series* that, as David Watt has recently claimed, not only describes a scribe compiling texts, prefatory materials, and aids for interpretation into a commissioned volume, but also dramatizes an ongoing conversation between the narrator and a friend about the book's compilation and how it might be read piecemeal by different people for different purposes.¹¹ As the following excerpt, appearing after the third major section of the *Series*, known as the *Tale of Jereslaus' Wife*, shows, the text that is being discussed relies on both a partial reading and two exemplars in order to be written. After the narrator, who is called Thomas, shows his friend the text he has just completed (which actually precedes this excerpt in *Series* manuscripts), the friend tells him that he thinks something is missing:

But is ther aght þat thow purposist seye
More on this tale?" "nay, my freend / no thyng."
"Thomas / heere is a greet substance aweye:
Where i[s] the moralizynge / y yow preye,
Become heere-of / was ther noon in the book
Out of the which / þat thow this tale took?"
"No certes, freend / therin ne was ther noon."
"Sikerly, Thomas / there-of I meruail;
Hoom wole y walke / and retourne anon:
Nat spare wole y / for so smal trauaill
And looke in my book / there y shal nat fail
To fynde it / of þat tale it is parcel,
For y seen haue it ofte / & knowe it wel."
He cam ther with / and it vnto me redde,

¹¹ David Watt, "Exemplars and Exemplarity: Compilation as Narrative in Thomas Hoccleve's *Series*" (paper presented at the Fifteenth Biennial Congress of the New Chaucer Society, Fordham University, New York, 27-31 July, 2006). Two primary examples of this are how Humphrey might use of the *Tale of Jereslaus' Wife* to impress women and how the friend might use of the *Tale of Jonathas* to teach his son about the evils of his wayward lifestyle. The *Regiment* also reveals Hoccleve's awareness of reading for exemplarity in lines 2138-41 that offer the poem to the Prince as a way to "dryve foorth the nyght" by flipping through the stories it contains.

Leuynghe it with me / & hoom wente again;
And to this moralyzynghe I me spedde (*Prol. to Moral. of Tale of Jeres Wif* 1.9-24)

From the perspective of the reader of Hoccleve's book, discussing the incompleteness of the text that has just been presented in his manuscript draws attention to its physicality – and also to the scribal subjectivity that arises from it. The friend-character has to notice the physical absence of the text, recall the version with which he is familiar, argue for Thomas to accept the possibility of additional absent text, and then expend the physical effort to walk home and back to retrieve his own differing physical copy. This presents an alternative perspective to the reader on what makes up the “whole” text of the tale,¹² emphasizing how physical circumstances can influence subjective interpretations of a text, but more importantly how the *existence* of texts depends upon memories, readings, social relationships, and interpretations of text that are *necessarily* subjective, and therefore different from one another. Significantly, this also depicts how voices in texts are plural. After all, the friend's voice pours from the same pen as Thomas's.

So to get at the heart of how Hoccleve's subjectivities function in materially unstable texts, all these textual voices need to be closely read for how they construct what Mieke Bal calls *loci* in intersecting interpersonal and impersonal systems.¹³ As such, Hoccleve's narrators and speakers, who are portrayed as being especially conscious of their participation in the mutable process of textual transmission, are also being developed in several different directions as characters in their own right. They then offer perspectives on the rhetorical goals for each poem in the narratives of their discourse. To borrow A. C. Spearing's words from his 2005 book entitled *Textual*

¹²David Watt claims, in the aforementioned conference paper, that this moment in the narrative shows Hoccleve exploring booklet production as a way to “imagine and represent memory” (p.7). He interprets the supplemental booklet that contains the moralization for the *Tale of Jereslaus' Wife* as being symbolic of a type of exemplar or mnemonic aid that Hoccleve relies on to supplement his knowledge of the text.

¹³Mieke Bal, “The Rhetoric of Subjectivity,” *Poetics Today* 5.2 (1984): 341, 3. Bal originally uses the term *locus* for the “position...where different systems cross.” These systems are described as “not only impersonal, [but] ... also and in the first place *interpersonal*, for their existence as systems is based not only on their impersonal structure but also on their function as connectives between persons. Precisely because human subjects are split, unstable and dependent, meanings are conveyed by and to them and partially fixed in them at the moment they participate in semiosis, thus contributing to their permanent (de)formation” (p.343-4, my emphasis).

Subjectivity (an argument which I hope to be furthering here), they “demonstrate the artificiality and illusoriness of what has come to seem natural, the construction of a single speaking subject for the literary text.”¹⁴ If Hoccleve, the poet, lurks behind any point of subjectivity in his poems, it is only as a specter who resists boundaries and determinations and can only be reconstructed in the same way as any other of the poem’s textually situated voices. This suggests a model for a subject in a text that could be pictured as a node in a network, or even better, a city in a metropolis. While its name seems to suggest a unified whole, on closer examination a metropolis is actually *characterized* by complex internal divisions, suburbs, and neighborhoods that each exhibit extremely different qualities but connect in elaborate ways to each other and to other urban centers. The subject, behind the linguistic sign that identifies it in a text, is similarly characterized by both internal and external divisions and connections – and has a changing relationship to social and discursive systems, other subjects, and other texts. It is in this sense that subjectivity in Hoccleve’s poetry is intertextual. Considering how the concept of intertextuality posits that all texts are situated in complex relationships to other texts at numerous levels of magnification and mediation, Hoccleve’s subjectivity has a similar structure: connecting subjects to or separating them from his narrators, characters, audiences – that is, to all the voices *in* or situated *around* his texts, *and* the texts themselves.

To illustrate how Hoccleve, himself (i.e. the poet writing these texts), seems to be aware of subjectivity structured in this way, I offer here an example from the first section of the *Series* called the *Complaint*. In this section, the narrating voice describes a recent recovery from a mental illness and tries to reconcile his own perception of his subjectivity with how he thinks others see him. He thus treats his internal self as a distinct entity – a subject in its own right—separated from him of its own accord and then returned “home” to him by the grace of God.

¹⁴ A. C. Spearing, *Textual Subjectivity: The Encoding of Subjectivity in Medieval Narratives and Lyrics* (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2005), 15. This remark is specifically concerned with the prologue to Layamon’s *Brut*, but could be extended to describe how Hocclevean subjectivity confounds interpretations of a unified speaking voice.

The narrator relies on rhetoric that creates distance between him and aspects of himself that other people could use as evidence of his continued mental illness. For instance, after describing how people inquired after him via his Privy Seal Office colleagues but refused to accept their testimony that he was healed, he laments about his life by parsing it:

This troublly lyf / hath al to longe endurid;
Nat have I wist / how in my skyn to tourne.
But now myself / to myself haue ensurid
For no swich wondrynge / aftir this to mourne
As longe as my lyf / shal in me soiourne. (302-6)

The operating metaphor here relies on a separation between him and his expressions (making a promise to himself with the word ‘ensurid’), and between his life and his body. With his “skyn” described as something the I-voice possesses and can move around in (without necessarily moving the skin itself), his “lyf” is described as something similarly separated from himself, but contained *within* him instead of containing him. This expresses the heart of his frustrations with the way others see him. The narrator is portrayed as being aware of his own subjectivity in all sorts of nested and layered ways.¹⁵ Yet, people around him prejudge and simplify him based on their external or even second-hand impressions.

The solution he proposes in the last line to no-longer worry about his status in the public eye, though, is too isolationist to be compatible with the act of petitioning for money. His posture of taking solace in isolation therefore arises out of a very keen awareness of his own social conduct and how others view him. He expresses alarm at how a circle of acquaintances talk about him behind his back as *if* he were paranoid: “Anothir spak / and of me seide also //...þat myn yen / soghten euery halke” (130-3, i.e. “that my eyes sought out every corner”), but the narrator, himself, describes a

¹⁵ My point is an alternative to Matthew Boyd Goldie’s suggestion in “Psychosomatic Illness and Identity in London, 1416-1421: Hoccleve’s *Complaint* and *Dialogue with a Friend*,” *Exemplaria* 11.1 (1999): 41, that Hoccleve attempts to “assert the coherence of the self” in these lines but fails because the reader can observe two distinct ‘selves.’ I think that Hoccleve is very much aware of the disparities in the selves the narrator describes and is trying to show how they represent a subjective multiplicity rather than a coherent self.

paranoia about his public conduct that drives him away from people into solitary musings before his mirror.

What the narrator is doing here is complaining to readers through the text within which he exists about how he is being treated like a text. The narrator's reading a narrative of healing in his divided past and present selves is juxtaposed with the 'public's' reading of the same 'texts' as a narrative of persistent madness. This is why the friend who critiques the narrator's writing is inserted into the rest of the *Series*. It is being dramatized here how the subjectivity of audiences can result not only in unintended interpretations of a text but in unintended and even hostile understandings of the writer. The friend figure serves as the poet's model reader of both the narrator's writing and of the narrator himself.

Placing the subjectivities of the narrator, his imaginary disconnected "lyf" and "skyn," the imagined patron, the gossip crowd, and the friend on the same level, one can see how they are all subjects for interpretation *within* the text and are all in some manner interpreted *as* texts. This and my other examples reveal a poetic sensibility aware of how subjectivity in any text is formed by the confluence of many voices and many texts, in a system that allows them to integrate and intermingle without losing distinctiveness. This is a system that, in turn, influences Hoccleve's texts' construction and their relationship to other texts and readers.

Hoccleve's career of poetic petitioning thus seems to be making claims about the nature of text and voice, rather than just about self-construction. The line from *La Male Regle*: "Be waar, Hoccleve I rede thee," could then be read as a pun on the verb "reden." Not only might it mean: "Beware, Hoccleve of the past, I urge you [to reform]," but also "Beware, Hoccleve of the *text*, I am *reading* you." The "I"-voice may anticipate the intended patron outside the text, but does not have to. It could constitute one of the other subjects within the text, the poet himself, or even the post-modern reader, 600 years later. In this case perhaps 'mene reule' in the following line ("And to a mene reule thow thee dresse"), is another pun: counseling the reader and subject inside the poem alike that the 'intermediary role' of their textual presence must be 'addressed' in order to give the text meaning.

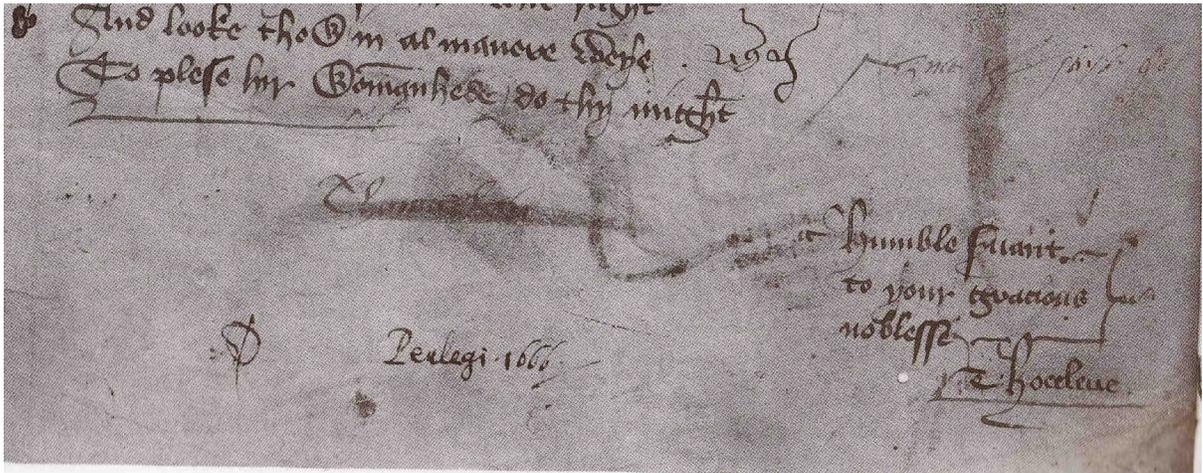


Figure 1: Image of Durham (England), MS Cosin V. III. 9, fol. 95r (detail), from *Thomas Hoccleue: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*, eds. J. A. Burrow and A. I. Doyle, EETS s.s. 19 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Spectacles in Translation

*Introduction by Joshua Reid, University of Kentucky and
Carrie Ruiz, University of Colorado at Boulder*

This panel explored various forms of visual mediums and their transfiguration into other signifying forms, ultimately addressing two distinct but intertwined notions: spectacle and translation. We chose “spectacle” to inscribe the topic under the parameters of visual perception as well as those of exhibition—whether a collective or individual experience; we chose “translation” to emphasize the transmission from one medium to another, from concept to visual composition. This complex process inevitably involves transformation, reformulation, mediation and appropriation.

Three significant papers explored this topic through different avenues. Two of the three studies focused on how visual mechanisms negotiated the transmission of religious doctrine for specific Counter-Reformation purposes. Krystal Chéhab, in her paper, “Sacro Monte of Varese: Realism and Performance in Holy Pilgrimage,” closely analyzed a series of chapels commissioned by Archbishop Federico Borromeo of Milan. Chéhab demonstrated how these chapels translated traditional religious media—sermons and texts—into a visual fusion of architecture, trompe-l’oeil frescoes, and life-size sculptures. These carefully constructed spectacles, Chéhab argued, sought to “organize and, to an extent, homogenize” the pilgrim’s experiences, reactivating past religious events in the present. Chéhab successfully complicated her thesis through a consideration of the viewers’ individual responses, where the performance of local tradition could often conflict with the Church’s attempts at visual control. Karine Tsoumis touched on similar themes of visual translation and audience response in her paper, “Giovanni Battista Cavalieri’s *Ecclesiae militantis triumphi*: Appropriating the Image of the Martyr.” Tsoumis focused on printed reproductions of the frescoes of San Stefano Rotondo, and how these printed images reached a broader Roman viewing audience than the original Jesuit one. She discussed the “effect of translation from one medium to another” on “viewers that were not originally intended by the prototype.”

Both studies addressed how visual forms functioned as proselytizing devices to reaffirm faith and to produce inner reform. These visual artifacts were thus implemented in order to shape and direct the religious experience of the faithful. The different mediums—engravings or multimedia compendiums—permitted the dissemination of diverse church doctrines, whether from the translation of biblical narrations into *tableaux vivants* on a pilgrimage route or from the reproduction of sections of frescos on a church wall into engravings included in a Jesuit devotional aid. In both instances, the visual translations that occurred were strongly imbedded with specific religious ideology.

The third presentation explored similar themes but in the scientific realm of the early 17th century. In “‘That Fiction of the Ganza’s’: Engraving and Authority in Early Modern Science,” chosen for publication in extended form in this volume, Meghan Doherty analyzes how a specific image crafting tool, the burin, functions as a translation device and inscribes certain illustrations into the scientific discourse. In particular, Doherty examines three engraved illustrations that appear in Francis Godwin’s *The Man the in the Moone or a Discourse on a Voyage thither* (1638). Due to the nature of these images, originally published in a fantastical travel account, they could be viewed as fictional depictions rather than plausible designs of mechanical devices. Doherty argues that their placement into larger knowledge networks, along with their production technique, infuses authority to these illustrations. In this process of transformation, it is the engraver’s tool that initiates such change. Thus, Doherty invites us to reflect on the translation of images from their fictitious associations into powerful and authoritative engravings in scientific texts. While her home field is Art History, Doherty fruitfully draws from such diverse fields as the history of science and technology and book and print culture. The editors feel that this study best represents the concerns of the panel as a whole, which raised important questions regarding the formation and production of knowledge by means of visual creations.

'That Fiction of the Ganza's': Engraving and Authority in Early Modern Science

Meghan Doherty
University of Wisconsin-Madison

In 1648 John Wilkins published *Mathematicall Magick or, the Wonders That may be performed by Mechanicall Geometry*.¹ It consisted of two books, the first concerning mechanical powers and the second concerning mechanical motions, titled Archimedes and Dædalus respectively in honor of the ancient proponents of these branches of the mechanical arts. Wilkins assures his reader that there is “great *delight and pleasure*” to be found in his book and “also much *real benefit* to be learned.”² Book 2, Chapter 7, “Concerning the Art of flying,” presents an example that combines both pleasure and benefit.³ In this chapter, Wilkins provides four different ways by which man might fly. The second of these categories is “By the help of fowls.”⁴ He begins his discussion of this second method by stating: “There are others who have conjectured a possibility of being conveyed through the air by the help of fowls; to which purpose that fiction of the *Ganza's*, is the most pleasant and probable.”⁵ As *Mathematicall Magick* was written at a time when the credibility of one's sources was becoming increasingly important, we are forced to wonder where he gleaned this information.⁶ What is this “fiction of the *Ganza's*?” How did it persuade Wilkins that man might be able to fly “By the help of fowls?” On what authority did he base his claim? What enabled him to shift the status of this knowledge from the fictional to the probable?

¹ John Wilkins, *Mathematicall Magick or, the Wonders That may be performed by Mechanicall Geometry* (London, 1648).

² *Ibid*, A4v.

³ *Ibid*, 199-210.

⁴ The other three are: “By spirits or Angels;” “By wings fastened immediately to the body;” “By a flying chariot,” 200.

⁵ *Ibid*, 201-202.

⁶ For a discussion of the importance of witnesses and credibility in early modern science see, Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer. *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

The beginnings of an answer is found in Bishop Francis Godwin's posthumously published *The Man in the Moone or a Discourse on a Voyage thither*, which first appeared in print with Domingo Gonsales, the Speedy Messenger, listed as its author in 1638, five years after Godwin's death.⁷ This slim, pocket-sized book narrates the trials and tribulations of Gonsales and follows him as he sets off to find fame and fortune in the East only to be left on an island in the South Atlantic after falling ill aboard ship on the return trip.⁸ We then follow Gonsales as he trains a group of birds, which he calls his *gansa's* [sic], on the island to carry messages, packages, and eventually himself between points on the island. Later in the story it is these same birds that carry Gonsales on his voyage to the moon. So this is the fiction to which Wilkins refers, but how do we get from fictional account to probable means of flying? What allows for this

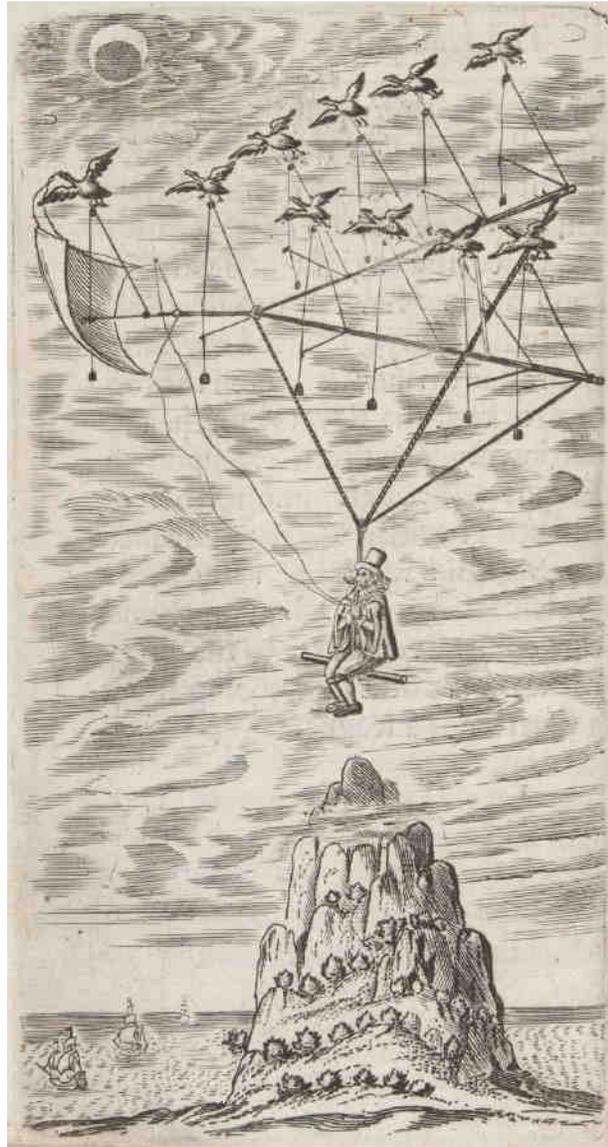


Figure 1 - Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moone*, London, 1657, frontispiece. This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷ Domingo Gonsales [Francis Godwin, psedu.], *The Man in the Moone or a Discourse of a Voyage thither* (London, 1638). There has been much debate among scholars about the time period in which Godwin composed this book. Marjorie Nicolson summarizes the sides of the debate well and states her case for a date after 1620. See Marjorie Nicolson, "Cosmic Voyages," *ELH: A Journal of English Literary History* 7, no. 3 (June, 1940): 100, note 45. A second edition published in 1657 listed F. G. B. of H. (Francis Godwin, Bishop of Hereford) as the book's author on the title page. Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moone or a Discourse of a Voyage thither* (London, 1657).

⁸ Existing scholarship on the book focuses on Gonsales's time on the moon and not on his mode of conveyance. See for instance, Nicholson, "Cosmic Voyages" and Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 152-180.

shift in the authority of the knowledge contained within the book? We find our answer in the three engraved images included in the book, two of which show the topography of the islands where Gonzales traveled in the South Atlantic Ocean and the third showing him suspended above one of the islands by his *gansa's* and flying machine. Godwin provides some verbal description of the machine that Gonsales constructs, but the bulk of the information necessary to replicate Gonsales's invention is presented in the third of these illustrations.

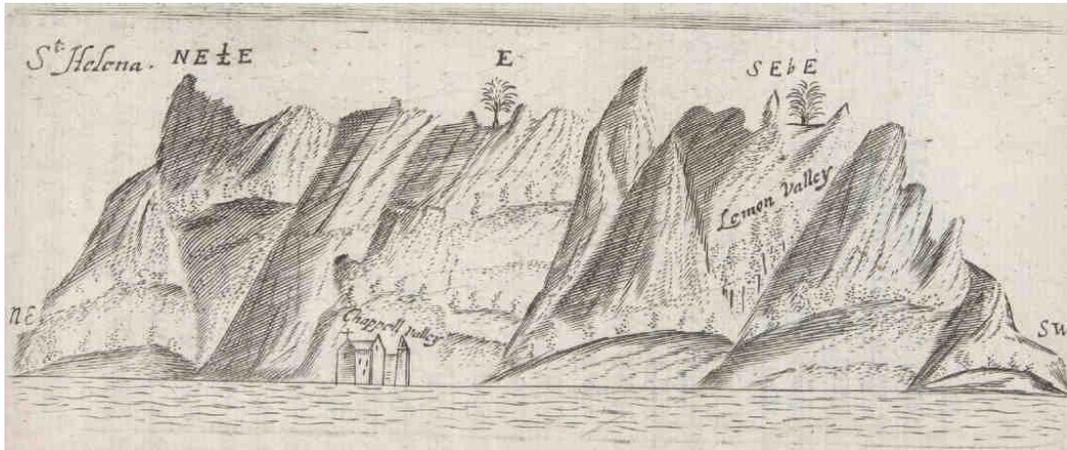


Figure 2 - Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moone*, London, 1657, p. 15. This item is reproduced by permission of *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California*.

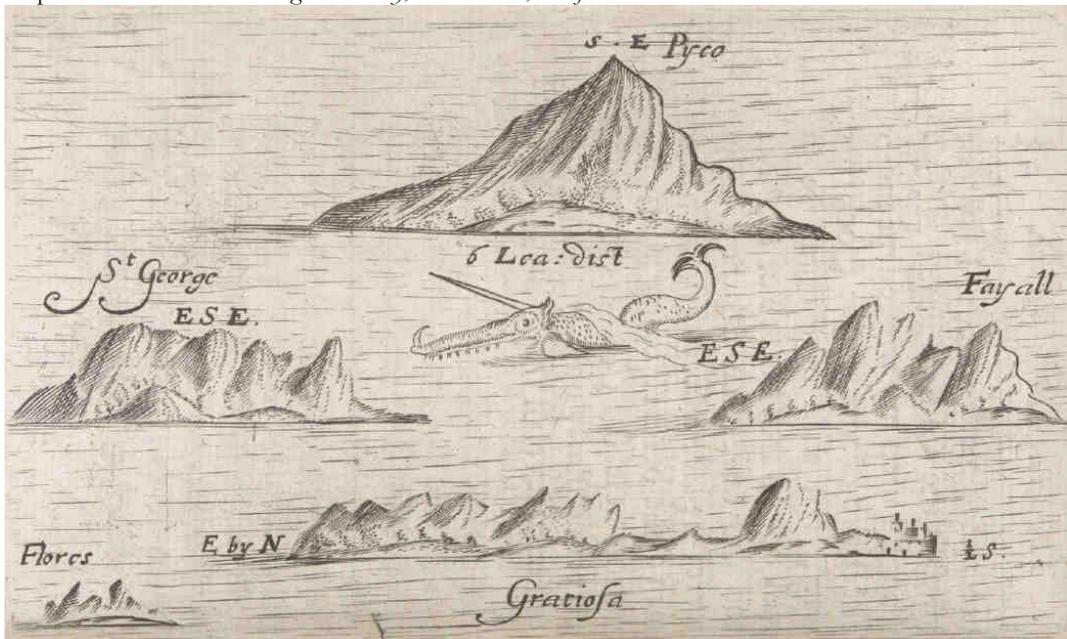


Figure 3 - Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moone*, London, 1657, p. 44. This item is reproduced by permission of *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California*.

The question we are left with then is: how did this image that shows a man suspended in the air by a flock of birds persuade Wilkins that given the appropriate measures of genius and leisure, this machine could be made?⁹ This paper will serve as a beginning foray into answering this question and the larger one that lies behind it, that is, what is the status of the knowledge contained within engraved illustrations? And how do images accrue authority in scientific texts? This paper, and my research more broadly, is concerned with the role played by the engraver's burin, the tool used to carve an image onto a copper plate, in the creation and dissemination of knowledge in the early modern period. Using Godwin's *Man in the Moone* as a test case, I argue that engraving imbued the knowledge contained in books' illustrations with authority because of the care taken by the engravers in the production of printed images and because of the place of the images within larger networks of visual knowledge.

It could be argued that there is no place for a fictional account of a voyage to the moon in a discussion of illustrated scientific books, but Godwin engaged with contemporary scientific issues on a number of fronts. First, he was interested in the mechanics of being able to fly, which fascinated many in the period, the best known perhaps being Leonardo da Vinci. He was also engaging with debates about Copernicanism. Godwin aligned himself with "the late opinion of Copernicus" that the earth in fact revolved around the sun and not vice versa, as the ancients had believed.¹⁰ In his letter "To the Ingenious Reader," Godwin likened the possibility of reader's incredulity at there being a new world on the moon to the initial mistrust people had of Columbus's "espiall of America."¹¹ He went on to say "that there should be *Antipodes* was once thought as great a *Paradox* as now that the *Moon* should bee habitable."¹² Evoking "this our discovering age," he continued by extolling the virtues of Galileo's "spectacles," which "gaze the Sunne into spots, & descry mountaines in the *Moon*."¹³ The preface ends with an assertion of the credibility of Gonsales as a witness by referring to the narrative that follows as: "the faithfull

⁹ In his description of Godwin's purposed method of flying, Wilkins works to allay the skepticism of his reader: "However this may seem a strange proposall, yet it is not certainly more improbable, then [sic] many other arts, wherein the industry of ingenious men hath instructed these brute creatures. And I am very confident, that one whose genius doth enable him for such kind of experiments upon leisure, and the advantage of such helps as are requisite for various and frequent trials, might effect some strange thing by this kind of enquiry." Wilkins, 202.

¹⁰ Godwin, 53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, A3v.

¹² *Ibid.*, n.p.

¹³ *Ibid.*, n.p.

relation of the little eye-witness, our great discoverer.”¹⁴ Godwin’s interest in the debates of “this our discovering age” and his careful establishment of Gonsales as a credible witness tie this “fiction of the *Ganıza’s*” into the large culture of discovery and inquiry in early modern England and the inclusion of three engraved illustrations tie it to the art of the period as well.¹⁵

My work addresses questions about the relationship between art and science pertinent to the study of early modern art and visual culture produced in Europe. In doing so, I am building on previous art historical work as well as bringing in concerns from the history of science and technology, and the history of the book and print culture. In part, my contribution to each of these fields comes in bringing them more closely into conversation with one another by looking at the printed illustrations in scientific books.

My research, of which this essay is one small part, enters into the debate about the role of print culture in the early modern era and particularly the question of whether printing produced standardization. William Ivens’s statement in *Prints and Visual Communication* (1953) that prints are “exactly repeatable pictorial statements” began the debate.¹⁶ Since he made this statement, there has been a growing body of work on the role of printing in the cultural changes that occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, notably Elizabeth Eisenstein’s *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (1979) and Adrian Johns’s *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (1998).¹⁷ While Eisenstein extends Ivens’s assertion to encompass printed text, through extensive primary research Adrian Johns has shown that in many cases printing does not ensure fixity or standardization (two characteristics that Eisenstein stresses). My work follows on Johns’s in that I am studying the ways in which the changes between observation and dissemination are neither neutral nor transparent. In this respect, I am also drawing on the work of Bruno Latour, who writes about the importance of studying the movement of information through various

¹⁴ Ibid, n.p.

¹⁵ The first ten pages of the book are spent establishing Gonsales’s credentials as a noble and honest narrator, that is, someone who could be relied upon to provide truthful testimony about his (mis)adventures.

¹⁶ William M. Ivens, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: 1953).

¹⁷ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) and Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

mediators as it travels from observation to dissemination.¹⁸

While the works of Eisenstein and Johns address printing in general, less attention has been given to the role of the tools of the engraver used as knowledge-making scientific instruments. Pamela Smith's *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (2004) addresses an important set of issues surrounding the place of artisanal knowledge in the creation of scientific knowledge, but she does not investigate the artisan-engraver and his tools.¹⁹ My understanding of the tools of the engraver as scientific instruments draws on Thomas Hankins and Robert Silverman's argument in *Instruments and the Imagination* (1995) that natural philosophical instruments in the seventeenth century worked to distort nature in order to better understand it.²⁰

By bringing together the history of technology and the history of print culture, my work sheds new light on the importance of early modern printmaking for the development of modern forms of scientific communication. The interdisciplinarity of my approach is necessary because the circulation of knowledge in the early modern period relied on a medium previously used to circulate images of artistic masterpieces. This medium, I argue, is important for the dissemination of experimental results. My work then brings art historical concerns about style and process into a discussion of the importance of England in the Scientific Revolution. This paper is a beginning attempt at tracing the development of engraving as a seemingly objective and neutral medium for conveying information.

Faithful Translators

An understanding of the relationship between engraving and authority begins with an understanding of how engravings were being made and how engravers understood the importance of fidelity to source materials for their work. In the early modern period there were two primary ways of making printed illustrations to include in books: woodcuts, made with a

¹⁸ Bruno Latour, "Drawing things together," in *Representation in Scientific Practice*, ed. Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1990) and Bruno Latour, "How to be Iconophilic in Art, Science, and Religion?" in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 1998).

¹⁹ Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

²⁰ Thomas L. Hankins, *Instruments and the Imagination* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995).

relief process and engravings, made using an intaglio process.²¹ In an intaglio process, it is the incised line that takes the ink as opposed to the raised line that is left in a relief print. Engraving developed as a printing technique in the fifteenth century and was initially used primarily for devotional prints and ephemera like playing cards, but was soon adopted for scientific illustrations because of the higher level of detail that was possible with engraving. Woodcut illustrations were more economical because the blocks containing the images could be set with the text of the book and the entire book could be printed using a single press. Engravings, on the other hand, required a second press as the copper plates could not withstand the same amount of pressure as the wooden blocks. The necessity of a second press had two distinct consequences: books with engraved illustrations were more costly as a result of the additional labor required and there was the possibility of images being inserted in the wrong places as they were on separate sheets of paper from the text.²²

By the mid-seventeenth century engravers were aware of the problems inherent in translating an individual's original, unique, creation or observation into an image that circulated in multiples. The anxiety that engravers had about the problems of translation are expressed in the high level of detail found in published engraver's manuals. Abraham Bosse's treatise on engraving, which was the basis of William Faithorne's *The Art of Graveing and Etching* (1662), included many tips for engravers to ensure that the engravings matched the original source material as closely as possible given the technical difficulties of engraving in copper.²³ Much attention is given in the text to strategies for ensuring that the printed image is faithful to the original and that the transfer process does not compromise the integrity of the original. From Faithorne's text we learn:

²¹ For a detailed discussion of the to main printmaking techniques of the early modern period, see Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004).

²² For instance the plates in *The Man in the Moone* appear in different places in different copies of the book. In the Bodleian Library's copy the plate showing Gonsales and his flying machine appears facing the title page, after the plate of St. Helena (which faces page 14) and facing page 29. The plate showing Pyco and the surrounding islands is interleaved facing page 45. This copy was reprinted in 1972 as part of *The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*. Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moone: or a Discourse of a Voyage thither* (1638; reprint, Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., 1972). However in the British Library's copy, Gonsales and his machine face page 14, St. Helena faces page 29 and again Pyco faces 45. The British Library's copy is available through Early English Books Online.

²³ Abraham Bosse, *Traicté des manières de graveur en taille douce* (Paris, 1645). William Faithorne, *The Art of Graveing and Etching* (London, 1662).

...in the case you desire to preserve your design from being any way defaced by the marks of your needle in drawing the out-lines: take a fine piece of white paper, and having oyled it hold it by the fire, to the end the oyl may sooner penetrate it; and having so done wipe it very dry with a linnen ragg, and place the said paper upon your design, making it fast at each corner; an you will perfectly discern your design through the paper; then with a black-lead well pointed, draw all the out-lines of your design upon the said oyled paper; when you have so done, place it upon the plate...²⁴

The reader is here given detailed directions for how to make tracing paper in order produce an accurate copy of the drawing while still preserving it. Other methods for transferring an original onto a plate described by Faithorne require blackening the back of the drawing and tracing the lines of the drawing to leave black lines on a waxed plate that could then be incised into the copper.

Once the reader has learned the techniques of transferring designs onto copper plates, instructions are given on how to sharpen your burin in order to make clean, crisp lines. Faithorne describes his preferred method of shaping the burin, which he says “will make your strokes, or hatches, show with more life and vigour.”²⁵ Careful instructions are also given on how to hold the burin and how to rest the plate in order to be able to rotate it to make curved lines. In addition to describing the sharpening techniques and the manner in which to hold the burin, Faithorne provided two illustrations to ensure that the reader has a clear and complete understanding of the techniques necessary to produce a faithful printed image. Bosse and Faithorne after him were both careful to stress the necessity of precision when translating an image from a preparatory drawing to an engraved illustration for publication. They were not providing instructions on how to engrave original compositions, but how to translate someone else’s.

²⁴ Faithorne, 42-43.

²⁵ Ibid, 43.

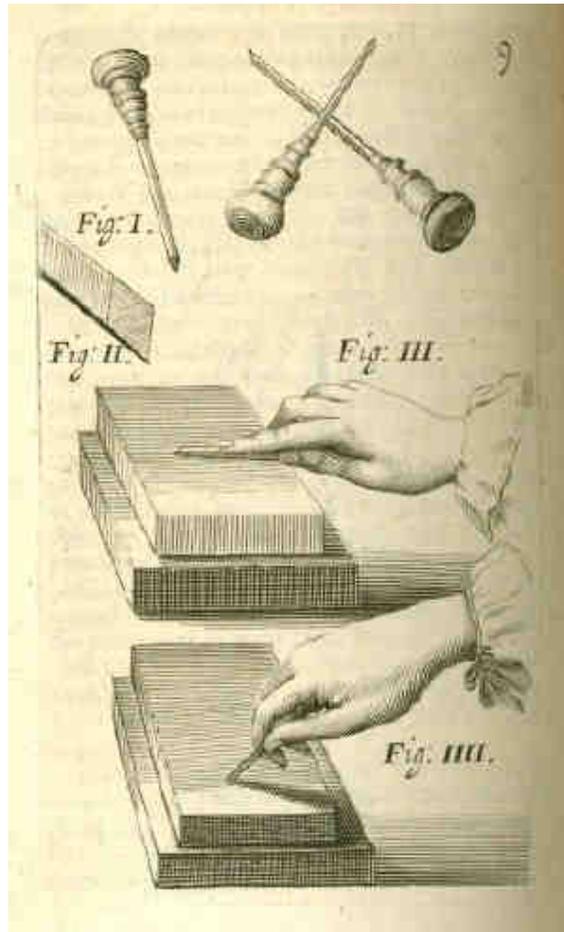


Figure 4 - William Faithorne, The Art of Graveing and Etching, plate 9, Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Case Wing Z 418 .282

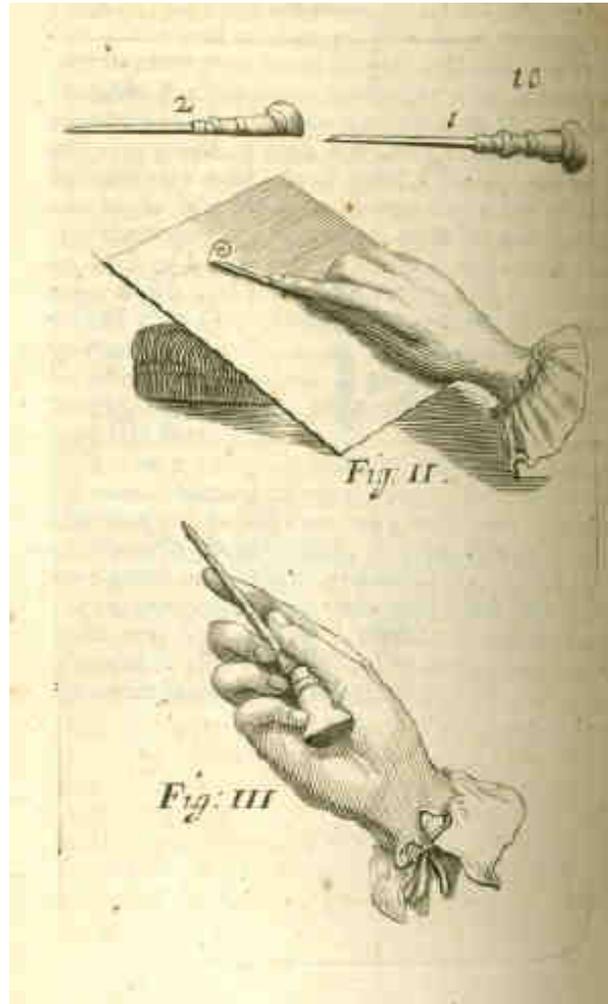


Figure 5 - William Faithorne, *The Art of Graveing and Etching*, plate 10, Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Case Wing Z 418 .282

The attention paid by engravers to the process of translation and their attempts to prevent changes from entering the composition helps to make engraving the accepted medium for the transmission of knowledge. In writing about the visualization of knowledge in scientific practice, Bruno Latour asserts “information is never simply transferred, it is always radically transformed from one medium to the next. More accurately, it pays for its transport through a heavy price in transformations.”²⁶ In an essay included in a collection addressing representation in scientific practice, Bruno Latour put forth the phrase “immutable mobiles” to describe the

²⁶ Latour, “How to be Iconophilic,” 425.

products of printing.²⁷ He uses this phrase to describe the ways in which printing allowed for the easier circulation of knowledge and ensured that the information was transferred unchanged. In a more recent essay, he clarifies what he means by this term: “Immutable does not mean that information is transferred unproblematically but that some features have to be maintained *in spite* of the mobility provided to them.”²⁸ Engravers strove to maintain the outlines of the designs they were working from and worked to have the best tools for the job in order to have the level of “neatnesse and curiosity as you desire.”²⁹

*Networks of Knowledge*³⁰

All three of the images included in *The Man in the Moone* exist within a multiplicity of networks created by the engraver’s burin. These images translate a fictitious narrative into a probable design for a machine. Lines between genres are blurred by the connections within these networks and authority and legibility are transferred between images within the networks. In the *Man in the Moone*, there is first the network that exists within the pages of the book, which facilitates the transfer of believability and credibility between images with a firm grasp on truth-value, that is topographical views of known places, and the one with a less clear claim to truth, that is an image of a man flying above the sea “by the help of fowls.” In the first edition of 1638, the one that Wilkins would have seen, the two topographical plates are interleaved after the islands depicted are described in the text.³¹ Known places are mentioned and followed by believable representations of these places. The image of Gonsales and his machine comes after a description of his first flight and the view of *El Pyco* comes after Gonsales’s *gansa*’s carry him to the top of this peak after English privateers attack the ship that has rescued him from St. Helena. The sequencing of the images in the text and the pattern of believable text followed by

²⁷ Latour, “Drawing Things Together,” 19-68.

²⁸ Latour, “How to be Iconophilic,” 426.

²⁹ Faithorne, 44.

³⁰ My understanding of networks in this essay is based on Bruno Latour’s discussion of the networks that natural and culturally produced objects and on Deleuze and Guattari’s definition of the rhizome. Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) and Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, “Rhizome,” in *On the Line*, trans. John Johnston (New York: Semiotexte, 1983), 1-65.

³¹ The foliation in the Bodleian Library’s copy seems to be the intended one as the text on page 14 narrates Gonsales’s arrival on St. Helena and the text on page 27 describes his first flight. In addition, this foliation is maintained in the Huntington Library’s copy of the 1657 edition of the book.

believable image, established with the topographical plates, add to the credibility of the plate showing the flying machine.

The engravings themselves are also parts of larger networks that connect them to other similar images. These networks exist not only between the pages of books, but also in the minds of the readers who have been exposed to a wide range of images and networks of information made possible through printing. I will first explore the network that the topographical images are connected to and then discuss the network of mechanical drawings in which the image of Gonsales and his machine is enmeshed.

Of the three illustrations included in *The Man in the Moone*, two depict the islands that Gonsales traveled to in the course of the story that would have been familiar to Godwin's readers through their mention in countless travel narratives from the period.³² It is unlikely that the engraver was working from a first hand drawing of the islands to which Gonsales traveled, but rather printed views and maps. The distance this creates between observation and dissemination lengthens the network, but does not disrupt the connection between the two. To fully understand the first topographical illustration, the viewer has to turn the book sideways as the image stretches along the length of the spine of the book, forcing the reader to interact with the book in order to place the narrative in real space. The scene depicted is clearly identified in the upper left hand corner of the image as St. Helena, the island that Gonsales was left on to recover after falling ill on the return voyage from the East Indies. St. Helena, an island in the South Atlantic, was used first by the Portuguese as a waypoint on voyages to the East Indies beginning in the early sixteenth century and later came under the control of the Dutch.³³ The viewer is immediately situated within the view as a large "E" hovers over the center of the image indicating that we are looking from the west to the east at the island. The viewer's position is further solidified by the inclusion of other directional cues: "NE" on the lower left edge of the image, "SW" on the lower right edge, "NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E" half way between "NE" and "E" and "SEbE" on the opposite side of "E." All of these inscriptions firmly ground the viewer in a specific location off the coast of an island in the South Atlantic Ocean.

³² Richard Grove writes about the predominance of St. Helena in travel narratives because of its position on trade routes and because its uninhabitedness made it a likely candidate for Edenic projections. Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 42-47.

³³ *Ibid.*, 96.

The topography of the island is less clearly defined than its relation to compass points. Strong diagonal lines dominate the contours of the island, creating a sense of rhythmic movement from left to right. These diagonal valleys appear improbably parallel and straight as one follows the next across the length of the island. Two trees interrupt the progression of the peaks across the top of the island. The depth of the valleys is indicated through hatching lines of different densities. One of these valleys is identified as “Lemon Valley” and another as “Chappell Valley.” Not surprisingly, the label “Chappell Valley” is situated next to the island’s chapel, which is further identified as a chapel by the large cross on its roof. Overall, the image presents a higher level of cartographic detail than topographic detail. Although at first glance the view in Godwin’s book may seem sketch-like and unclear, it in fact looks quite similar to other published views of St. Helena from the period.³⁴ The engraver has tied this image securely to established traditions of visual representation by including both cartographic and topographic information and has therefore created connections between this image and other authoritative maps of the South Atlantic Ocean. In this way the view of St. Helena included in *The Man in the Moone* is conversant with other contemporary maps of the region.

The second topographical view also requires the reader to rotate the book to fully understand the image. The dominant geographical feature in this image is the island identified as “Pyco.” Gonsales tells his reader that the top of it is “a place where they say never man came before, being in all estimation at least 15 leagues in height.”³⁵ This is the peak that Gonsales flies to the top of with the aid of his flying machine. Again the viewer is given a clear indication of the orientation of the image as an “S·E” hovers above the peak of the island. The other islands in the view are identified by name, relationship to compass points, and topographical features. This view of an archipelago combines inscriptions identifying the islands and their cartographic location with a depiction of a large horned sea creature. While the inclusion of a sea monster

³⁴ See for example a view of St. Helena from circa 1570 in Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *John Huighen, van Linschoten, his discours of voyages into Eeste and West Indies* (London, 1598). Reproduced in Grove, 99. Grove argues that Godwin based his description of the island largely on Linschoten’s travelogue as well as the writings of Francois Pyrard de Laval. Ibid, 100.

³⁵ Godwin, 43.

may seem to undercut the truthfulness of this view; it was common practice well into the seventeenth century to populate the ocean with imaginative creatures.³⁶

These two illustrations participate in a visual rhetoric that was developing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries whereby place was understood through topographical depiction. Svetlana Alpers in *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* traces what she calls the “mapping impulse in Dutch art” and discusses the confluence of mapping and picturing.³⁷ She attributes this merging to the belief that knowledge can be gained and expressed through pictures. Starting in the 1570s, Dutch mapmakers began producing topographical city views whose goal was to allow those who stayed at home the visual pleasures of travel. Among other places, these topographical views appeared along the edges of large-scale maps.³⁸ Similarly, the two topographical views of the islands Gonsales visited allow his readers to picture the places he went using a familiar visual rhetoric.

By using the same rhetoric as Dutch artists and mapmakers, the engraver of these images attaches his illustrations in Godwin’s book to a larger network of picturing place and establishes the authority of his images through this relationship. A combination of clear cartographic information and topographical depictions present the reader with knowledge in an established, authoritative visual rhetoric. Some of the authority of these images is transferred to the seemingly less truthful image of Gonsales raised aloft by the help of his *gansa’s* because of their proximity within the network that exists within the book.

While these two illustrations present information about specific, known places in an established format, the third illustration included in *The Man in the Moone* presents a scene with a less definitive claim to truth-value, but which is still in part conversant with the visual rhetoric of topographical views. A topographical view of a large island dominates the lower section. The island consists of a single tall peak, the top of which is circled by a ring of clouds. While there are a number of trees on the lower sections of the island, as the altitude increases, the number of trees decreases. The lower portion of the island is marked by gently rolling hills, which morph into more jagged outcroppings as the elevation rises. Although there is no indication of

³⁶ See for example the maps of Joan Blaeu in the Atlas Maior (1665). Joan Blaeu *Atlas Maior of 1665* (1665; reprint, Cologne:Taschen, 2005).

³⁷ Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) 119-168.

³⁸ See for instance the maps of Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas in Blaeu’s *Atlas Maior*.

compass points in this image, the lower section is depicted using a similar visual rhetoric as the two topographical plates in the book, tying it to their authoritative renderings of the known world.³⁹

The authority of the image of Gonsales's machine is also strengthened by its place within a larger network of mechanical drawings. David McGee has written about what he sees as the three traditions of early modern design, which he identifies as craft, mechanical, and architectural.⁴⁰ He characterizes the craft tradition as one in which no drawings were used in the construction of machines. Drawings were not necessary as one person worked on a project from conception to realization, so the craftsman did not need drawings to convey his idea to another worker. In the mechanical tradition, which he traces back to the fourteenth century, drawings were used to record as well as invent machines. It continued to be necessary to build the machine drawn in order to determine if it would work. In the final phase, McGee describes the introduction of measured drawings that showed multiple views of the same machine. The level of technical specificity in these drawings meant that it was possible to know if the machine would work without first building it.

The image of Gonsales flying fits nicely into what McGee identifies as the second phase of development, the mechanical tradition. The engraving shows the principles involved in the creation of a working machine, but does not include any measurements. In the text, Gonsales narrates the process through which he devised his flying machine: "I began to cast in my head how I might doe to joyne a number of them together in bearing of some great burden: which if I could bring to passe, I might enable a man to fly and be carried in the ayre, to some certaine place safe and without hurt."⁴¹ After "having much laboured [his] wits," he "found by experience" a number of problems with his initial model and had to find a way for each bird to

³⁹ Although this illustration generally appears after the first description of Gonsales successful flight, I believe that this image is meant to depict his ascent to the top of *el Pycó* because of the topography of the island and the inclusion of three ships in the middle distance on the left side of the island. This is an important moment in the narrative because after briefly landing on the top of the mountain, the *gansa's* then take off on their journey for the moon.

⁴⁰ David McGee, "Ships, Science and the Three Traditions of Early Modern Design" in *The Power of Images in Early Modern Science*, ed. Wolfgang Lefèvre et al (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 2003), 28-46.

⁴¹ Godwin, 24.

carry “his owne proportion of weight.”⁴² While he gives a brief description of the machine in the text alluding to harnesses and pulleys, he does not describe how to construct such a machine.

Although there are no measurements given on the drawing, Gonsales gives the reader information about his own size and the relative size of the birds. In the beginning of the text when Gonsales is introducing himself to the reader he states “I must acknowledge my stature to be so little, as no man there is living I thinke lesse...”⁴³ In addition, later when Diego, Gonsales’s servant left with him on St. Helena, expresses a desire to fly, Gonsales tell him that all of his “*Gansa’s* were not of sufficient strength to carry him, being a man, though of no great statues, yet twice my weight at least.”⁴⁴ The birds are described as a type of wild swan, giving the reader a sense of their large size. These two indications of size coupled with the detailed geometrical drawing of the machine are not enough information to build a working replica of Gonsales’s machine.

The engraving, however, clearly describes the machine and provides a spatialized representation of the relationship between the *gansa’s* and the ropes and pulleys. The illustration shows Gonsales lifted aloft in the center of the image suspended from his machine. He is seated on a perch that is attached to the three points of a V to which the birds are harnessed. Gonsales is holding a pair of reins that are connected to a sail at the point of the V allowing him to navigate and direct the flight of his birds. This sail is not mentioned in the text, but would have been crucial for steering the machine. The upper half of the image is given over to a clear delineation of the workings of the machine. Ten birds are harnessed to the machine, nine of them forming a perfect V and the tenth out in front, connected to the sail. Each bird has two lines connected to its harness: one attached to the V and the other stretched tight with a counter balance, which is then connected to the V forming a smaller triangle. There is a joint at the point of connection between the large V and the section attached to the sail allowing the sail to pivot.

McGee asserts that in the mechanical tradition it is still necessary to build the machine in order to know if it will work, which is exactly what Wilkins is pushing for in his inclusion of Godwin’s flying machine in his collection of *Wonders That may be performed by Mechanicall Geometry*.

⁴² Ibid., 24-25.

⁴³ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 27.

Wilkins asserts, in the discussion of flying “by the help of fowls,” that he is “very confident, that one whose genius doth enable him for such kind of experiments upon leisure, and the advantage of such helps as are requisite for various and frequent trials, might effect some strange thing by this enquiry.”⁴⁵

In his description of Gonsales’s flying machine, Wilkins states “...the person that is carried may by certain reins direct and steer them [the *gansa’s*] in their courses.”⁴⁶ This detail is not included in Gonsales’s initial description of his machine,⁴⁷ but the illustration clearly shows Gonsales holding two reins that are connected to the sail at the front of the flying machine. Wilkins saw the illustration as having a certain amount of authority and used the knowledge it contained in his own textual description of Gonsales’s flying machine.

Seeing the image of Gonsales raised aloft by his *gansa’s* convinces Wilkins of the probability of this means of flying. As there was yet no proof to the contrary, there was infinite room to speculate about how one might fly. The engraver’s burin strengthens these images’ credibility by placing them within larger, interconnected networks of knowledge and images. In addition, the care used by engravers to ensure faithful reproductions of original designs gives the image on Gonsales’s flying the authority needed for Wilkins to shift the status of the knowledge contained within it from fictional to probable. Through his viewing of these images enmeshed in these networks Wilkins is persuaded of the probability of being able to fly “by the help of fowls.”

The fact that Wilkins mentions Godwin’s *gansa’s* in his book is not simply a nice coincidence with which to trace early modern reading habits. It is, instead, proof that although the engravings in this little book may seem crude and insignificant on first viewing, they were potent conveyors of knowledge to an early modern reader. The example of Godwin’s *Man in the Moone* forces modern art historians and historians of science to reevaluate the place of images in

⁴⁵ Wilkins, 202.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Gonsales mentions his reins in three places, but in each he says how he gave the birds the reins as he took off: “where upon I let loose unto my *Birds* the raines” (37); “I put my self upon mine Engine, and let loose the raines unto my *Gansa’s*” (42); and “I let loose the raines unto my *Birds* who with great greedinesse taking wing quickly carried mee out of their [“an infinite multitude” of inhabitants of the moon] sight.” (113-114) In none of these instances are the reins equated with the ability to steer the *gansa’s*. In fact after the second mention of the reins, Gonsales states: “It was my good fortune that they tooke all one way, although not just that way I aymed at.” The passage shows that Wilkins did not base his faith on the reins to “steer them in their courses” on the text.

the transmission of ideas. It can no longer be assumed that images are included to entertain the reader, but it must now be acknowledged that they were as important as the text surrounding them. Since this example helps to reinforce the crucial role played by images in early modern science, it is necessary to continue to study *how* engraving became a seemingly objective and neutral medium for transmitting knowledge.

Confronting Empire

Megan Moore
The Newberry Library

Confronting Empire in the premodern period can mean many things, ranging, as our panel reflected, from the Norman conquest to discourses of identity in Tezcoco. The disparate nature of empire in the premodern period is, we suggest, something to be celebrated; the messiness of thinking through the uncertainties and multiplicities of identity in the modern period are, if anything, only more complicated in earlier periods, and it is these complications and conflicting stories that our panel sought to bring to the forefront. Whereas scholars have long examined the functioning and structures of empire in sub-Saharan Africa and India, or in classical Rome and Greece, the scholarly urge to understand and construct medieval and early modern identities in tandem with empire has only really taken off within the last fifteen years. By no means does that mean that these fields are behind the times, or merely playing catch up: as graduate students today ponder the kinds of questions that will structure their research and scholarly work for years to come, many of them are turning to questions of identity, nation, and empire in early periods with a refreshed view of how intersections and multiplicities are more useful frames of reference than static and singular viewpoints within the sources they consider in their work.

Our first panelist, John Pendell, for example, explored the ways that one medieval abbey's battle roll constructed cross-cultural identity by arguing for a cultural hybridity based on the last names of participants. In Pendell's reading of the Auchinleck Manuscript's Battle Abbey roll, the battle roll not only tells the story of the Norman conquest through a hybridity of French-English names and spellings in last names of battle participants, but in its fanciful and pejorative re-imagining of French noble last names (such as "de la Merde," or "de la Vache"), it creates a kind of commentary on empire, Norman rule, and Norman-English nobility and their perceived social practices. In Pendell's reading, it would be hard to see such a document and argue for the universality and singularity of either French or English identity in the new Norman empire in Britain, and it is possible to read such markers of deviance as a kind of resistance to empire and unilateral, uni-national identity.

Another panelist, Richard Hungate, presented a close study of the life of a Renaissance collector, Ciriaco d'Ancona. In his paper, "Romantic Visions and Practical Ambitions," Hungate argued that collecting and classifying were key elements of the move to create and shape an empire, to define and contain it. According to Hungate's reading of Ciriaco's life, this legendary Renaissance collector was not only an icon for humanism and the study of archaeology and epigraphy, but through collecting he revealed an ideological commitment to empire – this time, not to a contemporary empire, but to resurrecting the old glory of Ancient Rome. Questions of identity, national and ethnic lineage, and hybridity permeate Hungate's reading of collecting, and contributed to the broader notion that empire is dependent on multi-faceted and multi-historical layers of identity.

Our third panelist, José Espericueta, whose contribution follows here, spoke directly about the ways that literature mediates between colonial subjects and colonizers in Spanish America. Espericueta argues that Juan Bautista de Pomar's 1582 *Relación de Texcoco* not only provides important information about Spanish America for Phillip II, but it also offers insight into customs and rituals of pre-conquest Mexico, in ways that challenge and temper the complete hegemony of either empire.

Juan Bautista de Pomar and the Appropriation of Christian Discourse in *Relación de Tezcoco*

José Espericueta, University of Indiana

The *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaire that circulated throughout the Spanish colonies near the end of the sixteenth century formed part of an effort by the Spanish crown to obtain geographic and historical information about the areas under its control. Under the patronage of Phillip II, Spanish cartographers Alfonso de Santa Cruz and Juan de Velasco designed a questionnaire that would expand prior cartographic knowledge by mapping the “New World” discovered nearly a century earlier (Mundy 12). The type of information requested in the questionnaire differed, as the first ten questions required information about towns with Spanish citizens, while the following twenty-six sought information about indigenous communities (Cline 347). Because the latter questions focused on indigenous histories and local geographies, *mestizo* and indigenous locals were often commissioned to provide descriptions of their communities. While Barbara Mundy points out that many of these responses failed to provide information that conformed to Spanish expectations (23), the maps and texts created in this period offer an important context in which representations of indigenous histories and identities can be examined.

In this context, Juan Bautista de Pomar wrote *Relación de Tezcoco* in 1582 as a response to questions 11 through 31 of the *Relaciones Geográficas* survey. In the *Relación*, Pomar presents a history of the pre-Columbian city Tezcoco, capital of the famed Acolhuacan empire. In his responses to the questions posed, Pomar details the history of the foundation of Tezcoco and the lineage of Tezcocoan nobility with special emphasis on pre-conquest rulers Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpilli (Pomar’s great-grandfather and grandfather respectively). Additionally, Pomar describes the practices of human sacrifice and idolatry (conforming to the Spanish denomination of polytheistic practices), which formed part of regional customs. Yet although Pomar denounces many of these customs, he ultimately offers them as divergences from within a proto-Christian society led by the virtuous rulers Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli. In his descriptions of these rulers, Pomar frequently uses Christian terminology to represent their rule in Tezcoco. However, while he engages with Christianity to describe the past, Pomar likewise

uses it to issue a strong criticism of the contemporary colonial practices of indigenous forced labor and tributary policies. With this in mind, I propose that Pomar's *Relación* should be read along with other examples of indigenous resistance as a text that contests practices of Spanish colonialism and criticizes its excesses. It is my contention that Pomar appropriates a discourse of Christian legitimacy, as well as the *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaire itself, in order to advocate for Tezcoco's legitimacy in a colonial context. This reading suggests that, rather than an example of acculturation, *Relación de Tezcoco* presents a counter-discourse to Spanish colonial practices during the sixteenth century.

The present paper, which views the *Relación* as an example of a selective appropriation of Christian discourse, takes issue with Walter Mignolo's analysis of Pomar in his book *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*. Although Mignolo's interest in studying the *Relaciones Geográficas* is understanding of the ways in which Western literacy took precedence over indigenous pictographic traditions, his few mentions of Pomar relegate the author and his *Relación* to a context of acculturation. Placing Pomar at a point between indigenous and Spanish epistemologies, Mignolo criticizes Pomar's "celebration of the letter" over a more indigenous oral tradition (44). As an example, Mignolo cites Pomar's assertion that pictographic glyphs were incapable of retaining the memory of indigenous arts and sciences in the way that written language could (44-5). However, Pomar's position on the merits of pictographic glyphs cannot be categorized so easily. By suggesting Pomar's eager acceptance of Spanish forms of knowledge, Mignolo neglects the more subtle ways in which he engages with colonial discourse. Prior to this point in the *Relación*, Pomar laments the loss of certain *pinturas* (paintings), which had contained histories of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, at the hands of Spanish conquerors during the conquest (*Relación* 1-2). Their value, according to Pomar, was crucial as "hoy día lloran sus descendientes con mucho sentimiento, por haber quedado como á escuras sin noticia ni memoria de los hechos de sus pasados" ("nowadays their descendants grieve having been left in the darkness with neither news nor memory of their past") [emphasis added] (2).¹ While in this case Pomar highlights the tragedy of a lost history, he also makes a connection between the pictographic tradition and memory, thus suggesting that indigenous images were in fact capable of retaining and transmitting historical information. Although Pomar's attitude regarding the

¹ All translations are the author's.

role of *pinturas* may at first glance appear to be inconsistent, I suggest that his “celebration of the letter” should be understood in its context. Whereas Pomar might suggest that the lack of letters impeded progression in sciences such as astronomy or biology, he nevertheless stresses the crucial importance of the *pinturas* to Tezcocoan history and identity. This suggests that while Pomar might accept Spanish achievements in the sciences, he does not completely disregard an indigenous epistemology in all contexts.

Walter Mignolo’s larger project in studying Pomar is to provide an example of how he (and others) celebrated the supremacy of alphabetical writing over an indigenous pictographic system. For Mignolo, Pomar’s text can be characterized by a celebration of the letter and the supposition that it represented “an evolutionary stage beyond a previous sign system” (44). Placing Pomar and the *Relación* at a point in which indigenous forms of writing and conceiving the world are in decline, Mignolo treats Pomar as a willing proponent of Spanish intellectual colonization. Yet Pomar’s treatment of pre-conquest Tezcoco, as well as the importance he grants to both oral and pictographic traditions, suggests the need for a different understanding of the *Relación*. The value of the text can be found both in the skillful manipulation of Christian discourse and the critique of Spanish colonialism. Rather than a celebration of Spanish epistemologies, *Relación de Tezcoco* functions as a space for critique and resistance.

Pomar uses a Christian moral discourse in the *Relación* both to explain Tezcocoan history and to criticize the Spanish abuse of indigenous populations. My understanding of this use of Spanish Catholicism shares some similarities with Mary Louise Pratt’s conception of transculturation as the way in which marginalized groups selectively adopt elements of the dominant culture for their own personal uses (6). Pratt’s use of native-Andean Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno* provides an example of how another indigenous individual made use of Spanish discursive techniques in a criticism of colonialism. Due to the similarities between Pomar and Ayala’s techniques, I will highlight some connections between the *Relación* and the *Nueva coronica*. While Pomar and Guaman Poma come from distinct backgrounds and regions, their skilled appropriations of Christianity to advocate for indigenous rights require some comparison. Pomar’s own engagement with Spanish Catholicism removes moral authority from the colonizers and locates it in the Tezcocoan community. This criticism posits a legitimate and moral history that, despite some aberrations, continued into Pomar’s

present. Moreover, it shows the extent to which a Christian discourse of morality can be reshaped to fit the needs of a colonized population.

Although little is known about the author and his upbringing, Manuel Carrera Stampa notes that Juan Bautista de Pomar, a *mestizo*, was most likely born in 1535 in Tezcoco (“Historiadores indígenas” 212). He was the son of a Spanish conqueror, Antonio de Pomar, and his mother was daughter of Tezcocoan ruler Nezahualpilli (212). René Acuña finds in Pomar’s *Relación* examples of an impressive education characterized by an understanding of law and political philosophy that was surprising for his time (*Relaciones Geográficas* 35). Pomar’s knowledge of both Spanish and Nahuatl are clear throughout the text, as is seen both in his frequent translations of Nahuatl terms and his use of native sources. Speaking of the amount of diligence required in amassing a history of Tezcoco, Pomar mentions that his sources were “old Indians” as well as “ancient *cantares* (songs)” (*Relación de Tezcoco* 1). This use of the *Relación* to depict an indigenous history constituted through oral tradition required a negotiation between two distinctly different cultures. Despite a European intellectual formation, Pomar places a great importance on indigenous epistemologies. Oral and pictographic traditions were essential components of Tezcocoan history and memory and Pomar’s own ability to access these traditions places him in an important position of authority while writing the *Relación*. Moreover, by giving them a central role within the history, Pomar highlights the value of these traditions as a legitimate means to understand indigenous communities.

With a basis in these sources, Pomar’s *Relación de Tezcoco* conforms to particularly Christian criteria of morality. In his description of the rule of Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpilli, Pomar presents a proto-Christian past in which these rulers governed fairly and virtuously. Moreover, it is only the lack of formal Christianity that renders imperfect an otherwise glorious past by present standards. While the virtue of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli is presented on various occasions, Pomar makes many attempts to clarify the ways in which they fail to represent many of the negative images associated with indigenous populations (such as practices of human sacrifice or idolatry). The positing of this ideal past, as will be explored later, likewise serves as a critique of unjust practices under colonial rule.

To present the virtue of pre-conquest Tezcoco, Pomar first makes a distinction between Cacama, ruler at the time of the Spanish conquest, and Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli who

preceded him. In one of the few mentions of the Tezcocoan ruler Cacama, Pomar states that “este no reinó más de tres años y por haber sido muy *vicioso*, no se tratará de él en esta relación, sino de Nezahualpiltzintli, su padre, y de Nezahualcoyotzin su abuelo, porque con estos irá muy acertada, por haber sido hombres muy *virtuosos*” (“he only ruled for three years and for his many *vices* this relation will deal not with him but with Nezahualpilli his father and Nezahualcoyotl his grandfather, because with these two it will be more focused, as they were men of great *virtue*”) [emphasis added] (6). Pomar deals with the aberration in the lineage of Tezcocoan nobility in particularly Christian terms, contrasting the vice of Cacama with the virtue of his father and grandfather. The distinction made by Pomar is an important one. As Pablo García notes, the fact that Nezahualpilli died without a legitimate heir to the throne caused some dispute in Tezcoco. Complicating the issue was the fact that Mexica ruler Montezuma installed his nephew (an illegitimate son of Nezahualpilli) as ruler (García 76). Moreover, as conqueror and eyewitness Bernal Díaz del Castillo recounts in his *Historia Verdadera*, Cacama made frequent attempts to engage in war with Cortés and other conquerors (194). Pomar’s decision to exclude Cacama from the *Relación* most likely coincided with his desire to present an honorable lineage. Furthermore, the omission of Cacama from his description of Tezcocoan rulers allows Pomar to present a history that could not be disputed by Spanish chronicles.

It is therefore in the representation of Tezcocoan history prior to the conquest and Cacama’s rule that Pomar seeks to present a just and virtuous past. Highlighting the virtue of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, Pomar attempts to distinguish them from the sacrifices and idolatry associated with pre-conquest indigenous civilizations. Addressing the questionnaire’s request for information regarding “adoraciones, ritos y costumbres, buenas ó malas, que tenían” (“modes of worship, rites and customs both good and bad”) (5), Pomar argues, “en lo que toca á la opinion á sus adoraciones hay mucha variedad; pero la opinion que más cerca de la verdad ha llegado es que tenían muchos ídolos” (“opinions regarding worship vary, but the opinion closest to the truth is that there were a lot of idols”) (8). While Pomar admits that the opinion closest to the truth is that Tezcocoans under Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli practiced idolatry, he nevertheless suggests a lack of uniformity regarding this belief. This suggestion also allows him to argue later for a presence of Christianity prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Though perhaps less important in this case, Pomar’s critique of practices automatically associated with indigenous

societies becomes stronger throughout the text, admitting alternative understandings of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli.

In his description of Nezahualcoyotl's relationship to the god Huitzilopochtli, Pomar attempts to distinguish the Tezcocoan king from practices of idolatry and sacrifice. Affirming Nezahualcoyotl's affinity for Huitzilopochtli, Pomar nevertheless states that veneration for the idol took place "porque sus antepasados lo habían traído al tiempo que á esta tierra vinieron" ("because his ancestors had brought it when they came to this land") (12). Although Pomar continues to speak of Nezahualcoyotl's relationship to Huitzilopochtli, it is only after he first suggests that Nezahualcoyotl's desire to venerate the idol could be out of respect for his ancestors rather than from a more personal relationship with the deity. Though subtle, Pomar makes clear a distinction between Nezahualcoyotl and non-Christian practices. This distinction will become even stronger as Pomar continues his attempt to present the virtue of pre-conquest Tezcocoan rule.

In what can perhaps be understood as an omen predestining Christian evangelization, Pomar subsequently describes how Nezahualcoyotl's son Nezahualpilli sought to replace the idol Huitzilopochtli with a newer and larger version, only for it to be destroyed by a bolt of lightning and turned to "pedazos" (bits) (15). Whereas Pomar relates that this was taken as a miracle that suggested the need to return to the older idol, he follows this with a description of how Mexico's first archbishop, Juan Zumárraga, later had it destroyed, again rendering an idol into "pedazos" (15). The suggestion of omens predestining Christian rule was common to indigenous histories. *Mestizo* writer Diego Muñoz Camargo's description of the eight miracles preceding the arrival of the Spanish in *Historia de Tlaxcala* provides another example of pre-conquest omens elicited from the *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaire (Muñoz Camargo 179-83). In both cases, the presence of Christianity in pre-conquest societies coincides with the respective author's attempt to argue for rights in the present.²

The question of human sacrifice and its divergence from Christian religious practices was one of the greater challenges that Pomar faced in dealing with "good or bad customs" in Tezcocoan history. Pomar's acknowledgement of sacrifice follows his suggestion that it was first

² The issue of tributes was central to Muñoz Camargo's project in writing *Historia de Tlaxcala*. In it, he argues for Tlaxcala's exemption from royal tribute due to its aid of the Spanish during the conquest of Tenochtitlan. See Mörner and Gibson for a study of the Muñoz Camargo and the *Historia*.

a practice that pertained to Mexica tribes, imposed on the early Chichimeca inhabitants of the Tezcoco valley (15). Though Pomar judges these practices harshly, it is nevertheless notable that he emphasizes their origin in the external influences of the Mexicas. Furthermore, he maintains a strict division between the practice of sacrifice and those to whom it was introduced. In the criticism of human sacrifices, Pomar follows a specifically Christian schema constituted by the binaries of virtue and vice. Yet by submitting pre-conquest Tezcoco to these criteria, he is likewise able to highlight the predominance of Christian virtue apart from these practices.

Pomar ultimately presents his detailed description of human sacrifice in terms of its divergence from Christian practices. Speaking of the growth of human sacrifice among the Chichimecas, Pomar laments that the Spanish had not come eighty years earlier to prevent its diffusion among the population, as “en aquel tiempo aun no había memoria de esta diabólica invención; de manera que á imitación de los mexicanos se introdujo en toda esta tierra, á lo menos en esta ciudad y en Tlacuba, Chalco y Huexutzinco y Tlaxcalla” (“in those times there was no knowledge of this diabolic invention; as it was through the imitation of the mexicanos that it was introduced in all of this land”) (16). Once again faulting the Mexicas for its institution in Tezcoco, Pomar distinguishes sacrifice as a “diabolic invention” that the Spaniards were able to eliminate. While in this case Pomar suggests that the Spanish conquest was fortunate for Tezcoco, it is only in opposition to practices of human sacrifice that the intervention of the Spanish takes such precedence. Furthermore, by positing that the original inhabitants of Tezcoco were first corrupted by external influences, Pomar implies an inherent goodness apart from the practice.

Much like *Relación de Tezcoco*, native Andean Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* posits a virtuous past that was corrupted prior to the arrival of the Spanish. In *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, Rolena Adorno points out that Ayala, while arguing for an exemption from tributes to the Spanish, suggested that early Andeans were white “sons of Adam” who followed Christian law. Only later were Andeans forced by the Inca to become idolaters (21). Like Pomar, Guaman Poma’s interest in portraying a virtuous and legitimate rule prior to the Incas required a disjuncture between a virtuous past and the civilizations found by the Spanish upon arrival. These ruptures suggest that the authors were attempting to distance their own indigenous identities from practices contrary to Christian

morality. By focusing on periods prior to Spanish conquests, both Pomar and Ayala were able to posit legitimate and virtuous societies that could be contrasted with Spanish colonial rule.

In what is perhaps the most overt attempt to legitimize the past, Pomar returns to the question of idolatry in order to present an alternative vision of Nezahualcoyotl. Attempting to address the inconsistencies inherent to the description of early Tezcoco as a proto-Christian society (due to the practices of idolatry and sacrifice), Pomar presents Nezahualcoyotl as an individual who questioned contemporary religious beliefs. Moreover, Pomar proposes that Nezahualcoyotl and other members of Tezcoco's ruling elite may have believed in the Christian God prior to the arrival of the Spanish despite outward appearances. Nezahualcoyotl, according to Pomar, was "el que más vaciló buscando de donde tomar lumbre para certificarse del verdadero Dios y Criador de todas las cosas" ("he who most hesitated, seeking enlightenment to find the true God and Creator of all things") (24). In the absence of formal Christianity, Nezahualcoyotl nevertheless sought a greater truth, recognizing the (implied) insufficiency of his own religion. Furthermore, it was the fact that "Dios Nuestro Señor por su secreto juicio no fué servido de alumbrale" ("God our Lord because of his own secret judgment did not see fit to enlighten him"), that led him to fall back to the practices of his ancestors (24). In this case, Pomar makes a distinction between Nezahualcoyotl's engagement in practices common to his own tradition and an underlying monotheistic belief. According to Pomar, some of the *cantos* that pertain to the Tezcoco's oral tradition attest to this as:

[E]n ellos hay muchos nombres y epítetos honrosos de Dios, como es el decir que había uno solo y que este era el Hacedor del cielo y de la tierra ... y jamás, aunque tenían muchos ídolos que representaban diferentes dioses, nunca cuando se ofrecía á tratar los nombraban á todos en general ni en particular á cada uno, sino que decían en su lengua *in Tloque in Nabuaque*, que quiere decir el Señor del cielo y de la tierra: señal evidentísima de que tuvieron por cierto no haber más de uno... (24)

([I]n them there are many honorable names for God, as in the saying that there was only one who was the Maker of the heaven and the earth ... and not once, although they had many idols which represented different gods, never when they mentioned were they named generally nor specifically, but instead they would say in their language *in Tloque in Nabuaque*, which means the Lord of the heavens and the earth: a most evident sign that they certainly had no more than one...)

Acknowledging the role of idolatry in Tezcocoan spirituality, Pomar nevertheless undercuts its importance and emphasizes Nezahualcoyotl's preference for the Christian God. It is only the lack of institutionalized Christianity that obstructs past legitimacy as the actions and beliefs of

Tezcoco's ruling elite embodied a Christian morality. The *cantos* attest to this belief and Pomar stresses their historical importance as "en ellos hay gran noticia de sus antigüedades, en forma de corónica y historia; pero para entenderlos es menester ser gran lengua" ("in them there is much information regarding their ancient habits, in the form of chronicles and histories; but to understand them it is necessary to be a great translator") (24). Both stressing the importance of indigenous oral tradition and suggesting its limited accessibility to those who do not speak Nahuatl, Pomar reaffirms his own authority as the writer of Tezcoco's history. Furthermore, he manages to separate Tezcoco's rulers from practices of idolatry and sacrifice so that they approximate a Christian ideal of morality. Once this distinction is made, Pomar is able to propose that virtue and just government are an inherent part of pre-conquest Tezcocoan rule.

Building on his presentation of the virtuous past of pre-conquest Tezcoco, Pomar engages in both a subtle and overt criticism of the current colonial government. Having moved beyond the problematic issues of idolatry and sacrifice, Pomar presents Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli as benevolent rulers in a just society that differed greatly from the present colonial one. On the question of tributes exacted by rulers in pre-conquest Tezcoco, Pomar states that "[l]o que les daban de tributo era de los frutos naturales de cada tierra, dando cada indio la parte que le cabía conforme á la hacienda que poseía" ("what was given as tribute was from the natural fruits of each land, each *indio* giving the part which conformed to the *hacienda* that he possessed") (7). Pomar's focus on payment based on an individual's means is an important one. According to Charles Gibson, the 1570s saw an increased amount of debt in Tezcoco and other Indian communities due to Spanish tributary requirements (217). Gibson notes that when maize production was low, the Spanish government demanded monetary recompense and that unpaid debts often resulted in forced labor or other punishments (217). Pomar's emphasis on tributes related to the "frutos naturales de cada tierra" suggests a tributary system directly based on agricultural yields that did not demand more than what individuals could pay. Furthermore, he highlights Tezcocoan rulers' concern for the general good of all its subjects. In doing so, Pomar reiterates the benevolent nature of pre-conquest Tezcocoan society while introducing a criticism of the colonial government.

A concern for the common good continues in Pomar's representation of the naming of new rulers. Describing the seriousness of the occasion, Pomar details how the new ruler was

made aware of the requirements of the post by his elders and was instructed to keep in mind, “el bien público de manera que sirviese á Dios ... y que sobre todo prefiriese el bien general sobre el suyo particular” (“the public good in a way that would serve God ... and that above all he should favor the well-being of all over his own”) (34). Pomar makes no mention of which “Dios” he is speaking of and appears to be referencing the Christian god as a model for virtuous rule. This reference, however, serves the important function of relating virtuous and Christian rule with the general good of the indigenous public. Although in effect Pomar’s descriptions serve to Christianize the past by submitting it to a Spanish model, he nevertheless extends the same model of legitimacy to both indigenous and Spanish rulers. In this context, virtue can be understood as the exacting of tributes in conformity with what can be reasonably paid, and the primary concern of a virtuous ruler was to place the well being of his subjects before his own.

In the case of Guaman Poma, the existence of Christianity prior to the conquest functioned to invalidate the Spanish justification for conquest and colonialism (Adorno 32). Moreover, in his text he turns the discourse of Christian morality against the Spaniards and suggests their own condemnation to hell for the usurpation of indigenous lands (61). While Pomar and Ayala differ in the strength of their respective criticisms, Christianity functions to confront and critique local manifestations of Spanish colonialism and its effects on the lives of indigenous subjects in both of their texts. Pomar’s criticism of colonial practices becomes much stronger as he responds to the questionnaire’s inquiry regarding whether the people of Tezcoco “han vivido más ó menos sanos antiguamente que ahora, y la causa que dello se entendiere” (“have lived more or less healthy in the past or now, and the causes to which this might be attributed”) (44). Addressing Phillip II directly, Pomar discusses the effects of forced labor on the indigenous populations. While smallpox played an important part in population decline, Pomar suggests that another cause was the “excesivo trabajo que padecen en servicio de los españoles” (“excessive labor that they suffer in service of the Spanish”) (55). Detailing the types of forced labor that were required of the indigenous individuals in Tezcoco as well as the resulting hunger and fatigue, Pomar explicitly criticizes Spanish labor practices in the viceroyalty of New Spain. Regarding the effects of what resembles slavery, Pomar laments:

... la congoja y fatiga de su espíritu, que nace de verse quitar la libertad que Dios les dio, sin embargo así declarado S.M. por sus leyes y ordenanzas reales para el buen tratamiento y gobierno de ellos, afirmando que el descontento de su espíritu no podía

prevalecer con salud el cuerpo, y así andan muy afligidos, y se parece muy claro en sus personas, pues por defuera no muestran ningún género de alegría ni contento, y tienen razón porque realmente los tratan muy peor que si fueran esclavos” (55).

(... the suffering and weariness of spirit that arise from seeing the freedom that is granted by God taken away, despite what has been declared by Your Majesty through laws and royal orders for their good treatment and government, affirming that because of the discontent of their spirit, their bodies could not prevail, and so they remain very afflicted, and this appears very clear in their persons, as they show no visible type of joy or happiness, and this is with reason as they are truly treated worse than slaves”).

Pomar’s address to Phillip II makes reference to both political and moral arguments regarding the rights of indigenous individuals during the early colonial period. In Pomar’s period, colonial order was characterized by the *corregimiento*, which had been instituted a half-century earlier. Its implementation served as the Spanish crown’s attempt to eliminate the private exploitation of indigenous labor that took place under the *encomienda*; a system that granted indigenous tribute and labor to particular Spanish colonists. While Charles Gibson notes that there was a legal distinction between the *encomienda* and institutionalized slavery, frequent abuses often challenged this distinction (58). Notably, the Spanish crown’s attempts to prevent indigenous exploitation in the colonies were not always successful. The failure of the 1542 New Laws, which would have placed limits on *encomendero* jurisdiction over indigenous individuals, attests to the strength of local economic interests (62). Nevertheless, in subsequent decades Spanish civil government became stronger as the *corregimiento* effectively supplanted the *encomienda* (63).

While the decline in the *encomienda* resulted in a decrease in the private exploitation of labor, Gibson notes many similarities between it and the *corregimiento* (82-3). Furthermore, the *repartimiento* labor drafts, which recruited workers for public services, now served an even larger employer class than before (224). Although the drafts were subject to royal laws, Gibson points out that the *repartimiento* did not follow those laws requiring short hours, moderate tasks and voluntary labor (224). As Pomar attests, in practice labor was not voluntary because individuals were “compelidos y forzados” (compelled and forced) to work in haciendas, mines, sugar plantations and granaries in service of the Spanish (*Relación* 55). He furthermore attests that hunger and exhaustion due to the “excesivo trabajo” were the primary reasons for the decline in indigenous populations throughout New Spain (55). Pointing to the key elements of the

repartimiento that contradicted royal decrees, Pomar shows an acute awareness for Spanish law in his criticism of colonial labor policies. In doing so, he seeks to make Phillip II aware of the illegal and immoral practices by Spanish colonizers and advocate for the freedom of indigenous populations under colonial rule.

While Pomar makes use of his acquaintance with Spanish law in his criticism of the *repartimiento*, he also centers his argument on the moral right of the Spanish to force labor upon indigenous populations. As Christians, indigenous individuals possessed rights beyond those afforded to them by Spanish laws. Pomar's argument effectively places legitimacy in the Christianity of those subject to Spanish rule and maintains that freedom is God-given. This argument can likewise be seen as a rejection of the Aristotelian theory of natural slavery which, when applied to indigenous groups, assumed a natural inferiority and thereby justified forced labor (Pagden 27). Theological debates that took place in Spain nearly fifty years earlier questioned the validity of the Aristotelian category of "natural slave" and its application to indigenous groups. In *The Fall of Natural Man*, Anthony Pagden demonstrates how theologians such as Francisco de Vitoria rejected the category. Vitoria argued that the idea could not be applied to Indians who already formed a part of God's creation and thus possessed the faculty of reason (94-5). Moreover, as Pagden points out, if indigenous subjects were inherently inferior and slaves by nature, then they would likewise be prevented from receiving Christianity (56). By opposing natural slavery and suggesting that all indigenous populations formed part of God's creation, Vitoria (and other members of the Salamanca school) advocated for a legitimacy previously denied to colonized indigenous groups. All individuals possessed a God-given freedom and could not be understood as inherently insufficient or inferior. Pomar, emphasizing the idea that freedom is granted by God, engages with Vitoria's arguments in order to address the question of the *repartimiento* in New Spain. This use of a Christian moral discourse aids Pomar in his strongest criticism of Spanish colonial practices. Forced labor was a practice that contradicted Christian morals and denied indigenous populations their legitimate rights. Whereas earlier references to Christianity served to represent the virtue of past rulers and to contrast Tezcocan and Spanish governments, in addressing Phillip II specifically, Pomar questions both the legality and morality of colonial labor policies. Moreover, it is now the Spaniards whose actions diverge from a Christian norm. Conforming to Spanish moral and

theological philosophies, Pomar effectively turns them against the colonizing population to criticize the *repartimiento*. Proving adept in his knowledge of contemporary legal and moral discourse, Pomar's address to the king highlights him as a defender of indigenous populations and a critic of Spanish colonial practices.

As has been suggested throughout this paper, Pomar's critique of Spanish imperialism can be located in a wider context of indigenous writers such as Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose texts have been considered for the manner in which they confront Spanish hegemony. In both of these cases, indigenous authors adopted Spanish modes of expression to advocate for a more just treatment of indigenous communities. Mary Louise Pratt, studying the appropriation of a colonizing rhetoric, finds authors such as Guaman Poma to be an example of an "autoethnographic expression" (7). In the present case I am interested in her usage of the term for the way in which it understands colonized subjects who engage with the language of the colonizers. Pratt employs the term "autoethnographic expression" to argue against an understanding of these texts as authentic forms of self-representation. She instead suggests that indigenous authors were appropriating the conqueror's own language (7). Rather than classifying texts, Pratt focuses on their discursive strategies and what they suggest about interactions between dominant and subjugated groups. *Relación de Tezcoco* is a text that, while making use of Spanish forms of discourse, criticizes its colonial practices. Moreover, like Ayala's text, it was produced in a colonial context in which Spanish colonizers determined the legitimate modes of discourse.

Nevertheless, although *Relación de Tezcoco* makes use of Spanish forms of discourse, it also maintains a foundation in indigenous traditions. This position between two distinct epistemologies suggests several similarities with Guaman Poma's rewriting of Christian history. Pomar's use of oral tradition (both in the interviewing of elders and the consideration of native *cantares*) serves as a mediating act as similar to Ayala's use of the Andean *quipu* as a source (7). Yet despite the central role of pre-conquest history in both cases, present conditions structure both projects as Ayala and Pomar focus their interests in their own indigenous communities. Christian moral discourse offered both a means to legitimize their claims for indigenous autonomy. Their respective criticisms likewise stand out as voices of resistance to Spanish colonial practices.

Pomar's selective uses of Christianity in the *Relación de Tezcoco* can be further located within a larger context of *mestizo* and indigenous writers and artists who responded to the *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaire. In their maps, local churches are often found at the center of the community. As Barbara Mundy notes, parish churches often served to organize and structure indigenous maps while highlighting the role of a central religion (69). The central location of churches in the maps suggests the importance of mendicant orders on the daily lives of local populations. Yet while Mundy suggests that this centrality is common to maps rather than the texts that responded to the questionnaire (69), *Relación de Tezcoco* provides a clear example of Catholicism's central role. Moreover, both text and map interact with royal authority for particularly local purposes. The context of the *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaire allowed artists as well as authors the opportunity to engage with colonial powers and attempt to influence the political situation of their communities (67).

Although Mundy suggests that the Catholic church played a central role in shaping a colonial reality, she nevertheless questions the extent to which it formed an integral part of indigenous identities. Regarding the centrality of churches in the *Relaciones Geográficas* maps, Mundy emphasizes the important role of the audience, positing that artists might have tailored their responses to fit the desires of Phillip II (71). Therefore, although churches held an eminent position within the maps, their appearance can be understood as a strategy with which to address and please the Spanish king. Catholicism, shown here with the appearance of local churches, thus takes on a particularly political relevance in the interaction between indigenous artists and Spanish authority, while maps still maintained local indigenous identities hidden within native iconography (100-1). I suggest that understanding Spanish Catholicism as a political tool is essential in reading Pomar's *Relación de Tezcoco*. Not only does it provide the language for a subject to address a king but it also allows an argument for equality between colonizer and colonized. Although indigenous subjugation would continue for centuries, the validity of Pomar's claims cannot be disputed.

The present argument has sought to present the usage of a Christian discourse as a means with which to confront and critique colonial practices, but it has necessarily avoided the question of whether or not Christianity formed an essential part of Pomar's worldview. However, by emphasizing the practices that confront authority while engaging in the religious

discourse of the colonizers, I have attempted to shed light on the political interactions between indigenous and Spanish societies. The term appropriation has been used throughout not to suggest that Christianity was not extended to indigenous societies, but to focus on the fact that Pomar's usage of a Christian discourse usurps the authority of the Spanish to define virtue and vice, relativizing the very foundation of the evangelizing goal espoused by the colonial mission.

Although Pomar's text is not currently considered among other examples of indigenous resistance during Spanish colonialism, its value as a response to colonial practices is indisputable. Criticisms such as Mignolo's, which suggest that *Relación de Tezcoco* celebrates Spanish epistemologies and denies legitimacy to autochthonous forms of indigenous culture, neglect the text's skillful manipulation of both a Christian discourse and the space of the *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaire. My intention has been to problematize this critique by showing that Pomar's adoption of a Christian discourse questions the foundations of Spanish morality and posits the legitimacy of Tezcoco both before and after the conquest. In doing so, Pomar's criticism of the *repartimiento* effectively turns the Christian moral discourse against the colonizers. Although the *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaire was structured as a means of imperial control, responses such as Pomar's stand out by resisting the subjugation and marginalization inherent to Spanish colonialism.

It can be deduced that neither the engagement with Spanish colonial order's legitimizing discourse nor attacks on slave-like practices resulted in the liberation of the indigenous groups subjected to the Spanish crown. Writers, such as Pomar, who attempted to appropriate legitimacy for themselves and other subjugated peoples illustrate the often-wide gulf between ideologies and practices in given societies. Nevertheless, marginalized groups continued to appropriate ideologies and discourses in Mexico and throughout Latin America. Following the French Revolution and the introduction of the "Rights of Man" in the French Caribbean, colonized groups used discourses of universal rights and citizenship in Mexico as well as in Haiti. Peter Guardino's study of subaltern involvement in Oaxacan politics between the late colonial and early independence periods provides a useful example of how indigenous groups interpreted and utilized liberal arguments of individual liberty and citizenship (*The Time of Liberty* 3). Yet prior to the legitimizing Enlightenment rhetoric of the citizen or the ethical subject, indigenous groups made use of Catholicism and its discourse in order to legitimate their own claims to

freedom and to argue against oppression. A 1712 rebellion in the highlands of Chiapas responded to increased tributes and ecclesiastical corruption by rallying around the Virgin Mary who, speaking through a young indigenous girl, proclaimed freedom from tributes and the King of Spain while also calling for an armed rebellion against the local government.³ Although my intention here is not to compare disparate phenomena, it is evident that Catholic moral discourse holds an important place in indigenous reactions to colonialism. For Juan Bautista de Pomar, the skillful application of Christian morality to the past and present of Tezcoco facilitated a rejection of colonial practices. Although *Relación de Tezcoco* presents us with a voice of resistance that makes clear the inherent hypocrisies of Spanish colonialism and its discourse, it likewise seeks to reclaim the rights of a subjugated population and argue for legitimacy and freedom.

³ See Viquiera for an in-depth analysis of the Chiapan rebellion.

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