Practices of Inclusion and Exclusion
in Premodern Culture

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mentioned as an afterthought to our collection. Since the themes of difference and otherness, and the cultural narratives surrounding these, all form part of our research project on premodern English experiences of otherness, we the editors would like to thank all the writers of this volume for enriching our views and challenging our preconceptions.

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Eva Johanna and Tom, in London and York, January 2005

INTRODUCTION: CONSTRUCTIONS OF DIFFERENCE/ THINKING WITH DIFFERENCE

Eva Johanna Holmberg

Good vines grow in that country; there the women drink wine and not men.
> And women shave their beards, and not men.
> —The Travels of Sir John Mandeville[1]

In this passage from Sir John Mandeville's famous travelogue, the author is playing with our understanding of the proper practices of men and women. He tells of a strange land in India, where the normal customs are the reverse of his own and even human corporealities are strange and divergent from the norm. Mandeville is constructing a difference between his own culture and the culture of the strange land. This he does by telling a story and by suggesting an interpretation of it. While doing so, he makes it possible for the historian to take a brief glimpse at his cultural world, a world that may seem to us as strange and foreign a country as the one Mandeville himself is describing.[2]

This collection of articles focuses on the constructions and experi-

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[1] *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1983), 124.
[2] On the past as a foreign country see Catherine Brown's thought-provoking article "In the middle". Brown 2000, 548–49.

ences of difference in Premodern cultures by posing such questions as "what was difference" and "how was it constructed". How can we recognize or trace these differences in the past? What were the motives behind these constructions, and what kind of trajectories did difference take? It is perhaps already clear that we approach culture both as a structure and as a communicative process, in which people took part by sharing and simultaneously creating knowledge of their surrounding reality. Experiences and preconceptions were equally involved in these processes; thus questions as to whether these culturally constructed differences were 'real', or what 'actually' took place, are less relevant.[3] Premodern people construed and conceptualized difference and we want to grasp what these phenomena meant to them.

In each article in the volume, questions of difference are situated in a historical setting. This is done in order to interpret the meanings, consequences and practices that were involved in the process. As cultural historians, we tend to think that in order to make a past culture understandable we need to look at meanings, experiences and discourses in their cultural milieu and find keys to an understanding of practices and rhetoric in the specific cultural context. We try to make the thoughts of people in the past understandable and find a logic in their thinking, but not to impose our logic on them.[4] This means that constructions of difference find their meanings through the empirical study of a given period and its cultural and social practices, in our case the cultures and peoples that lived before modernity.

The problem of difference has been posed many times, and the scholarly discussion surrounding it is as varied as ever. The postcolonial situation and the discussion of gender have made the constructed nature of history visible, and the consequences of cultural imaging and imagining even more so. Difference, its constructions and fictions were also part of peoples' lives before modernity, postmodernity, and – if you will – post-postmodernity. People divided themselves and their others into groups: nationalities, genealogies, religions and professions. They tried to exclude otherness, to make it invisible or even extinct. By defining

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[3] On cultural construction and constructivism see Tuohela & Korhonen 2002, 136–37.

[4] See eg. Kaartinen 2002, 1–2.

and outlining difference they tried to delineate their realities into comprehensible and communicable entities.[5] Otherness can be seen as a construction that has many sides, and, against which it is easier to define oneself. These practices and phenomena can also be detected in the Premodern cultural world, even if people in the past hardly thought of otherness, difference and sameness in the way they have been described by Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak or Simone de Beauvoir.[6]

In the Middle Ages, for example, the ideal state of society was a peaceful and unified one, a Christian community bound together by hierarchical relationships. In its ideal state, this community formed a perfect symmetry and shape, since its foundation and ideals were created by God. Premodern European cultures may have been more communal than nowadays, where we might characterise our own culture as a mosaic structure that constantly reforms and reinvents itself, creating subcultures, countercultures and complex identity-formations. The divide between the Premoderns and ourselves, however, must not lead us to see that culture as more solid or simpler than our own. Premodern people had their own ways of challenging the ideals of their societies, and of being active and even rebellious agents in their lives. They could create their own (sub)groups, challenging the values of the surrounding society that tried to exclude them.[7] Women could drink

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[5] Boundaries between communities, selves and their others can be approached in the manner that was outlined by Mary Douglas in her seminal *Purity and Danger. An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo* (1966). See also Douglas 1991. Douglas's theories cannot be thought of as keys or definitive solutions when approaching Premodern cultures, but they can here be adopted as tools that help us see contrasts and connectedness between phenomena. Stephen Greenblatt has commented on the usage of anthropology by historians in his article "The Eating of the Soul". See Greenblatt 1994, 97–98.

[6] See e.g. Said 1995 (1977), 12. Said speaks of Orientalism as a "distribution of […] awareness". He sees it not as a simple elaboration of geographical distinction but as a set of interests and agendas. Orientalism in Said's view not only creates but also maintains difference. He sees it as a "will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world."

[7] On subcultures in medieval societies see Goodich 1998, 2–3; for Early Modern London see Griffiths 2000.

wine and grow beards and men could stroll in women's clothing, even before such identities were officially recognised or tolerated. The same could be said about the artificial divide between the so called learned and popular cultures. Their borders could be many times blurred and hard to detect, especially when we look at cultural phenomena in their various contexts and the ways knowledge was produced and interpreted.[8]

Bearing this in mind, we can say that people constructed differences in order to give meaning to their world and make sense of it, in order to put phenomena in (in their view) their proper places. Constructions of difference can thus be seen as an organising principle, at the same time that it was a means of oppression and of the use of power, excluding and conceptualizing otherness.[9] Even though difference seems and seemed to be mostly a work of the imagination, its consequences are and were very real. Difference impacted powerfully on peoples' lives. The imagined qualities of the Jews, for example, continued to characterise them and their absent presence in the English imagination, even though they had been expelled from the country in the Middle Ages. The English used similar tools and patterns of thought in relation to many other groups as well. Otherness and social deviance seem to have had a characteristic that was common to conceptions, for instance, of sin. The dangers and threatening qualities of sin were thought to be cumulative. A person that gave way to sinning was usually described as entering upon the road to destruction, whence there was no return to the right path. This cumulative effect can also be seen in diverse descriptions of people who were thought to be capable of every sort of vice. In the eyes of the early modern English, not the terrible Turk, the wild Irish nor the gesticulating Italian were thought of as honourable members of society, they were rather considered a threat. The negative traits used in depicting these groups were often the same: negativity was adapted to

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[8] Anu Korhonen, in her article "Washing the Ethiopian white: conceptualizing black skin in Renaissance England" speaks of early modern English fictions of difference and suggests that people collected knowledge by compiling associations on top of another and thus forming a "bricolage" of cultural images. See Korhonen 2005 (forthcoming).

[9] Douglas 1991, 724–25.

many sorts of situations. The same was also the case of groups held to be heroic and respectable. For example a knight or saint was thought to embody all things bright and beautiful.

In this sense, the construction of difference was not considered abstract and unreal but indeed as a factual and highly comprehensible intellectual practice. We have polarised the question of difference into practices of inclusion and exclusion, but this is merely a tool, a division and a construction in itself. Difference overlapped and was negotiable; its borders and demarcations could be contested and challenged because its construction was always a process involving real people. This is what we mean with the phrase "thinking with difference." The need to understand the people of the past and their cultural world is also the reason why we want to look at the different practises that were involved, not to detect a specific and singular pattern of thinking. Merely identifying a phenomenon as a construction of difference or otherness is not challenging enough; we need to look at its meanings, functions and the forms it could take.

Difference took many forms; it can be seen for example in the hierarchical positions to which people were assigned according to social rank, nationality and gender.[10] Difference could be branded on the individual by extremely harsh and physical means, as for example by a dishonouring punishment; or it could be construed between a self or a community and the world that lay outside, marked for example by the walls of the monastery or the town. These descriptions and conceptualizations had an impact both by excluding peoples and phenomena from the ideals and morality of a given culture, and by strengthening the foundations of a certain way of living, worshipping God or seeing the surrounding world. Difference could be used as a rhetorical tool to identify problems and struggles within a given culture. It could be constructed to protect and separate a society, be it religious or non-religious, from the dangers that were thought to threaten their way of life or their practices of worship and devotion. In this sense, divisions, separations and boundaries were seen as something positive, or even as a quest for a better future for humanity.

[10] On gendered ideals and the constructedness of Christian identity see Kruger 1997, 21–22.

Was there a strategy or motive behind every difference? It could be argued that there was. In any case, it is more ethical to assume the people in the past had a logic than to think that they were irrational, merely acting out the demands of a universal ahistorical subconscious. The motive could often be quite visible, as for instance when a Florentine humanist described his scholarly opponents and rivals as vampires, or when the Jews were portrayed by Christians as irrational and superstitious beings. Sometimes, on the other hand, the strategy may be very hard to find – for example when all that is said is that a thing or a phenomenon is too horrible to be mentioned. In every case these practices and acts can be seen as trajectories of power, whether they be primarily discursive in nature or more concrete and physical acts of inclusion and exclusion.[11]

The important question surrounding these phenomena is, why was difference constructed and what kind of interpretations or explanations might it have had? What kinds of practice were involved and used in describing difference? Inclusion can be defined here as practices of belonging and of having a sense both of togetherness and of separateness from others. The first part of the volume focuses on questions of communality and cultural belonging, especially in the context of religion.

Maarit Pösö looks in her article at the practices and ideals involving *clausura* in Early Modern Spain through the writings of Saint Teresa of Avila, and the different meanings separation could take in the monastic life of the Carmelite nuns. Separation from the world and from the customs and ideals of the upper classes was experienced as positive. Within the monastic community, however, separation from others could also take on negative meanings, as an act of pride or disobedience. As Pösö concludes, "[s]eparation from others could be both negative and positive: it depended on the ideas and persons from whom the nun wanted to separate herself."

Identity and community are also the focus of the article by Anu

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[11] See Douglas 1991, 724. It is important to notice, that sometimes the people excluded or imputed with sin were not at all marginal, but e.g. kings or popes. The same strategies of rejection could equally well be adopted to the marginalisation of kings as of lepers.

Keinänen. Keinänen considers the ways the early Quakers in seventeenth-century England defined themselves in relation to the rest of society, how and why they described their difference from others. These practices of social differentiation are also dealt with by Pauliina Pekkarinen. Pekkarinen examines the cultural world of a Renaissance scholar, Angelo Poliziano, and his strategies of separating himself from his scholarly rivals. Poliziano's tool was the use of irony against Aristotelians, calling them for example vampires. As social practices, inclusion and exclusion were deeply rooted in the contemporary world picture. In Taika Helola's article, difference is located at the conceptual level; she studies the way in which John Donne's increasing familiarity with the Copernican revolution changes the manner in which the meanings of the sun are manipulated in his poetry. In Donne's time Copernican ideas were not universally accepted, and he therefore needed to use elaborate strategies in order to avoid excluding himself either from those circles that did accept the new philosophy or from those that did not.

The second part of the volume brings into focus processes of exclusion and the social constructedness of boundaries and definitions of otherness. The article of Isto Vatanen throws light on the practices of constructing alterity in ancient Roman imagery. As appearance and its depictions were an important element in determining social standing, Vatanen explores representations of seafarers as different from people on shore through depicting them unclothed. In order to be understandable, otherness had to be linked to ideas that were culturally available. For example, when Early Modern Englishmen described their encounters with Jewish religious life, they translated the Jews to fit their own cultural vocabulary by representing them as irrational, superstitious and lacking in sense. The otherness of the Jews was inscribed in both their corporeal and their spiritual characteristics, and thus also in their practices of worship. This resulted in depictions of senseless, shouting and babbling Jews making a riot in their Synagogues. Similar behaviour was expected of groups like fools, silly women or religious "franticks".

Satu Lidman discusses the multi-layered meanings of honour and shame in the context of Early Modern German and particularly Bavarian penal culture. Honour – and its absence – were of great importance in people's lives in a community. Lidman focuses on two types of pun-

ishments, the "shameful" and the "dishonouring", which might have very serious consequences for the individual's social standing. A shameful punishment affected the reputation and social honour of a person, while a dishonouring one could stigmatise one permanently. In her study concerning the place of prostitutes in Late Medieval western societies, Leena Rossi examines the means of separating and discriminating "common women" from respectable ones by identifying them with visual signs, segregating them spatially and devaluing them morally.

The articles in this collection suggest possible approaches to and interpretations of difference in the context of our individual studies. We do not presume to give definite solutions to the theoretical problems of difference, otherness or communality, nor should our book be read as a heavily political manifesto. Since we believe that every approach to history is in fact theoretical, political, and thus important for the advancement of scholarly discussion and learning, this division into "theoretical", "empirical" and "political" does not seem very helpful or convincing. Our aim has been to show how varied approaches, interpretations and practices Premodern people could have at their disposal when they encountered difference, construed it and, maybe, outlined their worlds with it.

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I

INCLUSION

MELANCHOLY NUNS AND PROUD NOBLEWOMEN:
Separating Oneself from Others in Religious Life According to Saint Teresa

Maarit Pösö

 In 1562, the first reformed Carmelite monastery[1] of Saint Joseph was founded in Avila by a Carmelite nun, Teresa de Jesús (1515–1582). This was followed by the founding of several other monasteries for Carmelite nuns who were to adhere to the original Carmelite Rule, confirmed by Honorius III in 1226. The original rule had later been mitigated by Eugenius IV in 1431. Teresa called the nuns in the newly founded houses Discalced Carmelites, because she wanted them to follow the medieval Carmelite mendicants also in poverty. But it was not until 1593, that the Discalced Carmelites formed an order of their own, and final separation from the Calced Carmelites took place.[2] Relations with the Calced Carmelites had been quite problematic already from the beginning of the reform and this was probably the reason why Teresa also established two institutions for the Carmelite friars. It was mostly

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[1] I prefer to use the word 'monastery' instead of 'convent' of the religious houses that Teresa founded for the Carmelite nuns because the nuns living there were supposed to live a cloistered life. Also Teresa herself uses the word '*monasterio*', i.e. monastery, of the women's institutions she founded.
[2] Steinmann 1981, 26–28; Lehmijoki-Gardner 2002, 272–75.

the friars in the Discalced Carmelite houses who took care of the sacramental needs of the nuns.

Teresa wrote constitutions (*Constituciones*) for the nuns and several guidebooks for prayer life and community living, among which the best knowns are *The Interior Castle* (*Moradas del castillo interior*) and *The Way of Perfection* (*Camino de perfección*). Teresa's first literary work, however, was her *Life* (*Libro de la vida / Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús*), which she was ordered to write by her confessors. Because of her mystical experiences and trances, Teresa had been suspected of being possessed by the devil; it was thus necessary to inspect and confirm that her experiences resulted from God's mercy.[3] The events around the founding of the discalced houses can be closely followed through her *Book of the Foundations* (*Libro de las fundaciones*).

Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada was the daughter of a wealthy merchant, Juan Sanchez de Cepeda, who belonged to the converted Jewish family of the Cepedas. Even though the conversion to Christianity of the Cepeda family had taken place already in the fifteenth century, the memory of their Jewish background still played a role a hundred years later. *Conversos,* i.e. people with a Jewish background, were not allowed to hold some ecclesiastical and public offices. *Conversos* were also unable to enter the ranks of the nobility. This often led to concealment of one's Jewish background by means of false genealogies and large sums of money. In practice many people of converted background were able to buy their way into the nobility through legal proceedings known as *pleitos de hidalguía.* Teresa's father and uncles had been able to do so in 1522, and managed to hide their Jewish background so well that it was not discovered until our own time.[4]

Ever since Teresa's Jewish background was discovered in the midtwentieth century, it has been the subject of many studies. Many of these have also emphasized its meaning for Teresa's work in reforming the Carmelite order. During Teresa's lifetime the reform is usually considered to be urban, middle-class and *converso*-oriented by nature. Her founding work has often been seen as the result of her converted and

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[3] Peers 1946, 1. Teresa did not name this autobiographical book, and it has later been called by many titles. In the following it will be referred to simply as *Life* or *Vida*.

middle-class, merchant background. Her background certainly played some role, as can be seen for example from the fact that she did not require the nuns to have purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*), as was required at the time in many other religious houses.[5] The purpose of this article, however, is to examine the different meanings that Teresa gave to the concept of separation. What did separation from others mean in Teresa's thinking? How was separation from others justified in ideological terms? Was separation always a positive act, or could it also be seen as a negative form of behaviour? And finally, do Teresa's writings reveal something about her social position and her Jewish background? Was Teresa's reform first and foremost middle-class and *converso*-oriented?

Separating oneself from the outside world – a basis for the community life of the Discalced Carmelite nuns

According to Teresa, it was necessary for the nuns to separate themselves from the world, and lead a cloistered life. Cloistering could be divided into active and passive forms. Active cloistering meant that the nuns or monks were not allowed to leave the cloister building. Cloistering could also be passive, which meant that the entrance of lay people into the building was regulated.[6] In the Discalced Carmelite communities the nuns were not allowed to leave the cloister; the doors had to be locked and the windows covered with grilles. The entrance of lay people from outside was strongly regulated, and when in the company of outsiders

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[4] Domínguez Ortiz 1971, 58–59; Bilinkoff 1993, 72–76. Officially there were no Jews or Muslims in Spain. All Jews had been forced in 1492 either to give up their faith or to leave the country within four months; thus officially there were no Jews in Spain in the sixteenth century. The Muslims suffered the same fate in 1502. Rawlings 2002, 11–13. *Conversos* or converted Jews (or Muslims) were nevertheless constantly suspected of continuing to practice their rites in secret, and the *juderías* in the towns were sometimes violently attacked. Bilinkoff 1993, 25–27.

[5] Egido 1981, 23–25; Bilinkoff 1993, 34–35, 147–48.

[6] The term 'cloister' comes from the Latin *clausura, claustrum*, 'an enclosed place'. Heikkilä & Lehmijoki-Gardner 2002, 403–404.

the nuns had to appear veiled.[7] The nuns in the Convent of the Incarnation, where Teresa had lived earlier, had not been cloistered. The house had more resembled a *beaterio*, i.e. community for laywomen.[8]

The idea of cloistering in Teresa's writings was closely linked with the lifestyle of the early Carmelites. The early Carmelites had been hermits living in the Holy Land, who in the twelfth century started to form loose communities. Their early rule was confirmed by Honorius III, but it was not until the thirteenth century, that the Carmelites moved to the west and started to form actual communities of friars. In the west the Carmelites had to alter their lifestyle, and the first modification of their rule took place then.[9] We can see that in Teresa's writings the eremitical life of the early Carmelites worked as an ideal model. For example in the first chapter of her *Life* Teresa writes that in her youth she wanted to become either a martyr or a hermit. Together with her brother she wanted to leave for the land of the Moors and die as a martyr; since their parents did not let them leave, however, they decided to become hermits and built small hermitages made of stone in their garden.[10]

During the Middle Ages and long into the Early Modern era, the eremitical lifestyle often worked as an ideal model for those who had chosen a religious life. Hermits were thought to be able to concentrate on God's worship better than others because they separated themselves from the world and withdrew to the desert for a life of contemplation in solitude. But the hermits' solitude and withdrawal from the world was often quite flexible, and there were often hermits' communities living close to a monastery. Hermits also sometimes lived in the midst of people in the cities. It was quite common for hermits to live in the cities, for example enclosed within part of the city wall or inside a church (*inclusi*). Monks occasionally left their community to live as hermits for a while; in the early medieval period, the solitary life of a hermit was sometimes regarded as the highest form of religious life even for a monk.[11]

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[7] Teresa 1963 (1567), 687–88 (*Constituciones*).
[8] Bilinkoff 1993, 53, 121.
[9] Lehmijoki-Gardner 2002, 272–74.
[10] Teresa 1963 (1565), 55 (*Vida*).

The word 'desert' refers to a place that is remote, but obviously withdrawal did not necessarily mean living in a distant location. Separation could also take place very close to other people. The houses founded by Teresa were often located inside cities, but she also founded them on the lands belonging to the high nobility. The fact that the religious house was located in the city did not mean that the monastic life could not symbolize a life in the desert, or that the nuns were unable to imitate hermits. Teresa considered that in the cloister the nuns were able to separate themselves from the world in the way of the hermits, even though if the actual cloister building was located in the midst of the city. To some extent, withdrawal was also possible inside the cloister, since each nun lived in her own cell; no one was allowed to enter the cell of another nun without good reason. If the cloister had a garden, the nuns often built small hermitages in it where they could withdraw into a life of contemplation. Teresa tells in one of her letters that in the house where she lived she had a small hermitage with a view of the river.[12] That the nuns were to live in their own cells, and to imitate the hermits, shows the importance that Teresa attached to the nuns' separation from the world at an ideological level.

Separation from the family and the lifestyle of the nobility

For Teresa the eremitical life worked as an ideal model, and meant withdrawal from the world. But what was this world like, that Teresa so wanted her nuns to separate themselves from? Sixteenth-century

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[11] The anchoretic life, i.e. the life of a hermit in solitude, differs from the cenobitic or community life of monks and nuns. In practice, however, these two distinct ways of living were often intertwined: there could be hermits living near a monastery, and a monk sometimes left his community for a while to live in solitude. Lawrence 1989, 44–45; Heikkilä 2002, 9–10, 36. There was also a woman hermit living in one of the churches in Teresa's hometown of Avila. This woman lived an ascetic life in a small chamber in the church, and people brought her food for her sustenance. Teresa had met this saintly woman in the house of a certain noblewoman, before she dedicated her life to ascetic practices in the chamber. Bilinkoff 1993, 106–107.

[12] Teresa 1963 (1567), 686 (*Vida*); Teresa 1963, 800–801 (*Epistolario*).

Spanish society consisted of many groups of people that are hard to define without extreme generalization. In the Middle Ages, people were divided mainly by their occupation in society. This tripartite division of a society of estates into those who worked (*laboratores*), those who fought (*bellatores*), and those who prayed (*oratores*) was problematic already in medieval Spain. Even though the nobility themselves often preferred to see the world this way, regional differences were great, and most modern historians consider that this feudal model of society cannot be applied to the Iberian Peninsula of the medieval period.[13] Other possible divisions would be according to people's duty to pay taxes or according to their wealth.[14] The most common approach seems to be to apply a combination of these three categories.[15]

When speaking of separation from the world, Teresa often seems to refer to one particular group of people – the nobility – and usually in a negative sense. The nobility of sixteenth-century Spain can be divided into the upper and lower nobility; there also existed a group that we might call the pre-nobility (*categoría pre o paranobiliaria*).[16] Teresa writes of the nobility, however, only in general terms. She criticises the nobility of her time for its way of living: the noble lifestyle has become so complex that it is a burden even for noble people themselves. She tells of a lady called Luisa de la Cerda, daughter of the Duke of Medinaceli, and the many feasts she had to attend:

> I learned, too, how little regard ought to be paid to rank, and how, the higher is the rank, the greater are the cares and the trials that it brings with it. And I learned that people of rank have to be careful to behave

[13] Valdeón 1992, 128–29, 143–44; Ruiz 2001, 3–7, 57.

[14] Although in general only nobles were exempt from taxes, the division according to their duty to pay taxes is still a problematic one. The lower nobility was exempt from paying taxes only in part, while the poorest people were unable to pay them at all. Ruiz 2001, 57–60. A third division would be according to wealth, but this would still pose problems; many of the members of the lower nobility and lower ecclesiastics were quite poor, while on the other hand merchants in the cities were often very rich. In addition, some people managed to obtain privileges and a status that usually belonged to the nobility; they form a group that we could call pre-nobility. Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 51–54.

[15] See for example Ruiz 2001, 40–42, 54–59.

according to their state, which hardly allows them to live: they must take their meals out of the proper time and order, for everything has to be regulated, not according to their constitutions but according to their position; often the very food which they eat has more to do with their position than with their liking. So it was that I came to hate the very desire to be a great lady.[17]

In Teresa's view, the manners of the nobility were complicated. It has been said that during the Early Modern era the nobility adopted many new dishes of food and more sophisticated customs pertaining to food and the table. The aristocracy aimed at refining their manners, and numerous guidebooks of good conduct were published. It has also been suggested that this arose from the social elite's wish to distinguish themselves from the masses. Peasants and other common folk were often referred to as having bad manners. On the other hand, the use of special customs according to social rank was already a common way of distinguishing between the elite and lower strata of society during the medieval period, and the nobility were often accused of vanity and of wishing to distinguish themselves from others already in the Middle Ages.[18]

In the Early Modern period manners did in fact change to some extent; even though already earlier the nobility had certainly been concerned with their particularity, in Spain they now had to underline their special position and difference from the common folk. This probably had nothing to do with a mental change or with a more "civilised" human nature compared to the Middle Ages. It was rather a consequence of the changed historical context. The recent uniting of the

[16] The upper nobility consisted of the *titulados* (counts, dukes, marquises) and the *grandes*. The latter category was first adopted during the reign of Charles V; they were also called "cousins of the king". The *caballeros* and *hidalgos* constituted the lower nobility, and enjoyed their privileges only within a limited area. *Caballeros* were sometimes considered as the middle class of the nobility. Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 50–51, 56–57, 71, 77–78. The *señores*, who were merely great landowners and had their own vassals, did not belong to the actual nobility. This was also the case with the members of military orders, although they sometimes acted almost like feudal lords. Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 57–58.

[17] Teresa 1946 (1565), 234 (*Life*).

medieval kingdoms under a single royal house in the late fifteenth century meant that many families that in the medieval period had generally been considered noble now had to prove their distinctive nature (*brobanza*) in order to preserve their privileges – for example their exemption from taxes. One of the most important criteria in proving one's noble status was the demonstration that one had held this status already before.[19] The number of privileged people had also risen to an intolerable level.[20] In addition, the nature of at least the upper nobility was changing. During the Middle Ages, to be a nobleman meant that one had to fight in the wars of the king or to offer an armed soldier for the king's armed forces, but at least in the late sixteenth century the duties of the upper nobility were more and more connected with administrative issues; the nature of war had been transformed, from the medieval regional battles against the Moors to a more international warfare in the Early Modern period, away from the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, the rise during the sixteenth century in the number of people who belonged to the upper nobility probably had its effect.[21] Drawing a distinction in comparison to ordinary people was perhaps only one aspect of the nobility's wish to refine its customs. The upper nobility's need to distinguish itself from the lower nobility, or from wealthy merchants, may have been an equally important factor.

The refined lifestyle of the elites also meant that women tried to

[18] Flandrin 1989, 265–270. For example it was not considered a sin for a nobleman to wear finer clothing than other people, but the nobles were often accused of overdressing and using exaggerated ornamentation for example in tournaments. Hanska 1997, 77–81.

[19] Dominguez Ortiz distinguishes between "the nobility of the virtue", who had their special status because of the favours they offered to the king, and "the natural or hereditary noblemen", who were traditionally considered noble. Those who had to prove their nobility fall into the second category. Those who had to and also succeeded in proving their special status were called *nobleza de ejecutoria*, but there were also many families whose nobility was hereditary, but who never had to prove their distinctive nature. They were referred to as *notoria nobleza*. Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 30–31.

[20] It has been estimated that in the sixteenth century about 10 % of the population in Spain were noble, but regional differences were great. For example, at least according to some sources half of the inhabitants of the town of Ubeda were caballeros. Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 26–28.

look beautiful. Women paid a lot of attention to their appearance, using makeup and wearing beautiful garments. Beauty was often considered a woman's most important fortune, and looking beautiful was a woman's obligation.[22] Teresa writes that in her youth she herself had concentrated too much on looking beautiful, using perfumes and other kinds of vanities. Because of her vanity, she says, she almost lost her good reputation; the only thing that stopped her from committing a mortal sin was her concern over losing her honour. Although she managed to hide her bad nature from other people, it could not be hid from God. Taking care of one's outer appearance was not wrong in itself, but according to Teresa it became dangerous when it was excessive and when the girl became too concerned over her looks.[23]

A girl's beauty was a socially important factor; it was needed especially to attract suitors for marriage. Marriage was important in order to have legitimate children, thus keeping the family fortune within the family. Important sixteenth-century Spanish families were concerned to remain in power; this depended on preserving the family fortune and securing the family's privileges. And keeping the fortune in the family meant having children, who in turn would inherit the family's wealth. In a society in which marriage was a principal means of creating economic ties and bonds of loyalty, unmarried women were in a liminal social position and a daughter's resolution to remain unmarried often appeared as an unexpected economic burden. The most important obligation of a noblewoman thus remained to get married and give birth to legitimate children.[24] In contracting a marriage, at least in the case of noble marriages, more important than mutual love between the bride and groom was their mutual social suitability. Love was probably thought to grow out of family life; it was obviously very seldom a reason for contracting a marriage in the first place.[25] It was in the interest of the family that the girl would get married, and a beautiful girl certainly attracted more suitors than an unattractive one. A young woman's wish to look beautiful, however, had certain limitations that could not be exceeded. A beautiful woman was thought to attract men to commit a

[21] Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 71–72, 78, 143–44.
[22] Korhonen 2002, 74.
[23] Teresa 1963 (1565), 56–58 (*Vida*).

sin, and excessive embellishment was a sign of *superbia* or pride, which has traditionally been considered first and foremost a sin of the nobility. And since make-up was expensive, using it was mainly a custom of the aristocracy.[26]

It was also in the interest of the girl's family for their daughter to marry a man from an honourable and important family. It was not unheard of for families to manage to arrange marriages even between members of the same family. Teresa writes about one such case in her *Book of the Foundations*. She tells of a girl called Doña Casilda de Padilla, who was the daughter of the Governor of Castile and was also related to the Count of Buendía on her mother side. Her father had died when she was still quite young, and as her other sisters and a brother had chosen a religious life she became heir to the family estates. When she grew older her marriage became the concern of her relatives. They decided to marry her to her uncle and managed to obtain a papal dispensation for the engagement. At first she was happy about this, but then God began to call her to the contemplative life and she decided to become a nun. Her relatives tried in every way to prevent this from happening, but eventually Casilda escaped to the Discalced Carmelite house and became a nun. To do so she was forced to break up with her relatives and separate herself from her worldly background.[27]

Marriages were also used to create bonds between families. Ties between family members often remained warm even if they lived far

[24] Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 31; Lehmijoki-Gardner 1999, 128–28; Ruiz 2001, 80–81. In the Middle Ages sexual act was considered as the final consummation of the marriage. If the marriage was not consummated and no children were born, the marriage was incomplete and could be annulled. While churchmen agreed that marriage should be based on the mutual consent (*consensus*) of both the bride and groom, the relatives often had a decisive role in choosing spouses for their children. Brooke 1989, 128–31; L'Hermite-Leclercq 1992, 215–20.

[25] Already during the Middle Ages theologians spoke of "married affection" (*maritalis affectio*), but they probably meant the consent of both bride and groom at the time of the marriage. Brooke 1989, 128–29.

[26] Hanska 1997, 77. People in the Early Modern period were also aware of the dangers of the substances used in make-up. For example white lead, used to make the skin look pale, was corrosive and in time destroyed the skin and health of the user. Korhonen 2002, 75–79.

away from each other. Relatives with a higher social position often helped their kinsmen who wanted to establish a good career or create good relations with important persons. Good relations with other families thus often led to economic prosperity. The most important factor in creating close bonds with other families, however, was probably honour. Honour was also the factor that separated the nobility from the lower strata of society.[28] Teresa seems to place more value on something that she calls "God's honour", rather than the worldly honour that people were concerned with in the secular world. For Teresa, genuine honour, which meant trying to please God, meant more than worldly honour, which was deceptive and meant living in a lie.[29] She also writes:

> Oh Lord, what great favour dost Thou bestow on those to whom Thou givest parents with so true a love for their children that they wish them to have no rank, estate and riches, but only that blessedness which will know no end![30]

Teresa thought that it should also be the parents' wish that their children search for the honour of God rather than worldly honour and wealth. Separation from the nobility and its values was necessary, and would bring far better things than worldly honour to the rest of the family as well.

The meaning of obedience and humility for nuns coming from noble families

Even after a religious life in the cloister had already begun, the nuns occasionally wanted to separate themselves from the other nuns. What did Teresa think of separation from others inside the cloister, and of

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[27] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 572–77 (*Libro de las fundaciones*).
[28] Dominguez Ortiz 1973, 31. The nobility created similar patronage – clientage bonds between family members, which were also increasingly in use between the king and his trustees. Asch 1991, 18–20.
[29] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 133 (*Libro de las fundaciones*).
[30] Teresa 1946 (1573–1582), 50 (*Book of the Foundations*).

the nuns' wish to act according to their own will? Was separation from others a positive act also when it took place inside the cloister walls?

From the early medieval period, onward, obedience (*obedientia*) was one of the monastic virtues, and when nuns or monks decided to live the rest or their life in the cloister they gave their monastic vows. One of the things that they almost always promised was obedience. The Discalced Carmelite nuns also had to keep the virtue of obedience, and Teresa often refers to it in her writings.[31] Obedience was closely linked with the sin of pride, since the opposite of obedience – disobedience – was thought to originate from pride. Pride or *superbia* was one of the mortal sins, and very threatening; already Lucifer had committed the sin of pride by presuming to be equal to God. In the Middle Ages and long into the Early Modern period people shared the idea that it was pride that had led Adam and Eve to be disobedient to God. Pride and obedience were also important because they were closely connected to other sins and virtues. It was widely held that pride was a sin especially common among the nobility. But it was also seen as an example of the sin of pride if someone from a poor and humble family wanted to become a monk or a nun. He or she was not content with their background. While obedience and humility (the latter of which was thought to originate from the former) meant submission to the will of the abbot or abbess, it was widely held that it was actually God that one submitted to. The leader of the monastery was merely a representative of God on earth.[32] For Teresa too, obedience meant conforming one's will to that of God.[33]

Separating oneself from the family background in the Discalced Carmelite houses seems to have been especially important for nuns coming from the nobility and important families; for them the cloistered life meant a bigger change compared to their former life in abundance. It was probably also harder for them to be obedient and to take orders from others. In the Middle Ages, the social division of the world was

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[31] See for example Teresa de Jesús 1963 (1573–1582), 552–53 (*Libro de las fundaciones*). The other monastic oaths were chastity (*castitas*) and poverty (*paupertas*). In some monastic orders the nuns and monks also promised to remain in a specific monastery; this was known as *stabilitas*. Heikkilä & Lehmijoki-Gardner 2002, 418.

traditionally retained inside the monastery walls: thus monks and nuns who came from the nobility concentrated on praying and studying, while the lay brothers and sisters (*conversi, conversae*), who normally came from the lower ranks of society, took care of more worldly tasks.[34] On the other hand, during the late medieval period the religious seem to have come increasingly from merchant families; but they are still unlikely to have belonged to very poor families, at least if the religious institution required a costly dowry. In Spain during the sixteenth century, the women who professed came increasingly from well-to-do families, so that in the second half of the century most of the women living in the religious houses came from the upper classes.[35]

Teresa did not want her nuns to remain inclined to their worldly position and rank. She had seen the consequences of this already in the Incarnation, where she had lived before the founding of the first Discalced Carmelite house. In this house, women who came from wealthy noble families lived in apartments consisting of numerous rooms, together with their servants and even slaves. While rich young

[32] Hanska 1997, 77; Kaartinen 2002, 3–4, 14–15, 18–22.

[33] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 555 (*Libro de las fundaciones*).

[34] Choir nuns or monks usually came from noble families, because entering the religious life was often accompanied by payment of a dowry. Lay sisters and brothers could finance their living in the monastery by working. Otherwise life in the monastery would not have been possible for them because of the high dowries. They were sometimes allowed to attend the choral offices, and could also enjoy some of the privileges that came with the life in the religious institution. Lawrence 1989, 177–79; Lehmijoki-Gardner 1999, 29.

[35] The reason for this may be the orders of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which ordered that all religious women had to live in cloistered communities, and that the institutions should not grow beyond their ability and resources to support the newly professed nuns. In Spain, the fact that most religious houses now required their nuns to have purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) probably also helps to explain why most of the nuns came from the nobility. The Discalced Carmelite houses during Teresa's time, however, did not require a dowry, and also *converso* women were accepted. Bilinkoff 1993, 131; Lehfeldt 1999, 1025–1027, n71. The fact that in sixteenth-century Spain wealthy merchant families could quite easily acquire noble status may also have something to do with it. Wealthy city residents and merchants do not seem to have formed a group conscious of its own identity, their main concern being entrance into the ranks of the nobility. Domínguez Ortiz 1973, 52–57; Bilinkoff 1993, 73.

women had comfortable beds covered with sheets made of silk, poorer ones had to sleep in common dormitories on mattresses made of coarse materials. The apartment where Teresa had lived had ample space on two separate floors, connected by a small staircase. Family life also continued in the community; a woman could share her apartment with female relatives who were living in the same house.[36] Teresa wanted her nuns to separate themselves from their family background and commit themselves to the community life. She believed that family ties and keeping special friends inside the cloister was good neither for the nuns nor for the community as a whole. What was more important was working for the good of the whole community:

> Oh, how true and genuine will be the love of a sister who can bring profit to everyone by sacrificing her own profit to that of the rest! She will make a great advance in each of the virtues and keep her Rule with great perfection. This will be a much truer kind of friendship than one which uses every possible loving expression (such as are not used, and must not be used, in this house): "My life!" "My love!" "My darling!" and suchlike things, one or another of which people are always saying.[37]

As we see, Teresa did not want her nuns to have special friends, or to maintain closer contact with relatives living in the same house than with the other nuns.

A good way of separating oneself spiritually from the family background and making oneself obedient and humble was mortification. Mortification could mean mortification of the flesh as well as mental mortification or humiliation. Mental mortification was needed to make one's mind and will humble and obedient. Manual work was usually seen as benefiting the nuns spiritually since it kept them from laziness, gluttony and immodest thoughts. Also the nuns in the Discalced Carmelite houses often served each other by preparing food and cleaning as acts of mortification.[38]

But it was probably easier to do chores in the religious community for women who had been accustomed to serving other people in the

[36] Bilinkoff 1993, 119–21.
[37] Teresa 1946 (s.a.) 35 (*Way of Perfection*).

world as well. In a world where work and obligations were divided according to the position that the person held in the society, it was not appropriate for a noble woman to perform chores that belonged to the servants. Thus, if a noble woman humiliated herself and served others, she gained spiritual credit. Teresa tells the story of a virtuous laywoman who had decided to become a nun. This Catalina Godínez belonged to an honourable and noble family. Her parents did not want her to become a nun, but she was determined. While still living with her family she symbolically renounced her noble background, starting to walk around dressed in poor clothes so that people would see her determination. Teresa tells us that she destroyed her beauty by moistening her face and exposing it to the sun, so that she would cease to receive marriage offers. She humiliated herself in front of the servants by serving them; while the servants were still sleeping, she stole into the room and secretly kissed their feet. In her *Book of the Foundations* Teresa sets this woman as an example for the other nuns, glorifying her acts of mortification and her wish to separate herself from her family background.[39]

As we can see, humble works and mortification worked in two ways. On the one hand they meant separation from the family and worldly background; on the other, they also worked for the nuns' commitment to the community life and made them obedient. According to Teresa, separation from the world and from the family background was necessary. Once community life had already begun, however, she did not want her nuns to separate themselves from other nuns for example according to their noble background, as this led them into the sin of pride and disobedience to the prioress.

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[38] The prioress also had to do these "humble works"; Teresa mentions in her Constitutions that the prioress must also take part in cleaning the house. The actions of the prioress were important examples for the other nuns. Teresa 1963 (1567), 689–90 (*Constituciones*); Lehmijoki-Gardner 1999, 94–95.

[39] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 614–16 (*Libro de las fundaciones*).

Melancholy nuns: a threat to good community life

In the Convent of the Incarnation, where Teresa had lived in her youth, the nuns lived according to their social rank and were closely bound to their family background. Teresa wanted the nuns in the Discalced Carmelite houses to lead a different kind of life, ruled by their wish to imitate the hermits and separate themselves from the world and its values. She wanted them to commit their efforts to the community life and be obedient to the prioress. But did they always do so? As we shall see, the nuns occasionally tried to continue their worldly habits also in the Discalced Carmelite houses. They sometimes tried to separate themselves from the other nuns and act according to their own will. These ideas usually came to nuns who were melancholy by temperament.

Like others before her, Teresa believed that a person's behaviour was affected by their temperament. The idea was based on humoural theory, according to which there were four different kinds of temperaments (melancholy, choleric, phlegmatic and sanguine); differences between temperaments were based on the different quantities of humours that the people had. These humours or bodily fluids were blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile; even though each individual was a combination of all the humours, they had them in different proportions. Together with heat the humours produced the personal temperament, also called the complexion (*complexio*). Humoural theory was very old, dating from Greek antiquity; the ideas were mostly based on Aristotelian natural philosophy and Galen's writings on human nature.[40] The differences between the temperaments could be physiological as well as mental, but they all depended on the personal humoural balance of the individual. For example the humour that ruled a melancholy person was the black bile, and his physiological nature was cold and dry. In personality he was sad and malicious, but also trustworthy and talented, and had a pale complexion of the skin.[41] In one chapter of the *Book of the Foundations* Teresa advises prioresses on treating melancholy nuns, giving the following counsel:

> So, if we consider the matter, we shall see that their principal desire is
> to act according to their own will and to say whatever comes to their

lips, remarking upon the faults of others so as to mask their own and delighting in whatever pleases them.[42]

As we can see, Teresa thought that it was hard for melancholy nuns to give up their own will, which was necessary for obedience. It was also a habit of melancholy nuns to point at others' faults, as if they themselves were perfect.

On the other hand, Teresa sometimes treats melancholy as an illness. A person was thought to be a sort of microcosm that reflected the larger macrocosm of the world; thus the elements of the world (fire, earth, water and air) had their equivalents in humans. Changes in the macrocosm were thus reflected in the person, affecting his humoural balance or complexion. When the complexion was balanced, moisture, dryness, cold and heat were in perfect balance; in practice, however, this was almost impossible to achieve. Each person was thought to have his own personal complexion, and the ideal complexion varied according to race or individual. It seems to be implicit in Galenic theory that one can never be in perfect condition or totally healthy. And it was specifically melancholy persons who were most likely to become depressed; in them insanity and genius were often intertwined.[43] Teresa too believes that the principal characteristic of this temperament is that it dominates and blinds the reason, and can eventually make the person mad.[44]

Earlier research has claimed that people in the Early Modern era did not have a concept of madness, or that the mad did not understand

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[40] Joutsivuo 1995, 38–41; Siraisi 1990, 104–106. Galen's physiological theories were not exactly consistent with Aristotelian thinking, and medieval people usually understood this. Medical writers identified themselves as the heirs and exponents of a primarily Galenic physiological tradition, because Galenic medicine provided a more richly detailed account of the human body; see Siraisi 1990, 80–82. "Galenism" is not the same as the teachings of Galen himself. What medieval Europeans knew about Galen had also been filtered through Arabic sources. Galenism was thus a mélange of concepts, but Galen's texts were rediscovered already in the early sixteenth century. Galenism endured long; the "decline" of Galenism in academic medicine was a long, slow process that was just barely completed by 1800. Lindemann 1999, 67–68, 71–72.

[41] Joutsivuo 1995, 32–33.

[42] Teresa 1946 (1573–1582), 37 (*Book of the Foundations*).

that their afflictions were the result of mental illness. According to this theory, the concept of mental illness was a modern concept brought to us by the medical and governmental authorities. This idea, however, has been much criticized, and more recent research has brought out cases that give a more profound view. People indeed possessed a concept of madness already in the Early Modern era. Mental illness was often discussed together with physiological terms, and afflictions of the mind were connected with bodily disturbances, such as a perturbed humoural balance or indigestion. Melancholics suffered from an excess of black bile, resulting in jealousy, superstition and manic behaviour. Melancholy was often connected with the use of too much imagination and the loss of reason, as can be seen in Teresa's writings as well.[45]

Teresa saw that melancholy was often caused by illness, but this does not necessarily mean that a sick nun would not always have been responsible for her actions. Teresa believed that it was not good for nuns who were temperamentally slow and absent minded to use their imagination without control or exercise too much penance. If in addition they are "melancholy, they begin to nurse a thousand pleasant delusions".[46] When it came to the nuns' actions and well-being, Teresa emphasized the idea of moderation. In a wider context as well, people were thought to be responsible for their own actions by controlling their body. It was widely held that people could influence their health by controlling their body.

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[43] Bottomley 1979, 132–133; Joutsivuo 1995, 36–37, 41–42, n5, n6; Siraisi 1990, 102–103; Tuomi 2000, 19–20.

[44] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 563 (*Libro de las fundaciones*).

[45] Lindemann 1999, 30–33. In the medieval period and the Early Modern era man was understood as a composite, consisting of body, soul and spirit. Man was considered a rational animal, because he possessed a rational soul. All forms of organic life were thought to have a "vegetative" soul; animals also had a "sensitive" soul; but man was the only God-created thing on earth that also had a "rational" soul. Because of his rationality he was partly akin to the angels. People thought of the spirit or spirits as mediators between soul and body; the spirits worked to disperse the humoural fluids throughout the body. If the spirits failed to do so, the result could be insanity. Bottomley 1979, 130–32; Schoenfeldt 1999, 2. Look also Siraisi 1990, 107–109.

[46] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 557 (*Libro de las fundaciones*).

As temperance became a central ethical virtue during the Renaissance, health assumed the role of a moral imperative.[47]

Even though it was usually held that the sick person was partly responsible for his or her sickness, Teresa seems to think that nuns who suffered from the illness of melancholy were not always to be held responsible for their behaviour. It depended on the degree of the illness. Those nuns who did not suffer from melancholy so severely should take responsibility for their actions, according to Teresa. She thought that those nuns who were not entirely affected by melancholy, and whose reason was just slightly affected, were different from those who had fallen ill and acted like madwomen. The difference was that nuns that were less severely affected acted insanely only intermittently, while people who had fallen ill acted that way always. Nuns that only sometimes acted in a melancholy manner were responsible for their actions and were allowed no liberties. According to Teresa they should be brought under control and if necessary punished.[48] As we can see, also Teresa acknowledges the personal responsibility that a nun has of her own health. A nun should always take responsibility for her behaviour already before she falls ill. Afterwards it is too late.

That the nuns found an excuse in melancholy when acting according to their own will is no surprise. Writings about melancholy were common in Early Modern Europe, and melancholy became an almost fashionable disease. According to Michael Schoenfeldt, during the Early Modern period Galenic physiology and ethics worked to empower the individual; they were sometimes used to justify acts of self-fashioning,

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[47] Schoenfeldt 1999, 7, 24. In addition to natural causes (e.g. the bodily humours) and actual diseases (considered *contra-naturales*) that affected thea person, also non-natural things too could cause one to fall ill. These non-naturals were air, sleep and walking, food and drink, rest and exercise, excretion and retention, and the passions or emotions. The best means of maintaining health was to practice moderation, especially in the non-naturals. Mikkeli 1995, 88; Lindemann 1999, 10, 69. On the other hand, already during the Middle Ages people were held responsible for their own actions, and moderation was required especially in relation to food. In a religious context overeating was connected with bestiality and the sin of gluttony (*gula*). Kaartinen 2002, 90–91.

[48] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 563 (*Libro de las fundaciones*).

and enabled individual liberation. As we have seen, however, in Teresa's mind such self-fashioning was not good either for the nuns themselves or for the community as a whole. This kind of self-liberation had serious consequences, because it led to illness and to the nuns' wish to separate themselves from the other nuns of the community. Melancholy was also a socially determined illness. Most of those who fell ill were aristocratic and educated people. The same symptoms that in the upper classes pointed to melancholy, in the lower social strata were seen as signs of stupidity, slow-wittedness and a mopish personality.[49]

There were also other, more serious, dangers in melancholy behaviour. Melancholics sometimes claimed that they had received visions from God during their ecstatic trances, but Teresa seems to see these rather as the work of the devil. She says that it is the devil that brings about these apparitions in order to incite the nuns to pride. Teresa considers that melancholy nuns are sometimes so proud that they consider themselves saints. While committing the sin of pride, they became even more receptive to the devil's temptations and tricks, thereby threatening the welfare of the whole community.[50] The devil was able to use melancholy temperament for his own purposes, as can be seen from Teresa's words:

> I am afraid, as I have said, that the devil takes advantage of this humour to win many souls. We hear more of melancholy now than we used to, as that term is apt to be applied to every kind of self-will and desire for freedom. It has occurred to me, therefore, that it would be a good idea if in these houses of ours, and in all religious houses, we were never to take this word upon our lips, as it seems to encourage the granting of undue liberty. It should simply be described as a serious illness – and it is certainly serious enough – and be treated as such.[51]

As we can see, melancholy was a common way of justifying actions based on self-will among the nuns; we also see that – according to

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[49] Lindemann 1999, 33; Schoenfeldt 1999, 11–13.

[50] Teresa 1963 (1573–1582), 567 (*Libro de las fundaciones*). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was believed that a spirit or Satan himself could possess a person and drive him or her mad. Likewise the harm caused by a witch might cause loss of reason. Lindemann 1999, 31.

[51] Teresa 1946 (1573–1582), 39 (*Book of the Foundations*).

Teresa – it was a matter that was widely discussed in sixteenth-century Spain. For Teresa melancholy meant first and foremost an illness, but she acknowledged that the nuns sometimes tried to use melancholy as an excuse for their wish to act according to their own will. It was dangerous because it prevented them from cutting their ties with their families and with the social position that they had held in the world before entering the religious community. It was also a means for the devil to take hold of the nun's soul, and a serious threat to community life in the Discalced Carmelite houses. Teresa therefore considered that it would be better if melancholy were not discussed at all, except in reference to an illness. Teresa's words on melancholy nuns suggest that they were directed in particular to noblewomen, who were accustomed to maintain their own habits and social status even inside the cloister walls. In the Convent of the Incarnation, Teresa had seen that it was not good if the nuns continued their worldly life, and that it threatened the well-being of the whole community. Teresa probably had to face the same problems that she had seen in the Convent of the Incarnation in the newly founded Discalced Carmelite houses as well.

Conclusions

As we have seen, in Teresa's thinking melancholy and pride formed a threat to community life in the Discalced Carmelite monasteries. They threatened the inner coherence of the community because they enabled the nuns to act according to their own will and customs, thus making it possible for them to separate themselves from the other nuns. This was not Teresa's wish. On the contrary: she wanted her nuns rather to separate themselves from their worldly background and social status. Pride and melancholy were especially common in the nobility, and Teresa seems to have thought that separation from the world meant in particular separation from the values and lifestyle of the nobility. In addition, pride and melancholy were dangerous because they allowed the devil to take hold of the nuns.

Melancholy behaviour was usually connected with a noble background, and it seems to have been harder for noblewomen to submit

themselves to the will of the prioress. Teresa writes of the virtue of obedience that was necessary for good community life and facilitated the nuns' dedication to live in the cloister. To be obedient also meant working on behalf of the other nuns and serving them in domestic tasks. This seems to have been harder for nuns who came from the nobility than for women who came from the lower strata of society, since noblewomen were not as accustomed to serve other people in the world. The nuns' melancholy behaviour and pride shows that they often wanted to preserve their social status and worldly habits, even inside the cloister walls. Teresa did not want her nuns to separate themselves from the other nuns according to their social background, and separation from the others inside the cloister was strictly forbidden. It was a serious threat to community life.

On the other hand, separation from others was also a good thing for community life, at least when it meant separation from people outside the cloister. Separation from the world and the family was necessary in order for the nuns to commit their lives to cloistered life in the community. A good way for a nun to separate herself from the world was imitation of the hermits and renunciation of her family background. Separation from the values and manners of the nobility did not necessarily mean that Teresa's reform was primarily middle-class and *converso*-oriented; it can also be a sign that there were many noblewomen living in the Discalced Carmelite houses. Teresa's views concerning separation from others were thus twofold. Separation from others could be both negative and positive: it depended on the ideas and persons from whom the nun wanted to separate herself.

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'ELECT PEOPLE OF GOD IN SCORN CALLED QUAKERS': THE EARLY SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AS DIFFERENT

Anu Keinänen

'Elect People of God in Scorn Called Quakers' was a phrase commonly used of themselves by first-generation members of an English religious sect, the Society of Friends, in addressing people outside their own group. The phrase was usually part of the subtitle of books and pamphlets published by the sect; its purpose was to show the reader that the book was written by people who were identified by one name by outsiders, by another by themselves. The phrase implies an acknowledgement of two sides – us and them – and recognises a difference between them. So how and why did this difference come about? In this article I view the Society of Friends, or Quakers, in its early years, during the Civil War and the Commonwealth of England (c. 1647–1660), and consider how they defined themselves in relation to the rest of society. I concentrate on two questions I consider relevant when comparing religious sects of that time: the way Quakers thought salvation was achieved, and their view of the Second Coming of Christ. I approach these questions from the Quakers' point of view.

Quakers and Others

In modern research early Quakers are mainly compared with English Puritans.[1] But there were many sects and churches operating in England that time, and they all form an 'other', or rather 'others', Quakers could mirror themselves against. I therefore begin by reviewing that background.

With regard to religion, the two decades before the Civil War (1642–1649) in England were a time of multiple views. The Church of England had been increasingly Calvinistic in its doctrine and practices since the turn of the 17th century; by the time of Archbishop William Laud (1633–1645), the Calvinist way of worship had been established throughout the country. With Laud, however, this changed, and Calvinist doctrine and worship were challenged by Laud's Arminianism – a religious view doctrinally opposite to Calvinism. The difference between Calvinism and Arminianism basically concerned the relationship between divine grace and human free will. Calvinists maintained that the few Elect were predestined to salvation and the rest predestined to damnation, and that this was not conditional on faith; the Arminians, in contrast, believed in justification by faith and God's universal grace – a view common to many Catholics and Lutherans of the time. The English Arminians believed that grace was received through the Sacraments, while for Calvinists salvation came through sermon and Scripture.[2]

Arminianism was nothing new in England. Since the Reformation there had been a minority of dissenters in England, generally called 'Lutherans', who did not hold Calvinist doctrine; by Laud's time they had been given a name, 'Arminian' after the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius (d. 1609), who in the United Provinces had been formulating his anti-Calvinist ideas. Until Laud, however, they had not been in an influential position in the Church.[3]

The political power needed to alter the course for Arminians came

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[1] See for example Gwyn 1984, xiii–xxiii and Frost 1970, 504 note 3.

[2] Tyacke 2001, 141, 156–57; Frost 1970, 505.

[3] Tyacke 2001, 141–44, 156–57; Frost 1970, 505.

with the succession of Charles I (1625–1649), and the final change occurred with Archbishop Laud. Laud started to reform the Church according to Arminian ideas; consequently communion and baptism, as an absolute condition for salvation, became the focus of attention, and the importance of sermons was diminished. Despite differences in doctrine and worship, however, the Church remained fairly united; the controversy between the two sides was expressed mainly in the political field. In Parliament the question was among other things about the governing of the Church, which also created factions among the Calvinists; the latter in general were all now called 'Puritans' by the Laudian side. This in part led to the Civil War of the 1640s, when for a while Calvinism was once again dominant.[4]

But the Church could not offer the answers some people were looking for in either of its factions, Calvinist or Arminian. A growing number of people were leaving the Church and forming their own separate congregations, at first in secret and later more openly. One option was offered from the early 1640s onward by the Baptists. Operating in England in two different and rival groups, the Particular Baptists and the General Baptists, they gained growing support. Both groups were essentially Calvinist in their doctrine, but General Baptists rejected the orthodox Calvinist view, that Christ died to save only the pre-Elected few, for the belief in the potential of all to be saved, thus offering a real alternative to Puritanism.[5]

The question of salvation was probably the main reason why people needed different religious options. The idea of one's probable damnation, which was a side-effect of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, caused desperation among ordinary church-goers, and the doctrine of General Redemption, which emphasised human dignity, thus had greater appeal. This can be seen for instance from the vitality of popular 'Anglicanism', as the Arminian side is nowadays called, which remained alive throughout the time of the Civil War; this vitality is

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[4] Hill 2002, 80–81; Tyacke 2001, 141, 143, 149, 158; Gwyn 2000, 73–74; Reay 1984a, 12. Originally the name 'Puritan' was not applied to all Calvinists, only to certain strict Calvinist minorities. See note 10.

[5] Gwyn 2000, 80–81; McGregor 1984a, 27–28.

suggested by the lack of resistance to the restoration of the Anglican Church in the 1660s.[6]

Dissatisfaction with existing forms of worship and with Calvinist doctrine drove people into religious seeking. Seekers – as they were called – had tried all existing forms of worship within the Church, but had not found what they were looking for. During the Civil War, when official control was looser, religious seeking was a very common feature of the society throughout the country, but especially in the North. Seekers would form loose congregations or wander from group to group, trying to find solutions to their religious troubles. George Fox (1624–1691) was one of these troubled. His religious despair, caused by his knowledge of the existence of sin, had led him to move from place to place from the beginning of the Civil War. After four years of seeking, in 1647, he obtained the answer he was looking for when Christ spoke to him directly, saying, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition". Fox understood this to mean that "all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief […] that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence".[7] This led him to the conclusion that all believers could become free from sin already in this world.[8]

Fox's 'revelation' is regarded as the beginning of the Quaker movement. By 1652 Fox and his fellow preachers moved around Northern England, drawing together individuals and whole groups of separatists and dissenters – Baptists, Seekers, Ranters and others – with impressive success. Within a decade they spread throughout the country and beyond, gathering up to 40 000 or even 60 000 members in their sect; this made them as numerous as English Catholics and more numerous than Baptists. They were an ecstatic movement that stirred people both emotionally and physically – the name 'Quaker' derives from the physical shaking that was characteristic of their religious experience – and they offered one possible answer to people who were in despair over the Puritan sense of sin and over their salvation.[9]

[6] Hill 2002, 169–70; Reay 1984a, 9; McGregor 1984a, 29.
[7] George Fox 1694 (1998), 13–14.
[8] Hill 2002, 167; Gwyn 2000, 73–74; Reay 1984b, 148; Frost 1970, 506; Braithwaite 1961, 31.
[9] Gwyn 1986, 24–30; McGregor 1984a, 60–61; Reay 1984b, 141–48.

By the time Quakers emerged onto the scene to offer their option for salvation, there were dozens of religious sects operating in England. All of them came essentially from the same Calvinist Puritan background, even though before the Civil War the Laudians had tried to change the Church of England according to their beliefs. Since Quakerism appeared from the predominantly Calvinist Northern countryside, it has been seen as an essentially Puritan movement. The Quaker historian Rosemary Moore, however, points out that opinions unorthodox to Calvinism were being preached especially in rural areas already before the Civil War. And as Quakers set out to refute the Calvinist doctrine of predestination – the main feature common to all Puritans, as the historian Nicholas Tyacke writes, at least from the 1620s onward – Quakers cannot be said to be Puritans in a doctrinal sense. Nevertheless, they did arise from Puritan background and were influenced by it.[10]

The multitude of groups with the same background meant that actual differences between sects were not always obvious; in fact, as the historian J. William Frost puts it, "their similarities far outweighed any differences."[11] Some differences diminished or disappeared as people moved from one sect to another or when groups merged together, as in the case of the Quakers. On the other hand, the members of the sects came from various social backgrounds and had different political interests and attitudes, making it difficult to establish coherence within a sect. Consequently it was not always easy for people outside the sects to distinguish the different groups. The two groups of English Baptists, for instance, differed in their doctrine and their church ordinances, but most contemporaries failed to realise the distinction. Thus the sects were thought to be the same and were treated as such, especially by legislators and Justices.[12]

For the members of a given sect, however, it was essential to define

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[10] Moore 2000, 14; Reay 1984b, 142; Barbour 1973, 16; Frost 1970, 503 footnote 3. Prior to the Laudian Church, however, in the early 17th century, the term 'Puritan' meant either a refusal to conform to the rites and ceremonies of the English Church, or a Presbyterian rejection of church government by bishops, both of which Quakers indeed did: Tyacke 2001, 133–35.

[11] Frost 1970, 504.

[12] Moore 2000, 4–5; McGregor 1984a, 28, 39, 60–61; Reay 1984b, 142–43; Frost 1970, 504.

their group as apart from others. Peoples' souls were at stake, and each group felt it to be their responsibility to show others the way – their way – to redemption. The theological debate among the groups was carried on with the greatest intensity, often over differences that today may seem almost non-existent. Thus it was also with the early Quakers, who wrote a multitude of texts trying to show others the way to salvation.[13] I next examine this Quaker way of achieving salvation.

The Salvation of the Perfect

The main question with any Christian Church or sect was that of salvation: how it was achieved and who achieved it. As noted earlier, there were two principal positions: predestination and general redemption. Calvinism held the doctrine of double predestination, in which both the Elect and those who were damned were predestined. The world of the Puritans was divided into the sheep and the goats, and only few were sure they belonged to the sheep.[14] The conviction of being among the goats caused anxiety among believers, and their deep sense of sin made them despair of their salvation. Much of the religious sectarianism in Civil War England came as a reaction against this; the Quaker movement was no exception.

The Quakers started by rejecting the idea of predestination altogether and adopting the idea of General Redemption. The idea, as already noted, was not new in England; with Laud it had even gained the status of official Church doctrine. The Quakers, however, adopted only the possibility of all to be saved. They also differed from the Arminians in their radical extension of the doctrine. Rather than believing, like the Arminians, that Redemption came through the Sacraments, the Quakers believed that salvation was only achieved by the presence of the living Christ in the believer: "we own the teaching of God by his spirit, and the light which doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world, which is the covenant of God."[15] They granted

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[13] Reay 1984b, 145; Hill 1972, 190; Frost 1970, 503.
[14] Hill 2002, 80.
[15] George Fox 1659 (1990a), 57.

the possibility of knowing the Spirit of God, or the Light, to all humanity, not just to the selected few.

The Spirit had supremacy over man, and this Quakers held to be the key to salvation:

> Stand still in that which is pure […] and then the mercy comes in. After thou seest thy thoughts, and the temptations, do not think, but submit; and then the power comes. […] And stand still in the light, and submit to it, and the other will be hushed and gone; and then content comes. […] And earthly reason will tell you, what ye shall lose; hearken not to that, but stand still in the light […] If ye do any thing in your own wills, then ye tempt God;[16]

A will of one's own was a way to damnation: a Quaker could not reason his or her way to redemption. Salvation was possible only by giving oneself up to God. Quakers yielded their natural will to the demand of God; by that they took the Cross of Christ, as they saw it, by willingly participating in His sufferings.[17]

This presence of the Light was the Quaker way of dividing the world into the sheep and the goats, us and others. Those who accepted the Light were the Elect of God: "We are them spoken of in the Revelations, whom ye lord is bringing through great tribulations", wrote the Quaker Edward Burrough.[17] The Quakers saw themselves as the chosen people of God; this naturally meant that others were not, and the Quakers set about to deny all other sects: "we differ in doctrines and principles, […] and the other thou must condemn".[18] All other ways led to damnation, as the Quaker Thomas Loe tells "all the wicked in the world":

> I have placed in you a light wch letts you see yor Transgressions, yor Wickednesse, yor Pride, yor lust […] have I not found you Enveying of them that doe worshipp me in the Spirit, and in the Truth, and shall any thing stopp my Wrath or stay my hand from Executing my

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[16] George Fox to Friends to stand still in trouble and see the strength of the Lord, Epistle X, [1652] (1990b), 20–21.

[17] E[dward] B[urrough], concerning ffriends [n.d.], Letters and Documents vol. VII/6.

[18] Edward Burrough, the Epistle to the Reader, London, the Ninth-mo. 1658, in: George Fox 1659 (1990a), 22.

Judgements upon you for these abomina[ti]ons; […] if you Repent not
[…][19]

The whole essence of Christianity was questioned: in Quaker opinion
no one was a Christian without the experience of God.

Since Quakers received a direct revelation of Christ's teaching in the
Spirit or the Light, they had no need of sermons as a means of teach-
ing Scripture, and even Scripture was seen as subordinate to the direct
understanding of Christ. This made obsolete the Puritan doctrine that
salvation came through sermons preached by ministers: "And ye who
are turned from the light, […] and do turn to the hireling priests who
are changeable, from the priest who never changes, ye walk in Judas'
steps, and wo will be your end; […] and ye that hear the word, wait
in the light, which comes from the word, which leads up to the word
which was in the beginning, […]".[20] Salvation was in the Word, Christ,
not in the words of the priests.[21]

Enthusiasm, the idea of immediate guidance by the Holy Spirit
which overrides any worldly or scriptural authority, was not an entirely
new idea either. There were many Enthusiastic sects operating in Eng-
land, that believed in the presence of Spirit and acted accordingly. Even
a sect as close to Calvinism as the Baptists had a similar idea. The Quak-
ers, however, differed from all of them. Their way of understanding the
presence of Christ in man as the Light led to a doctrine of perfection of
man in this world.[22]

Quakers took literally Christ's words in the Sermon on the Mount:
"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect"
(Mathew 5: 48). The Question of perfection was the principal way of
defining a Quaker – those who believed in it were Quakers and those
who did not were others – and the main debate concerning the differ-
ence between Quakers and others was argued over this point. Quakers
believed that since God was fully present in the believer as the sinless

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[19] Thomas Loe to all the Wicked in the World, Mallow the 22nd of the 3d
moneth 1658, Letters and Documents Vol. VI/45.
[20] George Fox to Friends in Truth, Epistle XXV, [1653] (1990b), 33.
[21] Tyacke 2001, 149; McGregor 1984a, 61; Reay 1984b, 149; Frost 1970, 521.
[22] Tyacke 2001, 141–44; Moore 2000, 4–5; McGregor 1984a, 60–61; McGre-
gor 1984b, 121; Reay 1984b, 142–43.

Christ, they too, through this experience, were liberated from the tyranny of sin. This meant for them on the one hand a return to a prelapsarian condition; on the other hand, it meant something completely new and infinitely better:

> [...] being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus [...] I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in, before he fell. [...] But I was immediately taken up in spirit, to see into another or more steadfast state, than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall.[23]

Quakers believed in the Christlike perfection of human beings, possible already in this world through the Light of Christ: "And the Lord showed to me, that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state, in which Adam was before he fell".[24] With the idea of perfection Quakers could end the despair that Calvinism had caused in them.[25]

For the Puritans, perfection was the most offensive of the Quaker positions. Not only did Puritans object to the idea of God-like human perfection, they abhorred the Quaker notion which this entailed, of freedom from sin. For Calvinists the way out of despair was to recognize that even God's Elect continue to wallow in sin. Quakers took this as speaking "for the sin" and attacked it vehemently, taking the matter for example directly to Oliver Cromwell.[26] He, however, stood by his Calvinist opinion, as the Quakers Francis Howgill and John Camm regretfully observed: "he is [...] to[o] highe in notion to receive truth in plainnes and in demonstration of the spiritt [...] he argues strongly for the preists & for the popeish low [law] [...] & soe sin must be uphoulden by a law;" and they concluded that Cromwell was "in great danger to be lost".[27]

Even though the Quakers advocated the possibility of freedom from

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[23] George Fox 1694 (1998), 27.
[24] George Fox 1694 (1998), 27–28.
[25] Damrosch 1996, 97–98; Frost 1970, 513–14.
[26] Damrosch 1996, 97, 102; McGregor 1984a, 61; Frost 1970, 507–508.
[27] Francis Howgill and John Camm to Marg[are]t Fell, [London], March the 27 1654, ARB MSS Vol. 323/20.

sin, however, sin did not become irrelevant to them, as the Puritans often assumed. Quakers were just as convinced as Puritans that most human beings were corrupted by sin. The difference between Quakers and Calvinists was in the way they understood the condition of the Elect saved by Christ. Calvinists believed that the pre-Elected few continued to be wicked sinners, even though their salvation was certain: Election did not liberate them from sin. They believed that Election was an unmerited condition that the Elect could do nothing to alter, one way or another, by their own acts.[28]

Quakers, on the other hand, believed that a person could choose to be elected: "None come to the new birth, but they who come to the light which every man that comes into the world is lighted withal; which believing in, they are children of light. Believing and receiving it, they receive power to become the sons of God."[29] The Light was a possibility in all, and a person could choose to let the Christ enter as that Light and be saved by it.[30]

Quakers differed from all the English in their notion of freedom from sin: "Christ being made manifest, is made manifest to take away sin", wrote Fox, and continued: "he that is dead to sin is alive to righteousness; and lives in God; and God in him. […] he that is perfectly holy is perfectly just […] for the man of God is perfect."[31] Quakers believed that only the perfect were true Christians and only the perfect were chosen for salvation. The Elect were perfect.

The difference in positions was well acknowledged by the Quakers, who condemned other opinions:

Contrary to the language of the apostle, and Christ, who bid them 'be perfect', and the apostle […] said, they were made 'free of sin.' And it is the devil speaking in man that speaks for sin while men are upon earth; for the devil holds up him who makes men not perfect, but truth makes men free again from the devil, and speaks in man, and says, 'Be perfect.'[32]

[28] Damrosch 1996, 98; Frost 1970, 513.
[29] George Fox 1659 (1990a), 50.
[30] Damrosch 1996, 98; Frost 1970, 508, 513–14.
[31] George Fox 1654 (1990a), 595–96. Damrosch 1996, 98; McGregor 1984, 27.
[32] George Fox 1659 (1990a), 74.

Fox describes in his Journal how he was questioned about his doctrine of perfection and sentenced to "the house of Correction for six months and then many people came far and near to see a man that had no sin".[33] At times, however, the Quakers modified their position slightly, claiming that the Elect were not necessarily immediately perfect. Rather, perfection was a gradual process. They also sometimes wrote that while it was possible for all to be perfect, it was only a minority that were likely to be so, since everyone did not recognize the call of God; but "if thy eye be open, and if thy ear be unflopped, thou shalt hear and see the Devil transformed into an Angel of light".[34] For those who welcomed it, perfection was possible.

Being Perfect

Some modifications in the Quaker position may have been necessary due to the existence in England of another sect, the Ranters, who had adopted a similar doctrine of perfection. Ranters never existed in large numbers, but they nevertheless created enough disturbance to cause fear in outsiders. Ranters claimed to have become one with God, and denied the reality of sin to the believer. The conclusion they drew from this, however, was quite different from that of the Quakers.[35]

The Ranters argued that a man united with God was free of the carnal world and that all his acts in such a state were inspired by God; this led to an indifference with regard to behaviour. They believed that a spiritual man could not be tainted by any act of the flesh. The Ranters therefore expressed their spirituality by such acts as adultery, swearing, fornication, drunkenness and blasphemy, all justified by religious inspiration.[36]

The Quaker conclusion from the same doctrine was that despite perfection all unrighteousness was sin; in Quaker belief, unlike for

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[33] George Fox 1694 (1998), 48–52.

[34] Edward Burrough, the Epistle to the Reader, in: Christopher Atkinson 1653, [A 5]. Damrosch 1996, 98, 100.

[35] McGregor 1984b, 129.

[36] McGregor 1984b, 129–30.

instance Puritan doctrine, it was possible for the Elect to fall. For a Quaker stealing was still a sin, whereas a Ranter might believe that it was not so. According to the Quakers, only sins that had been committed before the perfection of a believer might be forgiven; sins committed after it were disastrous, although an Elect status could be regained. Therefore it was essential to keep in God's way: "All friends, be low, and dwell in the life of God, to keep you low […] in that dwell, which doth condemn all the evil in the world."[37] Rather than liberating Quakers from the strictness of the law, as it did for Ranters, the doctrine of perfection was more likely to push that strictness to an extreme.[38]

Since the doctrine of both Quakers and Ranters was based on the same principle of perfection, it was difficult for Quakers to make the world see the difference between the two sects. It was, however, essential for Quakers to emphasize this difference, since the Ranters caused violent opposition throughout the society and were being purged out of England with a heavy hand. The Quakers themselves attacked the Ranters, for example by claiming that the latter were the logical extreme of Calvinist predestation (if the Elect could not fall, their actions – even sinful – did not matter). The most effective way to make the world understand the difference between Quakers and Ranters, however, was to demonstrate it in practice.[39]

Quakers were very careful to appear as perfect in their behaviour as their doctrine implied: "generally we were men of the strictest sect, and of the greatest zeal in the performance of outward righteousness", as Edward Burrough described the Quaker way even before their conversion.[40] Perfect behaviour meant that the believer had to overcome his or her self-will and pride; it meant total submission to God, as mentioned earlier. Quakers were very zealous in their reprimands against any one of their number who deviated from their principles, or who led the world in any way to understand that they were not perfect: "James

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[37] George Fox to All Friends everywhere, Epistle LXII, [1654] (1990b), 93.
[38] Damrosch 1996, 102, 104–105; McGregor 1984b, 129–30; Frost 1970, 516–17.
[39] Damrosch 1996, 105; Gwyn 1986, 35; McGregor 1984b, 131.
[40] Edward Burrough, the Epistle to the Reader, London, the Ninth-mo. 1658, in: George Fox 1659 (1990a), 11.

[…] How is the beautiful Citty become an harlotte, from whence art thou fallen […] hast not thou wth thy company made the Name of the Lord god of life […] to be blaspheamed by the heathen this day, and are not them that have done it blasphemers?"[41] This was written to the Quaker James Nayler, after he fell from grace with the Quakers with his ride to Bristol in 1656 – the whole incident of which can be seen as an extension of the Quaker doctrine of perfection, but which nevertheless caused the Quakers to cast Nayler out of their number to protect the integrity of the sect.[42]

For Quakers, sinful conduct did not mean merely stealing or drunkenness, or other things generally considered illegal. Quakers considered every act that was contrary to Scripture or to the Apostles' way of life to be sinful. To be perfect, a Christian and an Elect thus meant that the Quaker had to lead an apostolic life. Where the Puritans were forced to conclude that the world of the Bible was so different from their own time that the Saints of their day could no longer live as the Apostles had done, the Quakers considered that the Saints of the Bible had no special powers that were not available in the Quakers' own time. It was just, in the Quaker view, that the Church had digressed from its origins and principles right from the beginning, making the apostolic life seem impossible for others. In Quaker opinion the Church was in a state of apostasy; its foundation and that of other religious sects was not Christ. Quakers believed that the other sects "have risen out of y[e] pitt y[t] hath noe bottome. & into y[t] have they & must they all sinke downe againe".[43] The bottomless pit of Revelations (Rev. 11:7) was the foundation of all other forms of worship. To escape this horror and to achieve salvation, the Quakers tried to maintain forms of conduct they believed were in accordance with the apostolic way of life. This often made

[41] Hum: Smyth a prisoner of Jesus Xt in Exon to James [Nayler] [1657], Letters and Documents vol. VI/39.

[42] James Nayler rode into the city of Bristol with a few disciples in a manner that represented Christ's entrance to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Nayler maintained that his followers were showing respect to Christ present in Nayler, but the Parliament, who got to try Nayler, convicted him of blasphemy. Jokela 2002a, 57–63; Lloyd 1950, 69–77; Frost 1970, 517.

[43] E[dward] B[urrough], concerning ffriends [n.d.], Letters and Documents vol. VII/6.

Quaker behaviour look odd or even anarchic and rebellious in the eyes of contemporaries. [44]

Among the things that Quakers considered to be sinful or contrary to the Apostles' way of life were swearing, paying tithes, and showing respect for rank or social status: "'God is no respecter of persons [Acts 10:34]:' he that respecteth persons commits sin, and he that commits sin transgresseth the law."[45] Quakers lived accordingly, for example by keeping their hats on and using the singular pronouns 'thee' and 'thou' when addressing people. Tithes were offensive to Quakers because, as a way of supporting the clergy, they "translated spiritual sustenance into worldly cash".[46] It also seemed very likely to them that a Quaker would be paying for a priest who preached against the Quaker conviction:

> What! compel a man himself to set out the tythe of his own Goods to maintain a Hireling Priest, it may be one openly prophane, and so make him sin against his own conscience, or take from him thrice, or rather five times as much! and […] force him to swear what tythes he had, or commit him to prison, there to lie without hope of relief;[47]

Tithing also involved actual social injustices, as the Quaker Anthony Pearson here notes. The poorest often ended up paying the most, and sometimes it was not even the Clergy that got the money; it might as often be the local nobleman that collected the benefit. But the Quakers did not advocate a more equitable sharing of tithes; they wanted the tithes, and the professional clergy supported by it, completely removed as something contrary to the Bible.[48]

By denying everything they considered apostasy, Quakers denied the Church of England "soe called". They denied the Church in all its forms: "[we] deny their ministry, their church, their worship, and their whole religion, as being not in the power"[49]. In their opinion the rituals and ordinances of the Church were the inventions of later times, the

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[44] Damrosch 1996, 34; Lloyd 1950, 66–67.
[45] George Fox 1654 (1990a), 596.
[46] Damrosch 1996, 50.
[47] Anthony Pearson 1657, 25.
[48] Damrosch 1996, 52–54.
[49] Edward Burrough, the Epistle to the Reader, London, the Ninth-mo. 1658, in: George Fox 1659 (1990a), 5.

very origin of apostasy. During the Civil War and the Interregnum the Church meant the Puritan Church of the sermon and Scripture.

Quakers also denied the Sacraments of the Church, because they considered them to have no ground in Scripture. In particular they denied the baptism: "there is no scripture that speaks of a sacrament, but that baptism that is into Christ".[50] The Puritans saw baptism as a birthright, and for the Arminians it was a crucial way of renewing the grace of God. By denying infant baptism the early Quakers were probably reacting against the pre-civil-war Laudian Church as well as against their own Calvinist origins. By denying baptism altogether, the Quakers also defined themselves in respect to other sects, especially the Baptists, who followed the practice of baptising all believers. The Quakers also rejected Communion, although the importance of Communion as a Covenant was acknowledged.[51] Communion was understood as spiritual, not as an "empty ritual":

> The true supper of the Lord is the spiritual eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ spiritually; […] And all who eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, have real communion in Christ […]. Now the world, who take only the outward signs […] eat and drink damnation to themselves, and become guilty of the body and blood of Christ.[52]

In Quaker opinion it was not rituals that offered salvation, it was the Spirit. They declared that by keeping only to the ritual of Communion the partaker became guilty of Christ's crucifixion and was therefore damned. And as Quakers saw it, none of the other sects were in the Spirit in their Communion.[53] Only Quakers escaped damnation.

The Church of England was an embodiment of everything that Quakers were not. For example its Ministers were not true Christians: "her Ministry is not y^e true ministry of christ sent of him into y^e worke, but are Generally such persons as all y^e prophetts, Christ, & his apostles

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[50] George Fox 1654 (1990a), 594.
[51] Capt. Morley, a Witness of the Truth, in: The Glorie of the Lord Arising 1654, 6–7; George Fox 1654 (1990a), 594. Tyacke 2001, 141; McGregor 1984, 41–42.
[52] James Nayler 1654, in: George Fox 1654 (1990a), 599.
[53] Frost 1970, 521.

cryed agast [sic] […]".[54] But it was not only that their authority was not of Christ; they also had ideas that Quakers considered to be wrong, as for example James Nayler demonstrated when Justice Pearson asked him what was the difference between the ministers and Nayler: "The ministers affirm Christ to be in heaven with a carnal body, but I with a spiritual body."[55] The Church represented everything Quakers set out to deny, and they considered the Church to be of the Antichrist. They therefore stated that "we deny yᵉ Church of England, & have done this many yeares, neither can wee ever turne to her againe […]".[56] In Quaker thought it was not possible to obtain salvation the way the Church offered it, and therefore it had to be refuted.

Quakers also lived an apostolic life by methodically abstaining from swearing oaths in the Courts of Law. According to the Quakers, a simple yes or no should be enough in any legal action, if a person was respectable: "we are ready and willing to discover & advance the truth on all occasions (lawfully called thereunto) by faithfull testimony in yea and nay", Edward Burrough wrote to Parliament.[57] But the Law and the Justices required an oath, and Quakers were almost inevitably sentenced to prison for refusing to take it.[58]

Quakers did not consider most cases against them "lawful", as mentioned in Burrough's tract, but they were forced to bear the legal actions taken against them anyway. The most striking feature of early Quakerism is that they actually did endure all sorts of procedures against them, and refused to give up their ways or conform to anything they considered sinful: they continued not to pay tithes, not to swear, and not to remove their hat before anyone but God. Most Quaker leaders during the first two decades of Quakerism spent the better part of their active ministry in prison or gaol for such offences, some a total of more than twenty years. Many more had all their property confiscated for payment

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[54] Edward Burrough, Some few Reasons [n.d.], Letters and Documents vol. VII/1. Reay 1984b, 149–50.

[55] James Nayler 1654, in: George Fox 1654 (1990a), 609.

[56] Edward Burrough, Some few Reasons [n.d.], Letters and Documents vol. VII/1. Reay 1984b, 162.

[57] Edward Burrough, Some weighty reasons and considerations … [n.d.], Letters and documents Vol. VII/3.

[58] Damrosch 1996, 48; Lloyd 1950, 80.

of fines or tithes. Enduring persecution was a feature in which the Quakers themselves knew they differed from all other sects. It was a sign for them, that they truly were God's people: "Those that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. […] the just suffereth by the unjust; and he that is born of the flesh, persecutes him that is born of the spirit."[59] Persecution was a sign of Election. This, however, did not stop Quakers from trying by all means possible to ease the sufferings of their people:

> there is noe reason that a p[ar]ticular law should be made purposely ag[t] us to expose us to greater suffering by the envy of our enemies […] And alsoe we have alwayes been, and are at this day a more suffering people then any others, & we might iustly have expected releife by you from our oppressions, and not this yo[r] prepar[ti]on for a greater suffering then ever, as if we were such immeasurable offenders to be executed soe may times over; These thinges duely considered we ought not to be exposed to harder dealings & more sufferings then the rest of the Kings subiects.[60]

Quakers were aware that many of the laws aimed at dissenters were in fact enacted against them; this supported their notion that they were different from all other sects.[61]

The Returned Christ

The Quaker concept of perfection also led to another doctrinal difference compared to other sects. The early part of the 17th century in England had been a time of growing expectation of the return of Christ and his Kingdom. This expectation was a feature shared in common by all Puritans and the sects derived from them. In England it was only Arminians that were not obsessed with the imminence of the Second Coming. For the rest, it was not a question of whether Christ would

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[59] George Fox to Friends, Epistle VIII, [1652] (1990b), 20.
[60] Edward Burrough, Some weighty reasons and considerations … [n.d.], Letters and documents Vol. VII/3.
[61] Damrosch 1996, 48, 56; Lloyd 1950, 82–83.

return but *when*, and calculations setting an exact date for His coming were numerous. Among the sects, the Puritan dualism of dividing the world into 'the sheep and the goats' turned this expectation into a "cosmic struggle between good and evil, the chosen people and the powers of Antichrist", as the historian J. F. McGregor puts it.[62] The Civil War was seen as a preparation for Christ's Kingdom, and the execution of King Charles in 1649 was seen as the fall of the Antichrist.[63]

The Quakers too saw themselves as part of this struggle between good and evil. Their role in it was that of God's chosen people: "we are of the royal seed elect, chosen and faithful, and we war in truth and just judgment".[64] But the Quakers differed from the rest in their notion of when and how Christ would return. While all the other sects were calculating and setting exact dates for Christ's return – Christ was expected to come back sometime between five to fifty years from the time of the calculations – the Quakers did not have to calculate. The Quaker doctrine of perfection in itself implied Christ's presence. Since Christ visited every believer in the Light, to Quakers this meant that Christ had already returned. For them the Second Coming was spiritual and took place within the believer:

> […] all the perfection is in Christ the second Adam, the covenant of God, out of sin and transgression; and so they who are in Christ are new creatures, and old things pass away, and all things become new. And so in the second Adam, in the Lord from heaven, above the earthly the first man, in the perfection, out of the tossing.[65]

Christ's return was no longer a matter of the future, however close that might be; it was a complete renewal here and now for those who could understand, and for each in their own time.[66]

As a sign of Christ's return in them they took their shakings and quakings, which they interpreted as Christ's presence in them. Their

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[62] McGregor 1984a, 48.
[63] Jokela 2002b, 370–71.
[64] Edward Burrough, the Epistle to the Reader, London, the Ninth-mo. 1658, in: George Fox 1659 (1990a), 14.
[65] George Fox 1659 (1990a), 74–75.
[66] Jokela 2002b, 370; Damrosch 1996, 28, 62–65; Gwyn 1986, 187.

physical quaking was the earthquake of the Revelation (Rev. 6:12-14), and signalled for them the Spirit's breaking free of the flesh, the renewal of a man:

> I saw there was a great crack to go throughout the earth […] and that after the crack there should be great shaking: this was the earth in people's hearts, which was to be shaken, before the Seed of God was raised out of the earth. And it was so; for the Lord's power began to shake them, and great meetings we began to have […][67]

The feature that caused outsiders to nickname 'The Society of Friends' as 'Quakers' was the very thing they believed set them apart from others and showed them that they were the people mentioned in the Bible.[68]

The Quaker notion of the spiritual Apocalypse was not entirely unique. Already St. Augustine thought the New Jerusalem, the Kingdom of Christ, to be spiritual. But the Quakers differed from other millenarian sects of their time in the way they imagined the Kingdom of Christ would be realised. Sects that understood the Kingdom to be an actual place on earth tried to bring it about by their own actions. There were even sects, such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, that were prepared to remove the existing order by violence, to hasten Christ's return.[69]

The Quakers linked the New Jerusalem with true belief. The Kingdom of Christ would be actualised once there were enough people who had received Him in the Light. The Elect would form the Church of Christ, a spiritual community, that would grow larger and larger until it brought about the actual ending of history. Then true believers would observe from Mount Zion, a safe haven for the chosen people, the destruction of the world. Quakers did expect the physical Apocalypse in historical time as well, but this would only concern those who were not part of the true Church. The Quakers believed that the actual end of the physical world would mean the condemnation of their persecutors to eternal damnation: "but [thou] art reserved in Chaynes to the Judgem^tt of the great Day; wch is the desire of my Soule that it may be hastened upon thee, wch will be a consuming fire for ever to thee and thy

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[67] George Fox 1694 (1998), 23.
[68] Damrosch 1996, 28, 33, 41–42, 64; Gwyn 1986, 187.
[69] Jokela 2002b, 371–79.

life".[70] The only return that mattered to Quakers, however, was the one they had already experienced, that which took place within.[71]

Receiving the Light was of the first importance to Quakers, and since the Kingdom of Christ would be realised once it had enough members, it was just as important to make others accept it as well. The Quakers therefore set themselves to convert the whole world: "As the gospel, the power of God is preached and received, Babylon falls."[72] This work they did in every possible way, with spoken words, print and action. Most Quaker texts to outsiders were urgings for them to repent and receive the Light:

> [...] so repent now while thou hast time, for time past cannot be called again [...] lest thou call, when there will be none to deliver thee [...] repent, for the great and terrible day of the Lord is coming [...] for now is the Lord god calling to account, and Lord God will render to every one according to their deeds [...] what account canst thou give to the Living God, that hath spent thy time away in vanity, but the Lord gave thee not time, to be spent in vanity, [...][73]

The role of the Quaker Saint was to proclaim the spiritual Second Coming to as many of their fellows as were ready to hear their message. They sailed across the Atlantic to convert the natives, and even approached the Pope and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire in their attempt to bring the world to the Light.[74] Christ would come once all the differences between religions and churches had been settled by their accepting the Light.

With their notion of the already returned Christ, and the idea that the experience of Him would eventually bring about the end of the world, the Quakers placed "the Christian experience in a thoroughly apocalyptic framework", as the Quaker historian Douglas Gwyn puts it.[75] Although it was suppose to unite the world the whole idea set Quak-

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[70] Francis Howgill to Thomas Boyle, Bandon, 16th of the 8th moneth, 1655, Letters and documents Vol. VII/13.

[71] Damrosch 1996, 65; Gwyn 1986, 116.

[72] George Fox, Works vol. V, 133, cited in Gwyn 1986, 197.

[73] Margaret Braidly, Written from the Spirit of the Lord, [the twelfth of the nineth moneth 1655], in: Certain Papers [1655], 6–7.

[74] Moore 2000, 22–34; Damrosch 1996, 65; Frost 1970, 512.

ers sharply apart from others. In order to be a Quaker one had to be different.

The Early Quaker Rhetoric of Difference

As I have noted, for Quakers to be a Quaker meant to be one of God's Elect, and vice versa: only the Elect belonged to their community. The Quakers knew by direct revelation from God that they were right in this. Everyone else was the opposite: not Quakers and not to be saved. The Quaker world too was divided into the sheep and the goats, into Quakers and others; there was nothing in between.

The Quakers made this division very clear when dealing with outsiders. They employed a wide range of dualistic expressions, meant to show to others the difference between Quakers and the world. The basic expression was the pair 'in light' – 'condemned'. Fox used the term "in light" most frequently when speaking of the active presence of Christ. Quakers were those in the Light; others were to be damned: "with the light all such may be condemned who act contrary to it: that in the light which condemns the world, ye may walk, and receive the light of the son of God, which the world stumbles at, which is their condemnation, and in which the saints have unity."[76] Quaker unity was in Light.

Other dualistic expressions, such as 'in Truth' – 'out of Truth', 'in the world' – 'out of the world', 'in Spirit' – 'in flesh', and many others operated similarly. They all meant basically the same thing: Quakers were those who in the Spirit or Light were out of the world, in Truth and not bound by the carnal world in flesh. The rest of the world was the opposite. They did not have the Spirit; therefore they were the damned, out of Truth and bound by the flesh.[77]

What annoyed Puritans in particular was the Quaker way of distinguishing between words and the Word; Quakers called the Light the living Word. The opposite of the Light was the reading of Scripture without understanding the Spirit, the reading of dead words. The Puri-

[75] Gwyn 1986, 179.
[76] George Fox to all Friends, Epistle LXXXII, [1655] (1990b), 94.
[77] Damrosch 1996, 70.

tans, who relied on sermon and Scripture, found this offensive, and attacked the Quakers in print. The Quakers responded in kind, and some of these texts were collected by Fox in 1659 in a large book entitled "The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded", where he responded to over one hundred books and pamphlets written against the Quakers.[78] Among these books was "The Quaker's Catechism", by the Puritan pastor Richard Baxter; Fox told him that "the ministers of Christ did not tell people of an external word, but an eternal word; but you being made by the will of man, speak to the people of an external."[79] The difference between the two 'words' was clear.

Despite all these distinctions, it was not the Quakers' purpose to divide the world but to unite it in the true Church. They were therefore very insistent in trying to show the world its errors and to convert others to their ways, out of the world; so much so, that from very early on the Quakers were seen as a menace to be erased altogether. The nickname 'quaker' was given to them almost from the beginning, causing annoyance among the sect. The world, however, refused to be united, and the Quakers were persecuted.[80]

Even though the world was not united by Quakerism, in a way the attacks against Quakers helped to shape the fellowship – as they thought of it – into a coherent religious sect. By the time the Quakers finally got around to writing down their doctrine, defining who they were, in Robert Barclay's 1677 "Apology for the True Christian Divinity", the Church of England – after the restoration of the Anglican Church – was doctrinally once again closer to the Quakers' own views. But the persecution of the Quakers still continued, and they began to give in. In order to emphasise their legitimacy, the Quakers modelled the "Apology" after the Westminster Confession of the Puritans. The hated origins of apostasy were accepted as a new Quaker order. In their struggle to survive in Restoration England the Quakers came closer to their Puritan origins, obscuring the differences once again.[81] The ecstatic movement of the Civil War and the Commonwealth period was

[78] Moore 2000, 85, 107; Damrosch 1996, 70, 75–76; Gwyn 1986, 84–87.
[79] George Fox 1659 (1990a), 76.
[80] Gwyn 1986, 58.
[81] Gwyn 1998, 134–35; Frost 1970, 503.

transformed into a traditional church, more likely to stress similarities rather than differences between themselves and others.

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THE RHETORIC OF DIFFERENCE IN A RENAISSANCE PREFACE: ANGELO POLIZIANO AND THE PROBLEM OF IRONY

Pauliina Pekkarinen

The purpose of this article is to scrutinize the self-presentation strategies of the Florentine humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), as they occur in his preface to Aristotle's Prior Analytics entitled *Lamia*.[1] I suggest that the rhetoric of irony in *Lamia* – which literally means 'vampire' – reflects tensions among contemporary scholars as well as their changing roles in the society in general. As a professor of literature and rhetoric, Poliziano saw his mission as the interpretation and teaching of Aristotle in the Florentine university. This task, however, was not easy to carry out; the teaching of philosophy was considered to be the intellectual property of the scholastic university teachers. Until the mid-1400s, the university statutes denied humanists the right to teach in the upper Faculties (Theology, Law, Medicine). Thus those who wanted to lecture on philosophy at the university had to obtain a special license from the university officials in order to do so.[2]

However, there was a growing sense among Italian humanist teach-

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[1] Angelo Poliziano, *Lamia. Praelectio in Priora Aristoteles Analytica,* edited by Ari Wesseling 1986. Wesseling also provides a commentary on Poliziano's terminology and some of the classical sources used in *Lamia*.

[2] On the statutory requirements, see Verger 1992, 145–46.

ers that their methods and their philological and grammatical interests deserved higher status and more credibility within the universities. One way to gain credibility was to deal with difficult texts and problems, thus competing with the scholastics.[3] These claims undoubtedly caused tensions and conflicts among contemporary scholars, related to the changing role of the learned man in late Quattrocento Italy. Thus the reader should not be surprised to find Poliziano beginning his preface with a story of bloodthirsty vampires, referring to his opponents:

> I want to spend a little time telling you something, not just a story, but also something relevant to the subject. . . . Have you ever seen the vampires, who are poking their nose into other people's business? . . . One takes them for human beings, yet they are vampires. Now, some of them, when they see me passing by, stop and look down the nose at me and laugh: there he is, Poliziano, the prater, suddenly acting the philosopher![4]

This excerpt exemplifies Poliziano's use of rhetoric in lecturing to his audience. The argument for an ironical interpretation of Poliziano's *Lamia* has already been made by the Dutch literary scholar Ari Wesseling in his critical edition of *Lamia*, where he recognizes that the text is overlaid with irony and biting sarcasm.[5] I will look at irony in Poliziano's *Lamia* from the historian's point of view, as a kind of counter-strategy, which allowed Poliziano to respond to his critics in a particular historical and cultural situation. To interpret and place this kind of rhetoric in its historical context means tracing the origin and history of a text such as Poliziano's *Lamia*. This way of thinking, however, is certainly also problematic due to our difficulty in grasping the fact that people in the past had values and a sense of irony very different from our own.

I first examine the forum *where* Poliziano's self-presentation took

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[3] Grafton & Jardine 1986, Ch. III, especially p.62.

[4] Poliziano 1986, 3–4, translated by Wesseling 1986, 21.

[5] Wesseling 1986, spec. xxi–xxii. Isidoro Del Lungo was the first and so far the only scholar to translate *Lamia* in Italian in his *Le Selve e la Strega. Prolusioni nello Studio fiorentino: 1482–1492* (1926). But as Wesseling constantly remarks, some of Poliziano's irony may have been lost in this translation.(see e.g. Wesseling 1986, 28)

place, i.e. the preface: what kind of writing it is, how it is historically conditioned and what was characteristic of Poliziano. Second, I turn to the question of *how* the historian can interpret and deal with this kind of text, involving on the one hand mocking, on the other self-presentation. Third, the functioning of Poliziano's rhetoric of irony in practice, in its specific historical context, is considered by means of some examples demonstrating his attitudes towards his scholarly rivals. I conclude with a further discussion of the limits and possibilities of such strategies and expressions of self-differentiation in Renaissance culture.

The Setting of the Stage: The Renaissance Preface

Before analysing Poliziano's strategies of self-presentation, I would first like to examine the forum where such a discussion could take place. In our contemporary scholarly discourse, the preface seems not to be seen as a work of art or a literary genre. For Renaissance scholars, however, the preface was an important form of self-expression. In fact, the number of such prefaces increased rapidly after the advent of the printing press in the second half of the fifteenth century. In recent years, some historians have begun to take note of the value of prefaces as source material. For example Andrew Warwick, a historian of science, examines the construction of scientific authorship in the spirit of Michel Foucault. Foucault draws an interesting distinction between the authorial self that speaks in the preface to a given treatise, and the self that speaks in the rest of the scientific work. The purpose of such a distinction is to demonstrate that even in an apparently dry and formal genre such as technical writing the authorial voice can change.[6] In a recent article on Maxwell's mid-Victorian *Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism*, Warwick challenges traditional assumptions about the 'author' as a coherent entity. He analyses the preface as a form of writing, and suggests that there is a difference in the authorial 'voices'. The voice in Maxwell's preface is less formal compared to that of the commentary, in

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[6] On the "author" as a function of discourse, see Foucault 1977, 124–31; also discussed in Warwick 2003, 133–34.

which demonstrations are given in a more formal tone. Warwick, however, contests Foucault, suggesting that the construction of these voices has to be studied in their complex relations to the audience and the treatise itself.[7]

From my point of view, what is most important is to see the preface as a kind of forum of self-presentation; a space in which to express oneself. Poliziano's preface can be divided into three parts: first, the philosopher's role is discussed; second, some accusations made by "the enemies of philosophy" are rejected. Third, Poliziano comments on his own role as a philosopher. These observations were often made in an ironical or satirical tone. Humanists compiled such prefaces for various purposes: for the works of the ancients, which were regarded as worthy of reading, for works they edited or translated, and for works on which they lectured. Humanist prefaces seem to form a large and heterogeneous group of writings. Rather than looking at them as mere examples of humanist rhetoric or as an expression of the linguistic talents of a single scholar, I suggest that they can be seen as an indication of the complexity of the humanist culture itself.

Moreover, a preface can also be read as a kind of autobiography in its own right. The prefaces dealt with and represented the same problems and events with which the author dealt in his life. Poliziano, of course, does not explicitly present his writing as biographical; rather, he writes to examine the role of the philosopher. By discussing the philosopher's role, and by showing what he is *not*, Poliziano's intention is to demonstrate the level of his own learning.[8] Yet in *Lamia* Poliziano occasionally uses the first person singular. Often " the Self" is presented and promoted in his preface, using irony and exaggeration. In their prefaces, humanists typically denounced and corrected the errors of preceding editors. The humanist Niccolò Perotti (1429–80), Archbishop of Siponto, for example, propagated a grammatical reform. Thus humanists wanted to draw a clear distinction between themselves and their

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[7] Warwick 2003, 134–38.

[8] "*Videamus ergo primum, quodnam hoc sit animal, quod homines philosophum vocant: tum spero facile intelligentis, non esse me philosophum*" (Poliziano 1986, 4).

Medieval predecessors, and Medieval Latin and rhetoric was subjected to careful historical and philological scrutiny.[9]

Although Poliziano does not name his opponents, there is no doubt that these opponents were not just imaginary figures: *Lamia* was read publicly in front of an academic audience, and was published the same year, 1492. Generally, the lecturer held a formal position in the university: so did Poliziano, but this did not prevent him from using what was regarded as an 'informal' and even popular style. It would be easy to think that in their prefaces academic scholars generally conformed to the academic statutes and scholastic ethos, and avoided expressing diverging opinions. Poliziano, however, was an exception to this rule, and for this reason he was attacked by scholastics.[10]

This brings us to the question of what opportunities the Early Modern scholar had for self-expression. From a social and political point of view, there were undoubtedly few opportunities for individualistic self-expression in the hierarchical Early Modern society. The rhetoric of the humanist prefaces was meant to praise the ruler as the main source of inspiration for the author's ideas. Most humanists were dependent for their livelihood on the Church, on secular princes or on other members of the ruling class.[11] According to the French cultural historian Roger Chartier, in speaking of the Foucauldian author-function, "the validation of experiments and the authentication of experimental narratives by gentlemanly or otherwise authoritative testimony was the rule in all Early Modern Europe." Early Modern scholarly authorship did not exist in isolation but always in connection with the exercise of power of the above-mentioned authorities.[12] Likewise, it can be said that the rhetoric of dedications in humanist prefaces often expressed the transfer of the "author-function" from the scholar to the ruler to whom the work was dedicated; at the same time it was instrumental for humanists in pointing out the faults and errors committed by their scholarly rivals.

Furthermore, the Scholastic model of education also made use of strict teaching methods, which regulated the presentation and self-

[9] Jensen 2003, 68.
[10] Wesseling 1986, xiii–xiv.
[11] For humanism and political thought, see Hankins 2003, 119.
[12] Chartier 2003, 22.

expression of the lecturer. Those who wanted to lecture at the university were expected to follow the dialectic method. As noted by Peter Mack, who has studied Early Modern traditions of rhetoric, dialectic originated from the disputation or debate conducted by question and answer, as in Plato's dialogues. Dialectic was the most important subject in the Medieval university arts course. It regulated Scholastic methods of teaching and scholarly discourse.[13] This form of learned discourse was very formal and institutionalised. Few lecturers in this period were willing to challenge the authority of Aristotle himself, and their opportunities for self-expression were quite limited.

Even so, Renaissance humanists proclaimed in their prefaces that they wanted to challenge the scholastic formality with their own, philological method. Prior to Poliziano, for example, the Italian humanist and philologist Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) tried to simplify Aristotelian dialectic. Valla used classical Latin to replace formal philosophical terms.[14] From the point of view of self-expression, there were literary conventions and forms that regulated the humanist author's ideas. As shown by the Swedish linguistic scholar Tore Janson in his study *Latin Prose Prefaces* (1964), prefaces written in antiquity typically represented the author as facing a dilemma: the author was placed, or placed himself, in a dilemma between his desire to comply with the demands of the person who requested the writing and his unwillingness to write.[15] Poliziano, in turn, was not an academic scholar in the strict sense; consequently, his speech in *Lamia* was not institutionalised or formal. I suggest we should read Poliziano's self-presentation in *Lamia* not as mere rhetoric but as something that reflects his time on a more general level.

[13] Mack 2003, 83.
[14] Mack 2003, 85–86.
[15] Janson 1964, 120.

Different Approaches to the Problem of Irony

From Tropology to Speech Acts and Language Games

There are many ways the historian can approach the problem of irony. Especially in the recent debate among historians, the problem of irony is closely connected to the relationship between evidence and rhetoric. This problem is also connected to the larger question of how the general difference between fact and narrative is recognised by historians. My theoretical starting points are to be found in cultural history, in those ideas which emphasise the analysis of the evidence, social structures and power hierarchies.[16] I next look at two major orientations in this debate: literary history and microhistory.

Ever since Kenneth Burke in 1945 presented the theory of tropes, irony as one of the four master tropes (metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, and irony) has served as a tool for textual analysis and for defining the "deep structural forms" of historical thought.[17] For modern literary critics, irony has become a central concept and analytical tool; in ordinary language, irony is often understood simply as a *form of speech* in which the real meaning is concealed or contradicted by the words used. This development has recently been analysed by the Polish historian of philosophy Ewa Domanska in her article on one of the most controversial works in the philosophy of history, Hayden White's *Metahistory* (1973). Domanska attributes the limitations of such a concept of irony as a literary form to the inability to render adequately the nature of reality. As irony tends to turn into word play, it simultaneously shows the limits of language itself. Domanska's view is based on Hayden White's definition of irony as a linguistic mode of consciousness. As a literary critic, White has paid attention to historical texts as literary artefacts. In White's theory, there are different ways of apprehending the world; irony, in particular, correlates with the philosophical positions of scepticism and relativism.[18]

[16] Immonen 2001; see Introduction.
[17] White 1973, 31–38; Domanska 1998, 177.
[18] Domanska 1998, 178.

White's original idea was that irony tends to "dissolve all belief in the possibility of positive political action." Moreover, he writes that irony "tends to engender belief in the 'madness' of civilization itself and to inspire a Mandarin-like disdain for those seeking to grasp the nature of social reality in either science or art."[19] Here White maintains that irony is a literary form among others, and can function as a possible tool through which the historian can see the past. In fact, it seems that what historians generally call source criticism can be translated in White's language as scepticism and an ironical attitude toward all kinds of historical records. White himself, however, also has to admit that once the historian who uses irony as his tool

> thinks he has extracted the truth from the documents, he may then abandon his Ironic posture and write his histories . . . in the firm conviction that he is telling *the truth about* "what really happened" in the past, with more or less Ironic condescension toward his audience, but not with respect to what he himself now 'knows'.[20]

For White the question is evidently not so much how to historicize irony as how to 'ironize' history and make it a form of narrative: history itself turns out to be a version of narrative, a genre. In addition, irony is raised to a principle of historical representation, chosen by the historian.

A more fundamental question, however, is whether irony is merely a play of words or whether the author has a motive for the use of irony Why should the historian's vision of the past derive primarily from literary choices and the historian's *conviction* that he is telling the truth rather than from the evidence itself? A more recent trend in historiography has challenged White's position. In particular Carlo Ginzburg rejects White's idea that the historian can find no reason to prefer one story to another on historical grounds alone, and asserts that history cannot be merely an aesthetic judgment.[21] In Aristotle's view, Ginzburg says, rhetoric was a technique aiming to convince through *proof* and *evidence* rather than through the motion of affects. Yet this once obvious fact is now forgotten; proof and rhetoric are now seen as incompatible,

[19] White 1973, 38.
[20] White 1973, 375–76; see also Domanska 1998, 177–78.

and the notion of proof is associated with positivism in a negative sense. For Ginzburg himself the historian undoubtedly resembles a judge, in that they both share a concern for ascertaining facts.[22] However, by reading the evidence against the intentions of those who had produced it, the historian goes further in discovering historical understanding and truth. In this connection Ginzburg agrees with Foucault: "[o]nly in this way will it be possible to take into account, against the tendency of the relativists to ignore the one or the other, power-relationships as well as what is irreducible to them."[23]

With regard to questions of language, Quentin Skinner, the Cambridge intellectual historian, has also proposed a view opposite to White's. Where White is connected with structuralist theories of language, Skinner is connected to discussions and trends concerning the use and functions of language, such as hermeneutics and speech act theory. Words and acts are not considered separately; rather, for Skinner the meaning of a word is found in its use. The notion of linguistic action also means that Skinner perceives texts as speaker's intentional, concrete utterances – he calls them *points*. By studying these points, Skinner writes it is possible for the historian to understand different tones and genres, such as satire and irony.[24] In fact, rhetoric was often understood in the Renaissance as a decisive factor in the education of the members of power-elites. Rhetoric acquired greater political and cultural importance than ever before. To acquire a mastery of rhetoric meant to become familiar with the ancient rhetorical theorists, such as Cicero, who put forward a positive image of citizenship. The ideal of *vir civilis* was now often opposed to the ideal of the philosopher, who leads a life of *otium*, i.e. leisure in the negative sense.[25] Likewise I suggest that

[21] Ginzburg 1999, 38–39. On the relationship between microhistory and literary history, see also the recent article by Mark Salber Phillips, who – having spoken of Ginzburg's rejection of White's reduction of historiography to rhetoric – reminds us that the source criticism of the historian is not only based on the tools offered by literary criticism (Phillips 2003, passim, e.g. 211–12).

[22] About the notion of proofs, see Ginzburg 1999, spec. 1, 39, 49–50, 57

[23] Ginzburg 1999, 24.

[24] Palonen 1996, 142–46.

[25] Skinner 1996, 66–69.

Poliziano's irony was more than a word play reflecting his social and scholarly status.

Towards an Awareness of Differences: Irony as Counter-Strategy

Poliziano's analysis of his contemporary scholars recalls those by modern sociologists concerned with the nature of social structures and social relationships. In particular postmodernism has influenced current trends in sociology as well as historians' understanding of the construction of society. Traditional notions of society, identity, and the individual as stable entities have been brought into question. They are nowadays understood as constructed concepts. The sociologist Jonathan Rutherford, for example, argues that difference is essentially a question of production. The new emphasis on society means society is no longer seen as a series of homogeneous entities, based on similarities, but as a field of different and often conflicting communities. Moreover, it is now widely accepted that distinctions between social groups are at least partly a matter of negotiation. In the process of discursive interaction, subjects position themselves in relation to others. Simultaneously, however, they tend to be positioned by the outside world.[26]

Hence irony too takes on another dimension, and can be understood as central to the operation of society itself. Among the strategies through which an individual or a group identifies itself, we might well include irony. Irony offers a means of reversal and a counter-strategy in the process which sociologists call individual self-identification. Some feminist critics have debated the concept of irony in relation to the awareness of the gender order, suggesting that irony is used in active strategies for (social) change. They have gone so far as to claim that irony can also be used more explicitly and openly as a protest against the gender order, simultaneously exposing and transcending it.[27]

For the purposes of this study, however, it is sufficient to see irony as a kind of counter-strategy rather than as an open protest against social

[26] Rutherford 1995, e.g. 10, 12, 24.
[27] In this sense it is used by Seyla Benhabib 1992, see Ch. 8: On Hegel, Women and Irony, spec. pp. 255–56.

hierarchies. Sociologists have argued that in the struggle for identities marginalized groups respond to identifications made by Others, the rest of society. The sense of belonging to a community can be strengthened through reversal, for instance by using stereotypes.[28] For those who are in a subordinate position, irony offers a kind of 'survival strategy'.

I agree with postmodern critics that the historian can look at the past and find differences only through texts. The manifold categorizations, conceptualisations and representations that produce differences are not merely symbolic products of language, as already Foucault has suggested. Rather, they have real consequences in social reality. Knowledge is seen as something that is produced through discourses, and is an inseparable part of the practices and institutions from which it originates. To produce differences, we use representations; these in turn are connected to existing social structures and power.[29] The philosophical works of postmodernism tend to embrace differences, multiple perspectives, eclecticism, the breaking of barriers, and division – polarization – into opposites.[30] Likewise irony seems in this discussion to have become more complex than ever, and is a growing source of controversy. Irony is not seen as "mere rhetoric", but also as a particular attitude towards the past, particularly towards the 17th century, which researchers have adopted and a means of deconstruction.

In his article *On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies*, Patterson complains that when it comes to empirical studies concerning the Early Modern period, such philosophies have not changed historians' perspectives and assumptions about the culture and individual's role in it. We still draw a strict line between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages; we do not question this dividing line, which has become a master narrative of our historical consciousness. As Patterson points out, we continue to think as Jacob Burckhardt taught – that the Renaissance had this kind of historical consciousness, while the Middle Ages did not; that Medieval people were conscious of themselves only through some general category, such as the family or the corporation.[31] I suggest that there is a remedy against such anachronisms:

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[28] E.g. Hall 1995, spec. 222, 225.
[29] Foucault is discussed by Hall 1995, 225–26.
[30] Patterson 1990, passim, e.g. 88, 90.

irony. The point is that the historian who is looking for differences in the past might do well to adopt an ironical attitude – not towards the period of study but rather towards our own assumptions about individuals and cultures.

The Satirising of Opponents

Socratic Irony against the Ignorants

Poliziano's views of different types of scholars can be seen in his colourful use of rhetoric. The Greek word *eironeia* referred specifically to a particular type of irony: one which involved dissimulation and ignorance. The most famous example of *eironeia* is Socrates who adopted ignorance as a method of dialectic. Socratic irony involves a profession of ignorance, meant to disguise a sceptical attitude towards some dogma, authority or universal opinion that lacked a basis in reason or logic. The purpose of this method was to reveal the ignorance and vanity of the opponent. Briefly, by *Socratic irony* we usually mean ironic praise of someone else, often with the aim of confuting arrogance; often also accompanied by authorial self-deprecation. The Roman rhetorician Quintilian (b. ca 35/40 AD) explained it as a figure of speech or troping effect, used to blame by praise and praise by blame.[32] Poliziano himself defines irony in these terms. Irony, he writes in *Lamia,* is an appropriate tool for philosophers. Had not Socrates used it to silence the Sophists and expose their ignorance?[33]

As a professor of rhetoric, Poliziano was undoubtedly familiar with the tricks offered by verbal irony. The use of irony naturally tells us much about Poliziano's own linguistic skills and his familiarity with

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[31] Patterson 1990. 92, 95.

[32] Vlastos 1987, 79–81.

[33] "Quamquam aliquod mendacium quoque philosopho congruit, ut cum se ipse et sua extenuat, quali Socrates ironia fertur eleganti usus adversus inflatos sophistas; ut qui ab homine refellerentur imperitum agente, facilius intellegerent quam omnino nihil ipsi scirent" (Poliziano 1986, 7; see also Wesseling 1986, 58).

classical mythology, and one of his aims in *Lamia* was evidently to excel in this field compared to his fellow scholars. Yet the story of the lamia was not new. In fact, for Poliziano's contemporaries even the title must have been highly significant; the word *lamia* was often used in the context of humanist scholarship to indicate ignorance or rejection of the ancient authorities. *Lamia* was an accusation addressed by humanists at the Scholastics, for worshipping Aristotle or for disseminating suspicious ideas.[34]

The story of the lamia was well known in the vernacular literature of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy. Before Poliziano's *Lamia*, the humanist Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), for example, had used this kind of irony in his work *Invectivae in medicum* (1355) against those who blindly followed Aristotle. He used the story to distinguish between the poet, who is familiar with rhetoric, and the physician, who is ignorant because he is not familiar with the liberal arts.[35] The Florentine Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), in turn, referred to the magical qualities of the lamia in his handbook *Liber de vita (*1489). He wrote that good doctors use blood in taking care of the health of scholars and to prolong life: "What is wrong with our giving this drink of blood if it will restore people who are almost half-dead with age," Ficino asked, "It is a common and an ancient opinion that certain old women who were fortune-tellers (which we call witches, lamiae) used to suck the blood of infants and become rejuvenated."[36] This was Ficino's way of advocating the use of astrology in medicine: the story of the lamia became part of his literary and scholarly strategy

While these contemporary humanists may have influenced Poliziano, the most important model, as Wesseling points out, was Plutarch's *De curiositate.* An adaptation of Plutarch's version of an ancient story, for instance, was the opening phrase of *Lamia.* We read that there exist lamias – or, more precisely – vampires who are after human blood and who are able to remove their eyes at will. The Greek philosopher

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[34] Wesseling 1986.

[35] "Io ti darò uno grande e bello exemplo delle storie antiche, avegna Iddio ch'io credo che tu più volentieri udiresti le favole dell'orcho et delle lamie, le quali tu s'è usato d'udire dopo cena la sera." (Petrarca 1950, 159).

[36] Ficino 1980, 57.

Plutarch warned about those who only observe the faults of others but never acknowledge their own failings. As Wesseling shows, Poliziano's preface, like its classical model, consists of praising what the author considers a vice – naturally with the intention of ironizing such vice. In Poliziano's case, an attack against vampires is modified into an attack against the contemporary vampire, namely the scholastic teacher.[37]

In this attitude, Poliziano's *Lamia* was a sign of a more general anti-scholastic attitude among humanists. Literary influences, as Erika Rummel shows in her study of the humanist-scholastic debate, played a central role in the development of anti-scholastic irony. This controversy had its roots both in classical antiquity and in early Christian thought. There were also elements of a classical Platonic debate on the status of rhetoric and philosophy: the original protagonists in this debate had been the Sophists and the Socratic circle. Ficino's Latin translations of Plato's work became a model for Renaissance humanists like Erasmus.In particular Plato's *Gorgias,* which condemns a new type of scholar, i.e. the rhetorician, offered humanists a model of Socratic irony.[38]

Another highly influential classical author who offered humanists like Poliziano a model for the ironical depiction of a 'sophist' was Lucian, the second-century Greek satirist. Lucian's device of satire was adopted in critiques of scholasticism by humanists such as Leon Battista Alberti, Giovanni Pontano, Erasmus, and Juan Luis Vives. According to Rummel, Lucian's sketches depicting the different types of philosophers in antiquity were easily adapted to fit the humanist cause in the social and political context of their time.[39] In fact, in discussing Poliziano's description of the lamias, Wesseling suggests that Poliziano was familiar with Lucian's satirical work.[40] In addition, Socratic teachings were found in many other classical sources known to Poliziano: in Greek and Latin texts that had been unknown or for some reason neglected during earlier centuries. Among such works were Cicero's *De oratore* and *De*

[37] Wesseling 1986, 22–23.
[38] Rummel 1995, Ch. 2. passim, spec. 19, 21–22; see also Plass 1965; Skinner 1996, 175–76.
[39] Rummel 1995, 24–26.
[40] Wesseling 1986, 23–24.

officiis and Quintilian's *Institutio.* In fact, Renaissance humanists themselves expanded the idea of irony by transmitting these Socratic teachings.[41]

Recent studies concerning the social status of Renaissance Italian humanists confirm the view that Poliziano's anti-scholastic attitude did not exist in isolation. It has been argued that this kind of anti-scholastic irony developed as the scholastic university began to attract more humanists and would-be philosophers. In Poliziano's time, the growth of the humanist influence at the university was already seen as a threat to the Scholastic model of education and morality.[42] In fact, the accusatory label of 'sophist' was used by both sides: the difference between humanists and scholastics, however, lies in their purpose. The humanist writings were intended as a critique of the scholastics' dialectical method and style. Above all, irony can be read as a sceptical statement on the interpretations of Aristotle by Poliziano's rivals at the university. Among Poliziano's favourite targets were the scholastic admirers of Aristotle.[43] He challenges the classical sources on which their philosophy is based, because he prefers to read the Greek commentators on Aristotle rather than Medieval commentaries. He judges the terminology and jargon of the latter, which complicate things and make understanding philosophy impossible. In satirising the Schoolmen, he simultaneously has a chance to play with the term 'philosopher' itself, thus implicitly propagating his own ideal of the learned man.[44]

[41] Skinner 1996.

[42] Rummel 1995, 63.

[43] Among his lamias were probably his former Byzantine teachers Demetrios Chalocondylas and Ioannes Lascaris, who had taught philosophy and poetics at the Florentine university in the 1480s and early 1490s. For other Scholastic teachers whom Poliziano may have included among his lamias, see Wesseling 1986, xiv n.6 and xviii.

[44] "Nec autem allegabo nunc vobis familiaritates, quae mihi semper cum doctissimis fuere philosophis; non etiam extructa mihi ad tectum usque loculamenta veterum commentariorum praesertimque graecorum, qui omnium mihi doctores prestantissimi videri solent" (Poliziano 1986, 17; also Wesseling 1986, 107–109).

Ridiculing the Pythagorean Philosopher

Another example of Poliziano's rhetoric of irony which can be found in *Lamia,* involves his portrait of the Pythagorean philosopher. Prior to *Lamia,* Poliziano had depicted the stupidity and arrogance of those colleagues who were attracted to philosophies such as Neoplatonism in a letter he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici accompanying his translation of Plato's *Charmides.*[45] In *Lamia,* Poliziano describes with sarcasm this kind of philosopher, and challenges in particular the image of Pythagoras. Poliziano writes that he has heard of someone who was once a schoolmaster in Samos. This man had a long beard and he always dressed in white. His pupils and followers never called him by name, because they respected him so much. Instead, this master was called simply 'Ipse' ('himself') or the 'man of Samos', according to his birthplace.[46]

This description shows clearly the author's ironical purposes. First, Poliziano satirises the image of the Pythagorean wise man. In classical literature, Pythagoras was a well-known figure. Poliziano starts by praising the Pythagorean philosopher for having mastered philosophy and all branches of learning – from arithmetic to dialectic – in order to understand the nature of things. Poliziano complains, however, that the arts which provide us with necessities, such as agriculture, were excluded from the field of learning.[47] As Wesseling points out, Poliziano's tone and language is negative, and in what follows Pythagoras is called a sophist, quack and miracle-monger.[48] Secondly, Poliziano laughs at the way of life prescribed by Pythagorean philosophy. The term 'Pythago-

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[45] Wesseling 1986, xxi, 54–55.

[46] "Audivi equidem Samium fuisse olim quemdam iuventutis magistrum, candidatum semper et capillatum, femore etiam aureo conspicuum, natum saepius ac renatura. Nomen illi erat, Ipse: sic discipuli certe vocabant sui" (Poliziano 1986, 4).

[47] "Sed extitit Atheniensis quidam senex altis eminens humeris, ut aiunt, quem etiam putant homines Apolline satum: hic sapientis esse negavit eas arteis quae plerumque vitae inserviant; sive illae necessariae, sive utiles, sive elegantes, sive ludicrae, sive auxiliares sint" (p.6).For the review of the branches of learning, see Poliziano 1986, 6–7; also Wesseling 1986, 47–48.

[48] Wesseling 1986, 28.

rean' was often synonymous with strict vegetarianism. In Poliziano's preface, a Pythagorean is represented as a philosopher who lives according to certain rules or maxims, called *symbola*. In describing the Pythagorean, however, Poliziano's tone is derisive and humorous: the purpose is to make the audience laugh with him.[49]

I suggest that in Poliziano's hands irony becomes a device to criticise the entire Neoplatonist ethos of his fellow scholars. Quentin Skinner, who has examined the uses of rhetoric by Early Modern thinkers, notes that one of the most efficient ways to use rhetoric was the orator's ability to manipulate the emotions of his public. Among such means of persuasion, we can also include Poliziano's ability to provoke laughter and scorn. In his discussion of the use of imagery and figurative language, Quintilian had placed great emphasis on this, arguing that the primary value of humour was that the orator could use it to condemn, turn aside, make light of, or deride his opponents.[50] However, it also seems that Poliziano did not want to attack them directly, since he never refers to his rivals or lamiae by name. Using such rhetoric is a way to converse with them. Poliziano's aim may have been to enlist them on his side rather than to attack them directly. The effectiveness of Poliziano's irony is testified to by a Florentine Neoplatonist, Giovanni Nesi (1456–c.1522). Like many fifteenth-century humanists, who believed that Pythagoras was a source of moral and arcane wisdom, Nesi too translated the Pythagorean precepts. In his work, Nesi later criticised Poliziano for ridiculing the *symbola*.[51]

Through this practice of writing, Poliziano thus seems to separate and distance himself from his Neoplatonist colleagues and their ideals. The previous generation of Florentine humanists had striven for an ideal that stressed the importance of the contemplative life. Poliziano's former teachers at the Florentine Studio, Marsilio Ficino and Cristoforo Landino (1424–1498), for example, tended to see themselves first

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[49] "Praecepta vero si ipsius audieritis, risu, scio, diffluetis" (Poliziano 1986, 4). This can also be seen in the story of the she-bear (ibid; also Wesseling 1986, xxii, 29).

[50] Skinner 1996, passim, 120, 205.

[51] On Nesi and his *Symbolum nesianum,* see Wesseling 1986, xxv, xxvii–xxviii, 31.

as interpreters of "divine wisdom" and only secondarily as advisers to Prince Lorenzo. They used the authority of Plato to justify this kind of life. Hankins writes that the humanists used Plato's image of the cave in the *Republic* to argue that philosophers too had a duty to participate in political life. Such an interpretation was easy to adopt in the political situation of the fifteenth century, when the Medicean *principate* was emerging.[52] It is no coincidence that Poliziano too uses the cave allegory in ridiculing the Pythagoreans.[53]

Only three years before Poliziano's *Lamia,* Ficino had devoted his *Liber de vita* to this question. According to Ficino, understanding the nature of a city-state or the duties of a good citizen was unimportant compared to searching for divine wisdom. For a philosopher, Ficino wrote, the best way of life was contemplative. He wrote that the active life is imperfect if not supplemented by contemplation and by following the Pythagorean precepts, which can guide us for example in finding appropriate eating and drinking habits.[54] Poliziano seems to value the way of life that is characteristic of writers and philosophers who have retired from public life. This is not surprising if we remember that Poliziano addressed his instructions in *Lamia* to an audience which included the sons of many men in higher social positions, in other words men who did not necessarily have to work for their livelihood.

In dealing with the question of the relationship between the liberal arts and social duties, both Ficino and Poliziano wrote about an issue that would become a source of tension among Poliziano's contemporaries: the active versus the contemplative way of life. Poliziano's *Lamia* can also be interpreted as a response to these discussions. Although there are few explicit statements concerning the question of the way of life of a philosopher, he nevertheless makes his position clear 'obliquely'. Here his writing practice can be interpreted as a strategy of argumentation. Similarly, for Poliziano irony is a way of commenting on contemporary events. A good example is the passage in which Poliziano at first sight seems to be claiming that the ideal scholar must have noble origins. But then it becomes evident that these are not Poliziano's own words.

[52] Hankins 2003, 131–32.
[53] Poliziano 1986, 13ff.
[54] Ficino 1980, e.g. 46.

They are the words of Plato's ancient commentator, Themistius, and Poliziano debates them in a context where his aim is to ridicule such philosophers.[55]

Why does Poliziano conceal his meaning behind rhetoric? It is probably due to the fact that in Poliziano's time participation in active life was reserved for the small group of the privileged. Machiavelli, in a different historical context, later uses this rhetorical strategy for his political purposes. Like the earlier humanists, he believed that encouraging virtue among the ruling classes was the most effective means of reform. He was interested in changing the political culture, and he believed that the study of classical antiquity served this purpose.[56] In *The Prince,* he wrote about the different virtues of the ruler. The one he most ardently recommended, however, was *dissimulation.*I would call it the art of not speaking the Truth.In writing about the indispensable qualities of the prince, Machiavelli pointed out that the true virtue and ability of the prince lay not only in his integrity but in his ability to control the political game. As this game was based on the appearances, it was permissible to tell white lies to increase confidence.[57]

Salvatore Di Maria, who has studied narratorial strategies in Italian literature of the Renaissance period, argues that irony was Machiavelli's way of viewing the Florentine history; it is found for example in the emphasis that he often places on strange turns of events or Fortune. In his *Istorie Fiorentine* Machiavelli describes the deeds of the heroes in a comic, romantic, tragic, or satirical tone. For Machiavelli, history writing was thus more complex than just the accurate reporting of political events: it also involved the use of rhetoric.[58] Compared to Poliziano, however, Machiavelli was more populist: the regimes he served before 1512 and after the 1520s, to whose members he addressed his words, aimed at wide participation.[59]

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[55] "Sed enim talem hunc philosophum nasci etiam affirmabat oportere idem senex e matrimonio sacro, hoc est ex optimis parentibus"(Poliziano 1986, 7).

[56] Hankins 2003, 134.

[57] "Che uno principe. . . non può osservare tutte quelle cose per le quali gli uomini sono tenuti buoni, sendo spesso necessitato, per mantenere lo stato, operare contro alla fede, contro alla carità, contro alla umanità, contro alla religione" (Machiavelli, 1963, Ch. VIII: *Quomodo fides a principibus sit servanda,* 58).

[58] Di Maria 1992, passim. especially 249–50, 254–55.

The difference between Poliziano and his Neoplatonist fellow-humanists lies in Poliziano's rejection of irrationality and mysticism. The Neoplatonists felt it was their task to interpret the divine mysteries of the ancients, such as Plato, Pythagoras, and Hermes Trismegistus: such writers were considered prophets, a tool of Providence.[60] Humanists like Poliziano, who were influenced by the Aristotelian rational tradition, were interested in debating his dialectic. In his Aristotelian prefaces, Poliziano announced his rejection of the reasoning and writings of those who expressed themselves in the obscure words of their masters – the Neoplatonists and the Pythagoreans.[61] Irony allowed him to maintain his distance from such contemporary scholars. He also proclaimed that his own style of teaching would be based on unambiguous and clear reasoning and on comprehensible expressions. As his *Praelectio de Dialectica* (1491) shows, Poliziano stressed a simple and concrete approach to problems and comprehensible, everyday language.[62]

Situating the Self

Self-Deprecation as an Argumentative Strategy

Irony was also a rhetorical device which could be used to praise for instance the behaviour and morality of the scholar. For Jansen, who has studied the Latin prose prefaces of Antiquity, modesty was good example of a literary convention. A self-deprecatory theme was common among the ancient rhetoricians, who became models for the Renaissance humanists. Expressions of doubt as to the author's own ability were common in prose prefaces from classical antiquity up to the Middle Ages. For example the Latin author and grammarian Aulus Gel-

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[59] Hankins 2003, 134.

[60] Hankins 2003, 132.

[61] Wesseling 1986, 53.

[62] "*Nec vero aut verbositate nimia aut perplexitate orationis aut quaestionum molibus vestrae mentis acies retundetur. Et enim perspicua brevitas atque expeditus erit nostrae orationis cursus. Dubitationes autem nec omnes nec ubique aut interponemus aut omittemus, sic ut vestra quam commodissime exerceantur ingenia, non fatigentur*" (Poliziano 1969).

lius (c. 130 – 180) used the apology for his own incompetence in the preface to his *Noctes atticae.*[63]

Poliziano too adopted elements of this kind of rhetoric; throughout *Lamia,* he uses the contrast between the ironic, negative figure of the lamia and his own – at least apparently – modest self-presentation for his own argumentative purposes. A good example of this is his comment, in the discussion of his own competence as a professor of Aristotle's philosophy: "But good vampires, I may interpret philosophical works, but that does not mean that I call myself a philosopher. I am no philosopher, merely a grammaticus."[64] In this context, however, irony reveals that Poliziano is clearly dissimulating: in his self-presentation he emphasizes the faults that make him unfit for the role of Aristotelian in the scholastic and authoritative sense, but which in reality are virtues. It is known that Poliziano's conception of the grammarian's role was original compared to his contemporaries. He uses a term in a double sense: he first challenges the term *grammaticus,* used in his days to refer to a schoolmaster with low social and academic status. Secondly, he defends the classical, more elevated meaning of the concept, based on classical sources such as Quintilian.[65] Thus he does not identify with either the scholastic philosopher or the elementary Latin teacher.

Moreover, in *Lamia* Poliziano seems to have intended to set norms for being a good philosopher, while condemning the inappropriate conduct which results from the false imitation of such norms. It is important to be aware that *Lamia* poses the problem of the scholar's role and virtues in ambiguous, conflicting ways. What the text does through self-presentation is often more significant than what is explicitly said. Modesty is a tactic or strategy by means of which Poliziano first gives the appearance of withdrawing from scholastic debates; in reality, it allows him to engage more effectively in the current scholarly debate.

[63] Jansen 1964, 121, 124, 127, 130; for Gellius as a model of conversation, see also Burke 1993, 96.

[64] "Ego me Aristotelis profiteor interpretem. Quam idoneum non attinet dicere, sed certe interpretem profiteor, philosophum non profiteor. Nec enim si Regis quique essem interpres, regem me esse ob id putarem" (Poliziano 1986, 16; on this passage see Wesseling 1986, xxii).

[65] For a discussion of Poliziano's concept of the grammaticus, see e.g. Scaglione 1961, 61–67; Wesseling 1986, 99–101.

What can we say about Poliziano's motives? Again, it is not mere rhetoric and language games; it can be interpreted as an attempt to locate himself in the complex field of Renaissance learning. Poliziano's ironic position allows him first to disarm his audience with modesty. In order to defend himself against the accusations made by his scholastic colleagues, he uses rhetoric to persuade the audience that what he does is not wrong. More than a stylistic instrument, it is a strategy, intended to sustain his argument as to the importance of the study of philosophy.

The ridiculous portrait of the lamias as arrogant and self-important is a focal theme in Poliziano's preface, which also has pedagogical purposes. This can be seen for example when Poliziano complains about the lamias that stick their noses in everywhere and are too eager to gossip about other people's business. For the modern reader, it is rather unexpected to find in Poliziano's story of lamia a reference to 'eyeglasses' (*ocularia specilla*), which these vampires put on their noses when they are about to go out into the marketplace and which they take off at home. What Poliziano is saying is that they see the faults of others but never seem to acknowledge their own.[66] The use of irony thus reveals that Poliziano constantly condemns such behaviour. The comic examples are intended to contrast with the ideal philosopher's virtues, as they should be practiced. By ridiculing the bad behaviour of his opponents, Poliziano seems to show himself as even more serious about the correct behaviour that he recommends for his students. For example, he denounces the attitude of scholars who claim to know everything. One such scholar was Pythagoras, who in Poliziano's ironical description is labelled as "*tam portentosae sapientiea venditator*", that is, a person who boldly sells his knowledge.[67] As Wesseling suggests, Poliziano was

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[66] "Lamiam igitur hanc Plutarchus ille Cheronues,. . . habere ait oculos exemptiles, hoc est quos sibi eximat detrahatque cum libuit rursusque cum libuit resumat atque affigat" (Poliziano 1986, 3). On the 'eye-glasses' see also Wesseling 1986, 25: In a Latin dictionary from 1502 there occurs the word 'specillum', explained as a surgical instrument for examining diseased parts of the body.

[67] "Hic igitur Ipse, tam portentosae sapientiae professor ac venditator, interrogatus olim a Leonte Phliasiorum tyranno quod hominis esset, philosophum se esse respondit" (Poliziano 1986, 5).

probably alluding to *Naturalis historia,* where the Roman encyclopae-
dist Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) ridiculed physicians who in order to
make money prescribed medicines which were not only unnecessary but
also needlessly complicated in their composition.[68]

Thus it seems that Poliziano is attacking, primarily, the vice of arro-
gance. In the case of the lamias, it reveals itself through their emphatic
claim to all Truth. Actually, Poliziano seems to be referring to Aris-
totle's teachings about a virtuous man who seeks the truth. In the
Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle discusses truthfulness and falsehood as
displayed in word and deed as well as in one's personal pretensions. At
one point, Aristotle speaks about the difference between good and bad
social behaviour and self-presentation:

> The sincere man will diverge from the truth, if at all, in the direction
> of understatement rather than exaggeration; since this appears in better
> taste, as all excess is offensive.
>
> The man who pretends to more merit than he possesses for no ulte-
> rior object seems, it is true, to be a person of inferior character. . .
>
> Self-depreciators, who understate their own merits, seem of a more
> refined character, for we feel that the motive underlying this form of
> insincerity is not gain but dislike of ostentation. These also mostly
> disown qualities held in high esteem, as Socrates used to do. . . . But a
> moderate use of self-depreciation in matters not too commonplace and
> obvious has a not ungraceful air.
>
> The boaster seems to be the opposite of the sincere man, because
> boastfulness is worse than self-deprecation.[69]

In this way, Aristotle identified the wise and truthful man as one who
calls everything by its proper name, neither underestimating nor exag-
gerating his own worth. For Aristotle, however, the man who deprecates
his own worth, while departing from the truthful mean exemplified
by Socrates, shows better taste than the boastful man does.[70] Poliziano
adoption of this Aristotelian virtue is understandable when we remem-
ber that the preface was intended to introduce students in the academic

[68] Wesseling 1986, 39.
[69] Arist. N.E. 1127b, 8–10, 14–17.
[70] Arist. N.E. 1127b, 1–32.

year 1492–1493 to the study of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics,* which dealt with logic.

This Aristotelian ideal of the truthful man served Poliziano as a criterion for judging and criticizing his colleagues, the lamias. By judging the lamias by these criteria, Poliziano turns them into counter-examples of the virtuous scholar. He may have wanted to give a moral example of the attitudes which his audience should avoid if they want to become good philosophers. The contrast between the boastful man (the figure of the lamia) and the modest man (Poliziano himself) served his pedagogical purposes. As a professor of literature, Poliziano was aware that this kind of rhetoric of difference was an effective way to raise the interest of his audience, as well as raising his own reputation among the students as a skilful lecturer.

In this way an ironical attitude – particularly modesty – turns out to be an antidote against the vice of arrogance. In *Lamia* he continued to study Aristotle's moral, on which he had lectured in 1490. Poliziano addresses again the question of scholar's values: ambiguous and boastful or modest and truthful? The answer is clear:

> Philosophy is a studying, a seeking of the Truth and its investigator must have many fellows and helpers, namely, the chasing of the truth is much like hunting: if you try to track down a wild animal alone, that will never or scarcely be caught.[71]

It is clear by now that Poliziano does not want to portray himself as an exemplary scholar. Modesty as a strategy seems to indicate that Poliziano associates himself rather with his audience, students in search of Truth. It is a kind of intellectual humility, similar to that demonstrated by Socrates in Plato's dialogues, as mentioned above. The rhetoric of irony in *Lamia* shows that Poliziano himself has the attitude of a philosopher, i.e. he is critical and ironic: irony becomes self-awareness.

I suggest that Poliziano's case also illustrates the problematic conception of authorship in the Early Modern era. His rhetoric is an excel-

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[71] "Porro hunc et ipsum veritatis indagandae studiosum esse et habere quam plurimos eiusdem studii socios adiutoresque velle, scilicet qui norit evenire idem in philosophia quod in venatu: si quis enim feram solus vestiget, is eam vel nunquam vel aegre deprehendet" (Poliziano 1986, 7; translation mine).

lent example of the "trope of reluctant authorship", which – as Roger Chartier reminds us – acquired a particular meaning with scientific texts in Early Modern culture. This rhetoric allowed the writers of such texts to acquire credibility, because it proved to readers that the published knowledge claims had no economic interest attached. Chartier summarizes this well: "This does not mean, however, that anonymity was the rule for the constructions of scientific knowledge, but that the conception of authorship in science remained more strongly linked to propriety than to property in a time in which the two notions began to merge in literary compositions."[72]

Between Private and Public

Poliziano may have meant his irony as a strategy for pedagogical purposes to larger audiences. But it is also possible that his irony was meant merely as a private joke, to be shared by his friends. Undoubtedly his intended audience was heterogeneous. Actually, in recent studies of the history of science, the former demarcations and distinction between internal versus external have been deconstructed. As Steven Shapin points out, this has had a clear implication for our understanding of the institutions and the place of individuals within them. Shapin has examined the ways in which this boundary or difference has been drawn between the scholar and the gentleman. The question is thus not simply to find ways of linking what is taken to be part of science and what is taken to be outside it. As Shapin and Schaffer propose, it is important to consider the boundary between inside and outside as a *constructed entity* requiring explanation, and to ask how such boundary has developed.[73]

One way of trying to resolve this internal versus external debate in the history of science – and thus the problem of sameness and differences – is by considering it from the scholar's own perspective: how did he understand his own position? In Poliziano's case – given his back-

[72] Chartier 2003, 22.
[73] Shapin and Schaffer 1985, 342.

ground as Lorenzo's political advisor – he undoubtedly had to construct his identity from the scholarly and courtly elements. The two elements were inseparable: Poliziano the writer did not exist in isolation but in relation to the court, the Medici family, even though he does not discuss them explicitly in *Lamia.*

Thus I assume that one further reason why Poliziano chose this kind of 'modest' self-presentation was probably that in a courtly context it was regarded as part of polite and civil conversation.[74] In *The Art of Conversation*, Peter Burke suggests that in the Early Modern period treatises for courtiers often presented rules such as "don't talk about yourself" and "don't interrupt other speakers". These treatises too drew on classical sources such as Cicero for the articulation of common sense and good manners. Modesty thus became an important rule and part of both scholarly and courtly etiquette.[75] Scholars like Poliziano, who were in search of patronage, sought after this kind of way of life. Against this background, it is also understandable that for Poliziano the lamiae represent hypocrisy, ambiguity and other negative 'non-courtly' aspects of the scholar. In this sense, we can speak of Poliziano's rhetoric as a rhetoric of difference: it was self-presentation through negation and exclusion.

Poliziano's *Lamia* seems to indicate that there were many tensions between individual and society, between self and culture. This seems to point toward the conclusion that the borders between private and public were not clear to contemporaries either, particularly after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492. The American medievalist Norman Cantor gives a vivid as well as much criticised description of Poliziano's times: it was in this period that Medieval civilization came to an end. Comparing Italian society to the feudal nobility of northern Europe, Cantor says that the political structure of the Italian cities had a significant effect on social and cultural life. The most important difference, according to Cantor, was that "neither a life of leisure nor the security of heredity played as pervasive a role among the upper class in Italy as it did in northern Europe." In Italy, where the changeable and unstable nature of wealth had a profound impact upon social relationships, every

[74] On the ideal of the *vir civilis* see Skinner 1996, Ch. 2.
[75] Burke 1993, 94.

city thus had its share of self-made men. However, Cantor's view – that there was considerable social mobility in this period and that the lifestyle of the Italian city-dwellers was filled with activity and struggle – seems valid.[76]

In Poliziano's case, his preface seems to have challenged the categories of private and public, which are made the subject of debate in his writing. In a changing historical situation, Poliziano's preface can be interpreted as an attempt to situate himself in the field of Renaissance learning and society in general; this form of writing offered him a forum through to which express himself. Irony as a rhetorical device helped him to draw away from his academic rivals. It would therefore be misleading to see *Lamia* merely as a rhetorical stylistic practice by a solitary and disinterested writer. Poliziano's writing can be read as the result of – and a comment on – contemporary learning and the place of a Renaissance learned man. It is not a complete withdrawal from the duties of a city-dweller; rather it is an attempt to redefine the role.

The Politics of Self-Differentiation

For Poliziano, irony was not simply a rhetorical question or a matter of philological ability: it was more complex. For the purposes of persuasion, Poliziano made use of the fact that irony can also amuse the reader and make him laugh. At least this goes for those who, like Poliziano, had acquired a humanist education and were familiar with rhetoric and the various classical stories and figures which Poliziano had adopted. While his sarcasm and humour was probably understood by those humanists who were part of Poliziano's circle, outsiders probably could not understand it at all. Knowing this, Poliziano wrote for those readers who appreciated this kind of learning or who hoped to become members of his circle. He made no effort to help those who did not understand and who felt angry and ridiculed. For the historian, the fundamental problem thus is that Poliziano wrote for a contemporary audience already familiar with the rules of scholarly discourse. The dif-

[76] Cantor 1993 (1963), 542.

ference between Poliziano and a modern reader lies in the fact that the rules, the terms of discussion and the numerous references to ancient sources are not always self-evident to us.

What, then, can we say about the message of *Lamia*: as an ironist, was Poliziano also a moralist? The fact that Poliziano valued rhetoric so highly seems to point to the conclusion that as a humanist Poliziano taught that learning should not be pursued for its own sake. In humanist thinking, learning and virtues were a means to success and honour, to status. Against this background, it is interesting that Poliziano discusses at length the ancient precept, 'Know yourself'.[77] I suggest that this was related to the more general moral chaos prevalent in the changing political situation in late fifteenth century Italy. Poliziano felt a need to discuss whether virtue is *public* or *private*. On a personal level, Poliziano must have known well that modesty and grace, among other virtues, were common criteria for a good courtier in the service of a prince. In *Lamia*, however, there seems to be no relation between the moral deterioration he condemns and the descriptions in contemporary treatises on the ideal courtier. Probably Poliziano felt he was not in a position to ironize the values of the ruling classes, on which he depended materially; they formed the major part of his audience.

Given his rhetorical skills in *Lamia,* another reason why Poliziano did not speak about issues related to politics was that writing was his vocation. It is well known that the same need to reconcile the ideals of the philosopher, the claims of humanism and those of the court characterized his entire career. In this sense, irony was also a way to justify his withdrawal from the active life of the city-state. Or can we say that when he was speaking of his style and propagating his own philological method, he was at his most "political"? In a period when attitudes were changing, Poliziano had many reasons to assume that his rhetoric of irony would ultimately function as a difference criterion. Some humanist colleagues might catch the irony and agree with his criticisms; other readers, for example Savonarola, would not catch his irony or would not be willing to laugh at their own expense. This in turn shows the limits of Poliziano's criticism.

[77] Wesseling 1986, 26.

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TWIXT TWO SUNS:
John Donne's Poetic Perception Of The Solar System

Taika Helola

The Loss of the Sun

In 1616 the Holy office condemned the Copernican theory concerning the solar system. Just a year earlier, the metaphysical poet John Donne (1572–1631) had converted from Catholicism to Anglicanism in order to be eligible for Church office and nominations for honorary posts, the rewards of which he sorely needed to feed his family. Donne's poverty was not primarily due to the quality of his writing, but rather to his scandalous elopement with Ann Donne in 1601 and his Catholic faith, both of which repelled potential patrons of poetry at the time.[1] During one of his longer periods of patronage he was connected to the Drurys, whose daughter Elizabeth has been immortalised in Donne's *Anniversaries* – two occasional poems published in 1611 and 1612 on the anniversaries of her death.[2]

'The First Anniversarie'[3] is the poem in which John Donne has often been seen to interweave the poetic with the scientific, as in lines 205–208:

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[1] Bald 1986 [1970], 40, 135, 307, 308, 516, passim.; Smith 1975 [1972], 112.

> And new Philosophy cals all in doubt,
> The Element of fire is quite put out;
> The Sunne is lost, and th'earth, and no mans wit
> Can well direct him, where to looke for it.[4]

While historians of literature incline to view this fragment as an example of Donne's learning and his readiness to question the principles of the "old philosophy" and to accept the "new",[5] historians of science tend to interpret it as a lament condemning the new astronomy and supporting nostalgically the old, thus expressing an attitude typical of the poets of the time.[6] Here the difference between the Peripatetic system and the solar system locates the now uncertain positions of the sun and the earth in relation to their previous, certain locations. Although Donne states above that the sun is not what it used to be, the essence of the difference between the old and the new sun is left unexplained. A view of the manner in which the Copernican revolution affected the poet's understanding of the world and the signification of the sun can only be formed by a more inclusive study of his poetry. In this article, I examine the poems preceding and following the *Anniversaries*, to determine the difference between the significations of the sun before and after Donne's articulation of the Copernican shock. The *Anniversaries*, however, remain at the focus of this scrutiny, as they were composed soon after the 1610 publication of one of the most influential eye-witness tes-

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[2] Milgate 1978a, xxix–xxx. Donne 1978b, 20, 39. Most of Donne's poems were published posthumously in 1633, th*e Anniversaries* being among the few poems that were published during his lifetime. The dating suggested here for poems without a date in their title or not published during Donne's lifetime relies on the dating efforts of Dame Helen Gardner; although challenged, these have yet to be proven invalid.

[3] The full title of the poem, 'The First Anniversarie, an Anatomy of the World; Wherein, by Occasion of the Untimely Death of Mistris Elizabeth Drury the Frailty and the Decay of this whole World is Represented.', describes the theme and tone of the poem with precision, although an abbreviation will be used in this article (Donne 1978b: 20).

[4] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 205–208. In Donne 1978b: 20–35.

[5] Coffin 1958, 137; Nicolson 1960, 146.

[6] Boas 1970 [1962], 96–97; Smith 1975 [1972], 161.

timonies against the principles of the geostatic system: Galileo Galilei's *Sidereus Nuncius* (*The Starry Messenger*).

'Spying' on the heavens with his telescope, Galileo had discovered the moon to be composed of material similar to that of the earth, and Jupiter to have moons, or 'planets', revolving around it.[7] These facts indicated that – contrary to the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic stance – there was no material distinction between bodies under and above the moon, and that the earth was not unique in having a moon. Furthermore, Galileo saw a host of new stars, invisible to the naked eye; their being subject to variation led him to presume they were incandescent physical bodies, much like the sun, whose spots subsequently led him to the conclusion that the sun itself was subject to change, not composed of immaculate fire or ether.[8]

'First Anniversarie' has repeatedly been noted to reflect Donne's apprehension of the meaning of Galileo's discoveries.[9] However, in the quest to understand the signification of the sun in Donne's poetry, and its scientific roots, it is of the utmost importance to recognise that in his poetry science was never the primary concern; scientific allusions were used as rhetorical devices in the contemplation of social or moral problems.[10] Although the *Anniversaries* also contain straightforward statements on the sun, like the one quoted above, most of Donne's allusions to the sun appear in the metaphors, conceits and emblems of his poetry.[11] Indeed, Donne's ideas concerning the sun, and his manner of discussing it, are deeply rooted in his understanding of the world and its proper order, an order which at the moment of the 'First Anniversarie' has suffered a jolt whose consequences seem to be beyond human comprehension.

[7] van Helden 1995c [online], de Soysa 1999 [online].

[8] Smith 1975 [1972], 122–23; Hall 1983, 123–24; Shapin 1996, 26. N.B. Galileo first published his private letters on sunspots in 1613, two years after the German priest Johannes Fabricius (van Helden 1995d [online]).

[9] Coffin 1958, 137; Nicolson 1960, 146; Boas 1970 [1962], 96–97; Smith 1975 [1972], 161.

[10] Miner 1983, 8–9. Furthermore, the modern 'science' is a term for those disciplines that are derived from natural philosophy, long after the days of Donne.

The Harmony of Microcosm and Macrocosm

Lines 392–399 of 'First Anniversarie' describe the sense in which the relation between the microcosm (i.e. the physical, social and political domain of man) and the macrocosm, i.e. the realm of nature and the cosmos,[12] has been transformed due to the Copernican revolution:

> What Artist now dares boast that he can bring
> Heaven hither, or constellate any thing,
> So as the influence of those starres may bee
> Imprisond in an Herbe, or Charme, or Tree,
> And doe by touch, all which those starres could do?
> The art is lost, and correspondence too.
> For heaven gives little, and the earth takes lesse,
> And man least knowes their trade, and purposes.[13]

The decline of a system of knowledge that leaves man perplexed and

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[11] 'Conceit' and 'metaphor' are here understood as figures based on analogy, in the sense given by the French philosopher Michel Foucault in his *Order of Things*, namely as a correspondence between the microcosm and macrocosm that reveals a 'similitude', a relation in which two things are similar to one another but not the same (Foucault 1973 [1966], 21–22, 34). The theory of metaphor used here is a combination of the Aristotelian position of metaphor as an act of substitution, in which a 'surplus of meaning', i.e. similitude, is created in the act of substitution (*Poetics*, 1457b; Ricoeur 1976, 48–52). Metaphor is quite opaque in comparison to conceit, in which the correspondence between two or three knowable extremes is articulated (Mazzeo 1964: 34, 54) and explained. 'Emblem' is a device that is inclusive of a list of conventional connotational significations that are separate from one another, not interwoven as in the modern poetic symbol. The meanings arise from particular correspondences between the planes of existence. An emblem aims at the recognition of particular properties of the things considered. Donne's emblems, although not traditional emblems since they lack a pictorial element, are word-emblems in the sense the literary scholar Peter M. Daly uses the term (Freeman 1964 [1948], 7, Daly 1998 [1979], 7–8, 49, 73, 89, 91–92, 100, 105–106).

[12] The definitions of 'macrocosm' and 'microcosm' benefit from Tillyard's system of correspondence between the five planes of existence, namely the universe, the divine and angelic, the body politic, man, and lower creation (1952 [1943], 77).

[13] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 392–99. In Donne 1978b, 20–35.

devastated seems to point here to *divinatio,* a method which Michel Foucault explains as the art of gaining knowledge through the analysis of signs given by God in creation, namely the Bible and the great book of Nature which produce equally truthful knowledge.[14] *Divinatio*, when combined with *eruditio* (defined by Foucault as the method of achieving knowledge by reading and commenting upon ancient philosophers and their commentators)[15] leads to arts such as astrology, a method of analysis in which the properties the heavenly bodies are believed to possess are interpreted in relation to human intellectual and physical abilities. The above excerpt shows a realisation of the manner in which the loss of the natural order, an example of which is the loss of the sun and the earth, affects the correspondence between the planes of existence and therefore renders *eruditio* obsolete, as it is understood to be based upon a grave misconception. The properties of the heavenly bodies thus can no longer be studied by scrutinising earthly bodies, nor can these properties be applied as medicinal cures in the form of herbs that were traditionally known to incorporate the same properties as the heavenly bodies.

The loss of the natural order crystallises in line 207 of the 'First Anniversarie', which emphasises the connection between the loss of the sun and of the earth. This connection is evident when we consider the process of change from the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic system to the Copernican one: at its simplest the shift can be described as the replacement of the earth and the moon revolving around it by the sun, and the subsequent placement of the earth-moon complex among the rest of the planets revolving around the central sun. Donne's anguish at human wit not being the proper tool for finding the sun, however, indicates that the modifications of astrographics do not merely concern the locations of the heavenly bodies. In the following seven lines Donne sketches out the social and moral context of these changes:

> And freely men confess, that this world's spent,
> When in the Planets, and the Firmament
> They seeke so many new; they see that this

[14] Foucault 1973 [1966], 26, 32–33, 35, 56, 59.
[15] Foucault 1973 [1966], 40, 59.

> Is crumbled out againe t'his Atomis.
> 'Tis all in pieces, all cohaerence gone;
> All just supply, and all Relation:
> Prince, Subject, Father, Sonne, are things forgot,[16]

Donne relates the bewilderment concerning macrocosmic issues to a confusion concerning microcosmic ones. The natural, conventional correspondence and natural order, as it were, between the microcosm and the macrocosm has been upset by the readjustment of the heavens. If the harmony between the planes of existence is disturbed, there is nothing wondrous in the disturbance of relations between people of differing status. In addition, the uniqueness of the earth, the world of man, is no more, if other similar worlds can be imagined, sought and expected to be found. To grasp some of the properties the sun incorporated before this turn of events, we can look into the connection between man on his earth at the center of the world, and the sun as a planet or a star among others. Following this, I scrutinize the relationship between man as an inhabitant of the planet earth and the sun, as sun or star, at the center of this particular solar system.

A statement contrasting with that of lines 204–215 of the 'First Anniversarie', from the era of cosmic innocence, can be found in 'The Sunne Rising' (dated as having been written after 1603[17]), which, along with 'First Anniversarie', is one of the few of Donne's poems in which the sun is the primary subject of discussion:

> Thou sunne are halfe as happy'as wee,
> In that the world's contracted thus;
> Thine age askes ease, and since thy duties bee
> To warme the world, that's done in warming us.
> Shine here to us, and thou art every where;
> This bed thy center is, these walls, thy spheare.[18]

In these last lines of the poem by the 'persona',[19] the lovers' bed is

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[16] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 209–215. In Donne 1978b, 20–35.
[17] Gardner 1965a, xxxviii.
[18] 'The Sun Rising', ll. 25–30. In Donne 1965, 72–73.
[19] 'Persona' is the character an author adopts in a poem.

claimed to form the entirety of the world, the daily illumination of which is considered the God-given mission of the sun.[20] The sun is therefore obliged to consider the walls of the room as its sphere, its daily course. There is no doubt as to the location of the sun, or the position of the sun in relation to the world and man.

It is possible to read the poetic statement against the grain, as a scientific one that explains the astrography concerning the positions of the earth and the sun in the geostatic cosmos. According to the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic or pre-Copernican system, the earth was at the center of a finite universe; the planets, including the sun, revolved around this static center once every 24-hour period on crystalline spheres, which were kept in motion by the angels.[21] The contradiction between the way in which Donne sees the sun as an old, familiar acquaintance making its daily rounds on its sphere in 'The Sunne Rising' and the confusion that blurs his perception of the sun on the occasion of 'First Anniversarie' seems to arise out of the rivalry of two incongruous world pictures.

Thomas Docherty, a literary scholar, maintains that 'The Sunne Rising' reveals a Copernican stance towards the sun; he sees it as re-enacting the Copernican model by positioning the sun in the center.[22] Such an interpretation would demand a doubtful reading, according to which the "spheare" must be interpreted figuratively as the dimensions of the sun instead of reading it as the literal form of the sun's course. Moreover, according to the literary scholar Charles Monroe Coffin, the first evidence of Donne's acquaintance with the new astronomy surfaces in 1608 in his prose work *Biathanatos*, where Donne mentions that Aristotle's reasoning sees to be "utterly defeated", a statement Coffin interprets as a reference to Johannes Kepler's (1571–1630) tract *De Stella Nova* (*Of the New Star*, 1606).[23] Accepting this as correct, and considering Coffin's evidence of Donne's acquaintance with the Copernican model beginning only after the writing of this poem, Donne's "spheare" is likely to refer to the sun's course.

[20] Gen. 1.14–16. In this article an e-text version of the King James Bible (KJB) of 1611 is used.
[21] Tillyard 1952 [1943], 35; Smith 1975 [1972], 9.
[22] Docherty 1986, 30–35.
[23] Coffin 1958: 88–89.

Although it seems doubtful that Donne would first embrace the Copernican revolution to the point of re-enacting it in 'The Sunne Rising' and then pretend shock several years later in the 'First Anniversarie', it may not be altogether impossible, as the precision of the dating of 'The Sunne Rising' can be contested.[24] However, answering the question as to the poem's Copernicanism requires a consideration of internal coherence in addition to the interpretation induced by external sources.

In 'The Sunne Rising', man's relation to the sun seems central to the signification of the sun: if the "spheare" signified the geometric form of the sun, the sun would engulf the bed and the lovers, who have been mentioned as forming the center of the world and have not been removed from that position. Further scrutiny of the sun of 'The Sunne Rising' reveals that the manner in which the sun is addressed and discussed in the whole of the poem is very different from that of the sun of 'First Anniversarie'. In fact, the "Busie old foole, unruly Sunne" appears as an animate, voyeuristic, pedantic spy; this "Sawcy pedantique wretch"[25] can be reasoned with with witty persuasion.[26] Moreover, the sun is said to have eyes with which it actively perceives the world: "If her eyes have not blinded thine/ Looke, and to morrow late, tell mee".[27] In addition to the familiar tone of this conversation with the sun, the language in which the sun is discussed is firmly anchored to anthropomorphic analogies, the commentary thus becomes logically acceptable only in a culture of interpretation in which the relation of microcosm to macrocosm remains uncontested.

The connection in 'The Sunne Rising' between eyes and the sun in relation to their ability to perceive is no singular occasion in Donne's poetry, where the metaphor often appears inverted. In the elegy 'Loves Progress', which, it has been suggested, was written prior to Donne's

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[24] The seventh line of the poem, in which the persona tells the sun to "Goe tell Court-huntsmen, that the King will ride" suggests that the earliest possible date is the ascension of James I in 1603 after the death of Elizabeth I. Gardner's suggestion for the last possible date is 1605 [1965a, lix–lx.].

[25] "The Sunne Rising', l. 1, 5. In Donne 1965, 72–73.

[26] 'The Sunne Rising', ll. 2–8, 13–16, 25–29. In Donne 1965, 72–73. The sun also appears as a spying entity in 'Breake of day' (Donne 1965, 35–36), dated by Gardner (1965a:li–lii) as having been written before 1600.

[27] 'The Sunne Rising', ll. 15–16. In Donne 1965, 72–73.

marriage in 1601,[28] a metaphoric substitution of 'suns' for 'eyes' appears in lines 47–48 in a conceit that combines a woman's face, the earth and the sun, as her eyes are metaphorically replaced by "suns":

> The nose to the first Meridian runs
> Not 'twixt an East and West, but 'twixt two suns.[29]

The love poem 'The Baite' (1600 given as latest possible date[30]) sports two occurrences of the sun. First, the persona is "Warm'd by thine [the beloved's] eyes, more then the Sunne";[31] secondly the persona declares the beloved outshines the sun and the moon.[32]

This consistent but occult connection between the sun and the eye that appears in the seeing, warming, and shining abilities of both the sun and man in Donne's early poetry may be explained to some extent in relation to Plato's theory on perception. In the *Timaeus* Plato discusses perception, telling us that the eyes throw out light similar to the light of day.[33] Thus the seemingly occult or poetic relation of the analogy between man and the sun can be understood in the light of contemporary philosophy. This particular connection between man and the sun recurs almost throughout Donne's poetic career; in the poetry dated by Gardner as later than 'The Sunne Rising', however, it is more often than not accompanied by an explanation. This tendency tells of a shift in the signification of the sun and a rising uncertainty concerning

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[28] Bald 1986 [1970], 56. All of Donne's elegies are believed to have been written between the time he was a student at Lincoln's Inn and his marriage; Gardner arrives at the years 1593–1597 as Donne's elegy-writing years (1965a, xxiv, l; Bald 1986 [1970], 56).

[29] 'Loves Progress', ll. 47–48. In Donne 1965, 40–41.

[30] Gardner 1965a, li–lii.

[31] 'The Baite', l. 6. In Donne 1965: 32–33.

[32] 'The Baite', l. 14–16. In Donne 1965, 32–33.

[33] *Timaeus* 45b, 45c, 45d [online]. Jack Yellott, a cognitive scientist, indicates in his 'A Chronological History of Vision Research' that a conception of vision as rays emanating from the eye was one of the two persistent theories concerning vision at least until the 1604 publication of Kepler's theory of the optics of the eye; this was followed by Christopher Scheiner's experimental demonstration in 1625 (Yellott, S.A. [online]).

it, since Donne cannot leave his analogies of the sun without any guidance as to their proper interpretation as he did in his early poetry.

The sun is also seen as an entity in motion, whose movement – although it is quite difficult to determine – seems to have been understood to proceed in reality. In 'The Sunne Rising' the sun's motions are noted,[34] as also in the song 'Sweetest love I do not goe' (latest possible date 1600), in which the lover soothes the beloved's worries by comparing his ride to the sun's longer journey;[35] the latter, by implication, seems to mean the sun's journey around the earth. 'The Blossom' (dated as having been written after 1602[36]), in which the blossom is an emblem for love, contemplates the situation of a lover who has fallen for an unattainable object of love and reproaches his heart as he speaks to the blossom:

> That thou to morrow, ere that Sunne doth wake,
> Must with this Sunne, and mee a journey take.[37]

The first sun mentioned here is the natural one, whose appearance or upward motion begins the day. The second sun is a metaphoric substitution for the heart, which will be in motion the next day along with the natural sun as the lover leaves for a journey.

In this poem the sun's ability to substitute for the heart is likely to have as much to do with cosmic hierarchies as it does with motion or sensory abilities. The literary historian E. M. W. Tillyard explains: "as the sun is in the midst of the planets, giving them light and vigour, so is the heart in the midst of man's members".[38] This analogy springs from the position of the sun in relation to the planets and holds true independent of whether the earth is understood as one of the planets or not, since the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic system organised the planets so that the moon lay in the first sphere, then came Mercury, Venus, the

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[34] 'The Sunne Rising', ll. 4, 7. In Donne 1965.
[35] 'Sweetest love I do not goe', ll. 9–16. In Donne 1965, 31–32. Gardner 1965a, lxi.
[36] Gardner 1965a, xxviii.
[37] 'The Blossome', ll. 15–16. In Donne 1965, 87–88.
[38] Tillyard 1952 [1943], 85.

sun, Mars, Jupiter and finally Saturn before the fixed stars in the eighth sphere.[39]

Regardless of the truth or falsity of this interpretation, the fact that Donne was able to leave the emblem unexplained is the sign of a very strong expectation of coherence concerning possible significations of the sun that are firmly rooted in the contemporary episteme, i.e. according to Foucault the culture of interpretation. As becomes evident in the interpretation of Donne's later poems, such as 'The Second Anniversarie', Donne does show a tendency to direct the reader's interpretation of his figures if necessary. The absence of any guidance in this case seems then to spring from the writer's trust in the reader's ability to interpret his figures correctly. The difficulties currently faced in the interpretation of the emblematic analogy suggest that the framework, and indeed the manner, in which the sun is interpreted has changed since the days of Donne. The sun is not where it used to be, what it used to be or how it used to be.

After this glance at some of the similarities and systems of interpretation on which analogies between man and the sun are based in the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic framework, we return to the effect of the planets on man discussed in the beginning of this chapter. In the resigned lament for a deceased beloved 'A Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day, being the shortest day' (dated 1607 or after)[40] the sun is used as an emblem for the beloved, love and life,[41] but the natural sun is also mentioned in an appeal to younger lovers:

> You lovers, for whose sake, the lesser Sunne
> At this time to the Goat is runne
> To fetch you new lust, and give it you,
> Enjoy your summer all;[42]

In these lines, "the lesser Sunne" refers to the natural sun, which is perceived to dim in comparison to the radiant beloved. An astrological

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[39] Smith 1975 [1972], 9.
[40] Gardner 1965a: lx. 'A Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day, being the shortest day', referred to in the following as 'A Nocturnall'.
[41] 'A Nocturnall', l. 3, 37.
[42] 'A Nocturnall', ll. 38–41. In Donne 1965, 84–85.

comparison is sought here: the Goat is the constellation now known as Capricorn, which the sun passes between the latter part of December and early January. By fetching new lust and giving it to lovers the sun affects the lives of men, as its beams were understood to target the bodily humours; this effect, however, could be avoided or at least reduced through reasoning.[43]

Donne's poetry contains various significations of the sun, although both some of these significations and the methods by which they were established have since become obsolete. Analogies combining man and the sun, as well as anthropomorphic interpretations of the sun, and hierarchies between the planes of existence, indeed, the very planes of existence themselves, are no longer seen as truly existent; they have subsided into mere poetic images. The shock articulated in lines 205–208 of the 'First Anniversarie' does not necessarily erase all of the significations the sun was laden with in the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic world, nor, as the scrutiny of Donne's religious poetry in the next section will show, does it necessarily affect methods of acquiring knowledge in all contexts.

The Ugly Reality of the New Philosophy

Lines 249–250 of the 'First Anniversarie' indicate the manner in which the loss of the body of knowledge in addition to contemporary astronomy was felt: "For the worlds beauty is decayd, or gone,/ Beauty, that's colour, and proportion."[44] In the following lines Donne explains the puzzlement the new astronomy forces those who accept it to face:

> We thinke the heavens enjoy their Sphericall
> Their round proportion embracing all.
> But yet their various and perplexed course,
> Observ'd in diuers ages doth enforce
> Men to finde out so many'Eccentrique parts,
> Such divers downe-right lines, such overthwarts,
> As disproportion that pure forme. It teares
> The Firmament in eight and fortie sheeres,

[43] Roos 2001, 19.
[44] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 249–50. In Donne 1978b: 20–35.

And in those constillations there arise
New starres, and old do vanish from our eyes:
As though heav'n suffred earth-quakes, peace or war,
When new Townes rise, and old demolish't are.[45]

Donne first presents the issue concerning the Aristotelian perfect shape of the spheres, the circle,[46] which had been obscured by epicycles and other mathematical devices by Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century CE) in his *Almagest* in the pursuit of greater predictability of planetary movements. Although Nicolaus Copernicus's (1473–1543) placement of the sun at the centre of the cosmos did improve the predictability of planetary movements and explain the reason for the apparent retrograde movement of the planets,[47] the Copernican system still needed adjustments; some of these resulted in the abandonment of the perfect circle in favour of the ellipse in Kepler's 1609 *Astronomia Nova*, containing his first two laws. Next, Donne comments on the stars of the firmament, which Ptolemy had divided into 48 constellations in *Almagest*.[48] Kepler, however, as already mentioned, had published his discovery of a new star in the firmament in 1606, thereby proving that the firmament must also be considered subject to change – a discovery given further credibility by Galileo's evidence in *Sidereus Nuncius*.[49]

The next eleven lines concern specific discrepancies in the old philosophers' views of the sun:

They have impayld within a Zodiake
The free-borne Sunne, and keepe twelve signes awake
To watch his steps; the Goat and Crabbe controule,
And fright him backe, who els to eyther Pole,
(Did not these Tropiques fetter him) might runne:
For his course is not round; nor can the Sunne
Perfit a Circle, or maintaine his way

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[45] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 251–62. In Donne 1978b: 20–35.
[46] Shapin 1996: 23–24. For further information on the circle in Donne's poetry, see Nicolson's *The Breaking of the Circle: Studies in the Effect of the "New Science" on Seventeenth Century Poetry*.
[47] van Helden 1995b [online].
[48] Kirkman 1998 [online].
[49] Smith 1975 [1972], 122–23.

One inche direct; but where he rose to day
He comes no more, but with a cousening line,
Steales by that point, and so is Serpentine:
And seeming weary with his reeling thus,
He meanes to sleepe, being now falne nearer us.[50]

Donne here relates the facts about the zodiac and the sun's movement in a light that is unfavourable to the old philosophers: the originally untamed sun is seen as having been imprisoned by them in the enclosure formed by the zodiac, an imaginary ring in the heavens consisting of twelve constellations. In astrology, these constellations are known as signs, and are for the purposes of that art thought to extend 30 degrees longitude each, regardless of the actual size of the constellations. Donne relates the signs to the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, that had been created by the old philosophers in an effort to understand the yearly movement of the sun. Then Donne particularly notes that the insistence on the perfect form and the harmony of movement must have been a deliberate act of hypocrisy, as observations that could have been made using the technology available to the old philosophers have not affected their reasoning concerning the actual state of the heavens. Considering *divinatio* and *eruditio* in relation to Donne's complaints, Donne seems to be implying that the old philosophers have been relying on human intelligence and writings where they should have relied on God's great Book of Nature. Thus lines 263–274 of 'First Anniversarie' seem to reflect the statement of lines 207–208: man's wit cannot be solely depended upon in celestial scrutiny.

For further evidence, Donne introduces some further facts concerning the sun in these lines. The ancient philosophers maintain that the sun's path is circular, although the sun is known to fail to move in a circular manner, since the location whence it rises changes daily. The distance of the sun from the earth is also a point of alarm. Ptolemy was the first to attempt a definition of this distance, his calculation being 1210 semidiameters of the earth. Subsequent mathematicians estimated the distance to be less, this dispute leading to a discussion during the Renaissance as to whether or not the sun was approaching the earth.[51]

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[50] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 263–74. In Donne 1978b: 20–35.

The uncertainty of the signification as well as the significance of daily changes in the obliquity of the sun's course and the yearly shift of its crossing point of the equator, as well as the discussion concerning the sun's distance from the earth, were a point of inspiration for the new philosophers, who decided to solve these mysteries by laying the sun to rest and looking for motion in the earth.

Donne concludes his contemplation of the defects of the old philosophy concerning astronomy with a brief declaration of the state of heavenly affairs:

> So, of the Starres which boast that they do runne.
> In Circle still, none ends where he begunne.
> All their proportion's lame, it sinks, it swels.
> For of Meridians, and Parallels,
> Man hath weav'd out a net, and this net throwne
> Upon the Heavens, and now they are his owne.
> Loth to goe up the hill, or labor thus
> To goe to heaven, we make heaven come to us.[52]

Here the philosophical or scientific commentary is combined with the poetic. First, the stars are deemed boastful as they claim the circularity of their paths, but then men are accused of false reasoning in their effort to know the heavens and hubris in their claims of possessing that knowledge. If we cast a glance at the language in which the sun and the stars are spoken of, we find it far less anthropomorphic and metaphorical than in Donne's earlier poetry. The statements on the sun are for the most part straightforward, relating facts about the sun that are judged as either true or false by evidence gathered by observation. In comparison to 'The Sunne Rising', it may be noted that not only are statements on the sun linked to factual evidence, but the parts of observer and observed have also been reversed: it is now man who observes the sun.

Despite Donne's list of discrepancies in the 'First Anniversarie', the feats of the ancient philosophers still persist after the Copernican revolution in everyday life. Navigation, for example, uses similar methods to those described by Donne in his 'A Valediction: of the Booke' (dated

[51] Milgate 1978b, 144.
[52] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 275–82. In Donne 1978b, 20–35.

as having been written after 1602)[53] despite the Copernican revolution, although Galileo's discovery of Jupiter's moons led after several decades to an accurate definition of longitudes:[54]

> How great love is, presence best tryall makes,
> But absence tryes how long this love will bee;
> To take a latitude
> Sun, or starres, are fitliest view'd
> At their brightest, but to conclude
> Of longitudes, what other way have wee,
> But to marke when, and where the darke eclipses bee?[55]

The historian Patricia Seed points out that latitude measurements in Renaissance navigation were taken in the morning, when the constellation around the sun is visible, and at noon, when the sun is right above the ship.[56] The paths of solar eclipses played a role in the system whereby longitude measurements were determined, until the tables of the eclipses of Jupiter's moons, the compilation of which was begun by Galileo in 1612, were completed by Gian Domenico Cassini in 1668.[57] Donne's figure uses the method of navigation in a conceit which concludes that the greatness of love, like latitude, is measured when both parties to the process are present, whereas the duration of love can be estimated when one of the enamoured parties is absent.

Just as ancient methods of acquiring knowledge persist in navigation despite the Copernican revolution, a reverent regard towards them also persists in an another plane of life, namely religion. The natural hierarchies within and between categories and planes of existence, whose extinction Donne noted in connection with the loss of a coherent astronomy in lines 204–215 of 'First Anniversarie', occur in Donne's poetry not only between the sun and man's body, as in 'The Blossome', but also between the sun and religious phenomena. Although the sun and Christ are occasionally linked in a conceit, such as can be found in lines

[53] Gardner 1965a, lix–lx.
[54] van Helden 1995e [online].
[55] 'A Valediction: of the Booke', ll. 57–63. In Donne 1965, 67–69.
[56] Seed 2002a [online].
[57] Seed 2002b [online], van Helden 1995e [online].

11–14 of 'Good Friday 1613. Riding Westward' (dated 1613),[58] where the ascension and death of the Christ is viewed in relation to the rising and setting of the sun, the relation between the sun, the Christ and man are usually explained in the form of a hierarchy in Donne's religious poetry.

The poem 'Resurrection, imperfect' (dated 1609),[59] for example, discusses the resurrection of the Christ in the light of the final Resurrection; the "old sun", i.e. the natural sun, is told to continue his sleep,[60] since

> A better Sun rose before thee to day,
> Who, not content to'enlighten all that dwell
> On the earths face, as thou, enlightned hell,
> And made the darke fires languish in that vale
> As, at thy presence here, our fires grow pale.
> Whose body having walk'd on earth, and now
> Hasting to heaven, would, that he might allow[61]

The hierarchy between the worldly illuminators is based on their potency of illumination, consisting of both the ability and the scope of lumination. The conceit in lines 6–8 shows the extent to which the sun and the Christ are in a relation of analogy: their abilities of lighting are analogical, although the scope of illumination of the Christ is far greater. The "better Sun", i.e. the Christ, has the capacity of a divinity, as its powers reach beyond the realm of the living, which is the scope of illumination of the natural sun. The sun is, however, a better illuminator than man, whose petty fires grow pale as the sun rises. The abodes of the sun and the Christ are also different: while the sun inhabits the macrocosm, the Christ can journey between macrocosm and microcosm.

In lines 5–8 of 'Ascension', the seventh sonnet of the sonnet sequence *La Corona* (dated 1608)[62] the difference between the quality of the

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[58] Gardner 1978b [1952], 98.
[59] Gardner 1978b [1952], 94; Milgate 1978b, 177.
[60] 'Resurrection, imperfect', l. 1. In Donne 1978a [1952], 28.
[61] 'Resurrection, imperfect', l. 4–10. In Donne 1978a [1952], 28.
[62] Gardner 1978b [1952], 152.

Christ and the sun's illumination is explained in greater detail than in 'Resurrection, imperfect':

> Behold the Highest [the Christ], parting hence away,
> Lightens the darke clouds, which hee treads upon,
> Nor doth hee by ascending, show alone.
> But first hee, and hee first enters the way.[63]

Besides creating an environment susceptible to perception, the illumination radiated by the Christ enlightens intellectually as well. He also shows man by his own example how it is possible to journey from the earth, the plane of man, to the divine sphere of existence, thus having a remarkably greater potency for enlightenment than the sun.

The appearance of hierarchies that adhere to a *Weltanschauung* accommodating the harmony of microcosm and macrocosm in Donne's religious poetry seems to cast doubt upon Coffin's judgement, since these poems have most commonly been dated to a period after 1608 – the year when Coffin first observes Copernican thinking in Donne's poetry. A closer inspection, however, shows that none of the statements concerning the sun in Donne's religious poetry refer to any contemporary scientific aspect of the Copernican revolution. In fact, they adhere strictly to the Biblical history of creation as related in Genesis 1.14–17, which twice declares that the lights of day and night have been created to illuminate the earth.[64]

The divine sphere has of course no such need for illumination, as is indicated in the sun metaphor of the hymn 'A Hymne to God the Father'[65] (dated 1623[66]) and lines 9–14 of 'Good Friday 1613. Riding Westward'. Salenius explains that the *Revelation of St. John* reveals the city of God to be lighted by the glory of God,[67] there therefore being "no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine it".[68] The location of

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[63] 'Ascension', ll. 5–8. In Donne 1978a [1952], 8.

[64] Gen. 1.14–17. King James Bible, 1611 [online].

[65] 'A Hymne to God the Father', ll. 13–18, esp. l. 15. In Donne 1978a [1952], 51.

[66] Gardner 1978b [1952], 109.

[67] Salenius 1998, 107.

[68] Revel. 21.23. King James Bible, 1611 [online].

the earth and the sun in the "spent world" and the relation of the world to a possible "so many new" ones[69] may have been a concern of Donne's. Conversely, there appears no doubt whatsoever in any of Donne's poetry as to the existence or location of the divine sphere in heaven,[70] as even the 'First Anniversarie' begins with the assertion of this: "WHEN that rich soule which to her Heaven is gone".[71] Furthermore, the 'Second Anniversarie'[72] describes Elizabeth's journey from earth, through the planetary spheres, to God's kingdom in heaven.[73]

In relation to the divinities, the sun is not only a weak illuminator but also a weak creator. In the sixth stanza of 'A Litanie' (dated between 1608 and 1610[74]), the title of which is 'Angels', the earth is mentioned as yielding a "faire diversitie" "conceiving by the Sunne".[75] This allusion to the sun's effect on the fertility of the earth is likely to be a reference to its general power of enabling the growth of vegetation, whereas the dedicatory sonnet 'To E. of D. with six holy Sonnets' of the sonnet sequence *Holy Sonnets: Divine Meditations* (dated 1609, the year of Kepler's *Astronomia Nova*, containing his first and second laws),[76] refers to a very peculiar creation taken part in by the sun: "See Sir, how as the Suns hot masculine flame/ Begets strange creatures on Niles durty slime".[77] According to Gardner, it was a fact established by Pliny "that the sun generates creatures from the mud of Nile".[78] Pliny, however, mentions only earth and water in connection with this spontaneous generation:

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[69] 'First Anniversarie', ll. 209–211. In Donne 1978b, 20–35.

[70] 'Ascension', ll. 6–8; 'Resurrection, imperfect', l. 10. In Donne 1978a [1 952], 8, 28.

[71] 'First Anniversarie', l. 1. In Donne 1978b, 20–35.

[72] 'Second Anniversarie' is an abbreviation of the poem's full title, 'Second Anniversarie, of the Progres of the Soule; Wherein: by Occasion of the Religious Death of Mistris Elizabeth Drury, the Incommodities of the Soule in this Life and her Exaltation in the Next are Contemplated.'.

[73] 'Second Anniversarie', ll 187–214. In Donne 1978b, 39–56.

[74] Gardner 1978b [1952], 57, 152.

[75] 'A Litanie', ll. 51, 50. In Donne 1978a [1952], 16–26.

[76] Gardner 1978a [1952], xliii; van Helden 1995a [online].

[77] 'To E. of D. with six holy Sonnets, ll. 1–2. In Donne 1978a [1952], 5–6.

[78] Gardner 1978b [1952], 64–65. Gardner cites the reference as Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 84.

But all these things, singular as they are, are rendered credible by a marvel which exceeds them all, at the time of the inundation of the Nile; for, the moment that it subsides, little mice are found, the first rudiments of which have been formed by the generative powers of the waters and the earth: in one part of the body they are already alive, while in that which is of later formation, they are still composed of earth.[79]

There is little doubt that Donne is referring to the spontaneous generation of fauna in his poem, in spite of his confusion concerning the facts. The first conceit of the dedicatory poem benefits greatly from the inclusion of the sun in the process, as the conceit describes how the patron has enabled Donne to conceive the sonnet sequence.[80] In any case the potency of conception of the sun must seem plausible to Donne, or the conceit would not have been written.

The significations of the sun of 'First Anniversarie' seem to be quite different from the significations of the sun that occur in Donne's earlier poetry or in his religious poetry. They are construed in a different manner, as there is but one occasion on which the meaning of the sun is created by analogy. Indeed, the meaning of the sun is created by negations: Donne lists notions concerning the sun that had become false or uncertain by 1610.

When we compare 'First Anniversarie' and Donne's religious poetry, it is noticeable how Donne's shock concerning the new astronomy – articulated in the 'First Anniversarie' – seems to relate primarily to the philosophical, i.e. scientific, plane of his *Weltanschauung*. Furthermore, it does not seem to disrupt the totality of his world picture; he is able to preserve his cosmological ideas despite astronomical changes. This preservation, however, is evidently enabled by a separation of the philosophical, at least the astronomical, from the religious.

Although the sun seems to keep some of its most prominent significa-

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[79] Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 1601 [S.A], ix. 58. [online]. The Latin original reads "Verum omnibus his fidem Nili inundatio adfert omnia excedente miraculo. quippe detegente eo musculi reperiuntur inchoato opere genitalis aquae terraeque, iam parte corporis viventes, novissima effigie etiamnum terrena." (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. lxxxviii. [online])

[80] 'To E. of D. with six holy Sonnets', ll. 1–6. In Donne 1978a [1952], 5–6.

tions in the fields of maritime technology, natural history and religion, this seems to be due to the fact that these disciplines do not yet need to take any notice of the effects of the Copernican revolution; or rather, the Copernican revolution has not yet in 1610 extended to issues related to these fields of knowledge. Donne's religious poetry contains no astronomical references to the sun. Natural history concerning the sun is found in the religious poetry, but merely the kind that does not negotiate what is understood by most authorities as biblical truth; on the contrary, Donne's hierarchies that include the sun lean heavily on Christian cosmology. 'First Anniversarie', however, meditates the discrepancies of the old philosophy as it relates the disruptions of the new astronomy in connection with the decay of order in the realm of man. In 'First Anniversarie', man is isolated from the cosmological hierarchies and harmonies present in Donne's religious and love poetry; analogical comparisons between man and the sun are absent.

A Reunion under New Terms

The shock of the Copernican revolution as well as the devastation caused by Elizabeth's passing appear to have toned down by November 1611, when Donne's 'Second Anniversarie' was written.[81] It begins with a lamenting reminiscence of the previous anniversary:

> NOTHING could make mee sooner to confesse
> That this world had an everlastingnesse,
> Then to consider, that a yeare is runne,
> Since both this lower worlds, and the Sunnes, Sunne,
> The Lustre, and the vigor of this All,
> Did set;'twere Blasphemy, to say, did fall.[82]

Here, the deceased is named a sun greater than the sun, a stance that seems to resemble the manner in which Donne in his love poetry praised the beloved as a sun that illuminates the world of men or mocked the natural sun as a lesser sun. In this poem, however, Eliza-

[81] Milgate 1978a: xxi.
[82] 'Second Anniversarie', ll. 1–6. In Donne 1978b, 39–56.

beth's potency of illumination as a sun reaches the level formerly accredited to a divinity in Donne's religious poetry; she is able not only to outshine the natural sun but also to move from the microcosm to the macrocosm. Nevertheless, her death is spoken of in terms of the sun's descent, as is the death of Christ in 'Good Friday 1613. Riding Westward', since the verb commonly associated with the decease of human beings is considered to be demeaning in connection to her. The 'Second Anniversarie' thus begins with a stance abandoned in the 'First Anniversarie', as the boundaries of macrocosm and microcosm allow for some overlap between man, nature and religion.

Indeed, as 'Second Anniversarie' continues, the validity of biblical world history is strongly advocated:

> So strugles this dead world, now shee is gone;
> For there is motion in corruption.
> As some Daies are, at the Creation nam'd,
> Before the sunne, the which fram'd Daies, was fram'd,
> So after this sunnes set some show appeares,
> And orderly vicissitude of yeares.[83]

The wretchedness of the world after Elizabeth's departure is described as fraudulent in a conceit that compares two natural phenomena, the motion of the sun and the process of decay. The conceit begins with an analogy that explains how after Elizabeth's death the movement of the world is similar to the undeniable but unvolitional transformation of a decaying corpse or the spontaneous generation taking place in it. The note on the sun introduces some facts of the biblical history of the world: God created light, day and night before the sun was created to govern the day on the third day of creation.[84] The daily movement of the sun, the perceivable limits of which are sunrise and sunset, marks the extent of the day, thus framing it. The sun ruled the day before it was "framed": being framed can here be interpreted as a reference to deception, in the sense of staging an item as something it is not in reality; the perception according to which the sun moves, while in reality it lies in a corpse-like stillness.

[83] 'Second Anniversarie', ll. 21–26. In Donne 1978b, 39–56.
[84] Gen. 1.4–5, 1.13–16 [KJB, online].

Such an interpretation would be consistent with the Bible, which does not judge either for or against the sun's motion. The sun's movement is of course considered deceptive in Copernican theory, as in reality the sun is static; its movement is merely apparent and due to the motion of the earth. This explanation would also fit the rest of the conceit, as the show appearing after "this sunnes set" could be understood as the carcass of the world attempting to pass for a living one after the parting of Elizabeth, its sun. This charade of the world is noticeable in the passing of years, a strange situation resembling the passing of days before the sun was created.

Later in the poem Donne returns to the more familiar reasons that enable Elizabeth to take the place of the sun, as her soul's journey to heaven is described in lines 183–210. In line 201 Elizabeth is mentioned as having been transformed into an eye,[85] as her soul, freed from the confines of her body, "perceives directly and completely" as it consists of the beams of the Holy Ghost, thus taking the form of light.[86] This explanation reflects Plato's theory of perception, which has been suggested as a possible source for Donne's perceiving sun of 'The Sunne Rising'. Here the notion is located in the middle of a description of her heavenly journey, which relates the contemporary idea of the state of the heavens, beginning with a description of the area between the earth and the moon:

> Twixt Heaven, and Earth: shee staies not in the Ayre,
> To looke what Meteors there themselves prepare;
> Shee carries no desire to know, nor sense,
> Whether th'Ayrs middle Region be intense,
> For th'Element of fire, shee doth not know,
> Whether shee past by such a place or no;[87]

In the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic system the centrality of the earth was rationalised to have been caused by the heaviness of its substance.[88] In this tradition the universe was divided between the sublunary and the

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[85] 'Second Anniversarie', l. 200. In Donne 1978b, 39–56.
[86] Milgate 1978b, 163.
[87] 'Second Anniversarie', ll. 190–96. In Donne 1978b, 39–56.
[88] Tillyard 1952 [1943], 35.

superlunary world, a division based on the differing material composition of the spheres.[89] The other planets, including the sun, were thought to have been composed of ether, the quintessence.[90] Below the moon, the four elements – earth, water, air and fire – were arranged in spheres in this order.[91] In this excerpt Donne hesitates over the existence of the sublunary spheres, but proclaims that meteors belong to this sphere, without even indicating the possibility of change at the superlunary sphere, an idea which he promoted in lines 251–262 of 'First Anniversarie'. This cautious attitude towards the dispute between Aristotelian and Copernican theory is typical of the poetry Donne wrote for patrons at the time, as we shall see in the analysis of the 'Somerset Epithalamion' of 1613.

On her way to the divine sphere, Elizabeth's soul, formerly named a sun and in the next excerpt a star, passes the planets:

> Shee baits not at the Moone, nor cares to trie,
> Whether in that new world, men live, and die.
> Venus retards her not, to'enquire, now shee
> Can, (being one Star) Hesper, and Vesper bee;
> Hee that charm'd Argus eies, sweet Mercury,
> Workes not on her, who now is growen all Ey;
> Who, if shee meete the body of the Sunne,
> Goes through, not staying till his course be runne;
> Who finds in Mars his Campe, no corps of Guard;
> Nor is by Ioue, nor by his father bard;
> But ere shee can consider how shee went,
> At once is at, and through the Firmament.[92]

Here two important questions are raised concerning the new sun. First, the substitution of 'sun' for Elizabeth earlier in the poem is developed by the further substitution of 'star' for 'sun'. This suggests there is some understanding of the resemblance of the sun to a star, if not indeed of the similarity of the sun and a star, an idea advocated by Giordano Bruno in his *De Immenso* of 1591.[93] However, Donne does not seem to

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[89] Smith 1975 [1972], 122–23.
[90] Tillyard 1952 [1943], 35, 36; Smith 1975 [1972], 122–23.
[91] Tillyard 1952 [1943], 35.
[92] 'Second Anniversarie', ll. 197–206. In Donne 1978b, 39–56.

have been acquainted with this theory at the time of the writing of 'A Valediction: of the Booke', nor in 1608, since in the thirteenth stanza of his 'A Litanie' (dated 1608)[94] he distinguishes stars from the sun in a hierarchic manner when he prays "Lord let us runne/ Meane waies, and call them stars, but not the Sunne."[95] In 'A Litanie' the stars and the sun are seen to resemble one another, but the sun is seen as the singular and most powerful factor in this particular hierarchy of illumination. In this section of 'Second Anniversarie', the star Elizabeth is related to the evening star Venus, whose motion is similar to the sun's, although converse to it in direction. Furthermore, she is next mentioned to have turned into an eye, sharing its perceptual power with the sun. Although it is impossible to prove from the evidence provided by this excerpt that Donne understood the similarity between stars and the sun, it is possible to confirm the likeness of the sun to the stars.

Secondly, the order of the planets does not adhere to the Aristotelian system. The order of planets presented here continues Donne's careful take on the Copernican question; it deviates ever so slightly from the Aristotelian orthodoxy, as in that tradition Mercury is located between the earth and Venus. It is unlikely that Donne or his well-educated peers would have been confused about the correct order. One explanation of this arrangement may be that he has adapted the order of the planets to suit the demands of the solar system, while still presenting the order in an Aristotelian framework, as it were, this obfuscation allowed by the fact that the moving subject did begin her journey from the earth.

If a journey were begun from the earth, the third planet from the central sun, to the rim of the planetary system through the center of the system at an appropriate time, between August and September 1609 or between March and April 1611,[96] for example, Venus, Mercury and the sun would be passed in the order given by Donne. Furthermore, such an order would have been impossible in the Aristotelian system, despite all the possible combinations of planetary movement, without the soul

[93] Granada 2004, 106.
[94] Gardner 1978b [1952], 80.
[95] 'A Litanie', ll. 116–17. In Donne 1978a [1952], 16–26.
[96] The times are derived from the star chart programme XEphem [online].

twice crossing the sphere of Venus. It is also noteworthy that Donne does not speculate as to whether the crystal spheres hinder the soul's journey, although earlier in the poem he relies on the division between the sublunary and superlunary spheres.

While there seem to be allusions to the Copernican system in the 'Second Anniversarie', Donne is careful not to draw attention to them by openly debating the issue. It is likely that this hesitation arose from the contemporary view of the theories of Galileo's and other Copernicans; Donne's caution concerning the issue was affected by social and political considerations rather than religious ones. At this time the Copernican system had not yet been generally established, but was a subject of debate in the few circles in which it was recognised in the first place.[97] Indeed, it is only four years after the publication of the 'Second Anniversarie' that the Holy office condemns the Copernican theory as false: previously, the debate within the Church had concentrated on whether the Copernican model was to be viewed as an elaborate mathematical model or whether it purported to describe physical reality.[98] Thus there might have been no disagreement over this issue between the then Catholic Donne and the Church. However, the patrons and possible future patrons of Donne, who at the time was pursuing a career in literature, might have held strong opinions contrary to that of Donne; in that case taking an open or even bold side on the issue would have further damaged his career aspirations.

A tendency similar to that observed in the 'Second Anniversarie' is encountered in the epithalamion, or marriage song, 'Epithalamion at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset'.[99] It was written in 1613 in honour of the marriage of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Essex on 26 December,[100] and bears an interesting allusion to the relation of man and the

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[97] Smith estimates that "[b]y 1700 many members of the educated élites of western Europe had, in the broadest sense, absorbed the implications of the scientific discoveries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The peasants had not." (1975, 26).

[98] O'Connor & Robertson 2002 [online].

[99] 'Epithalamion at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset' is here abbreviated as 'Somerset Epithalamion'.

[100] Milgate 1978b, 117. 'Epithalamion at the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset' is referred to in the following as 'Somerset Epithalamion'.

sun in connection with the new astronomy as it explains the wedding
ceremony:

> That the earth mov'd, this day would make it true;
> For every part to dance and revell goes;
> They tread the ayre, and fal not where they rose.
> Though six houres since the Sunne to bed did part,
> The masks and banquets will not yet impart
> A sunset to these weary eyes, a Center to this heart.[101]

This fragment holds two conceits, the first of which contains a very
mild allusion to the Copernican system in line 187: it proposes that the
earth's movement is possible, without declaring whether the motion is
actual or not. The rest of the conceit strays from Copernican theory in
a wonderful compliment, explaining the earth's movement as a result
of the wedding celebrations. This praise carries to the second conceit,
which refers more precisely to the Copernican system. In the conceit
eyes are declared to resemble the sun, as the closure of the eyes in fall-
ing asleep is likened to a sunset. The eyes – or metaphorically the set-
ting sun – are declared to be the entity central to the bridegroom's heart.
The centrality of the sun is thus expressed. This expression is quite dif-
ferent in both tone and form from that of 'The Sun Rising', where the
bed was declared to be the point on which the sun is centered.

However, as the sun is present only in a surplus of meaning, Donne
never reveals his personal stance on the Copernican issue. This seems to
be a careful composition on the writer's part, considering the intentions
behind the epithalamion: Donne wrote it in a particular attempt to
acquire a patron.[102] In his study of a 1609 letter from Donne to Goodyer,
Coffin has noted Donne's tendency to appropriate scientific knowledge
concerning the sun, where an appropriation completes the conceit more
powerfully than pure facts would.[103] A similar tendency was noted when
the sun's generative powers were described in the dedicatory sonnet 'To

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[101] 'Somerset Epithalamion': ll. 187–92. In Donne 1978b: 10–19.

[102] Marotti explains that elegies and verse letters to social superiors were often
written in order to establish or affirm ties of social, political, or economic
patronage (ibid. 1998 [1993], 35).

[103] Coffin 1958, 90–91.

E. of D. with six Holy Sonnets'; it might also be suggested as a possible reason behind his separation of the sun and a star in lines 198–201 of 'Second Anniversarie'.

It is noteworthy that although Donne is using a common analogy, he does feel a need to offer an explanation, speaking of "weary" eyes. This seems particularly striking in comparison to the conceit of 'Loves Progres', in which "suns" were substituted for eyes, with no explanation. This implicates that the logic behind that analogy may be waning, as indeed the whole system of cosmic correspondence seems to be.

When compared to those of the 'First Anniversarie', the significations of the sun appearing in 'Second Anniversarie' seem to have developed at the conceptual level. It has been claimed that the sun of 'First Anniversarie' was initially composed at a moment of great devastation and confusion, dividing the familiar nexus of ideas built on hierarchies, connotations and the tradition of knowledge. 'Second Anniversarie' seems to carry a tentative new conceptualisation of a sun, one that does allow for some of the traditional knowledge to be absorbed into it, at least in a specific context. However, the general uncertainty concerning the order of the heavens has left its mark not only on the meaning of the sun, but also on the manner in which the signification is presented. Just as Donne listed negations in 'First Anniversarie', he now lists possible significations and explains the logic behind them, if they depend on cosmic correspondences.

However, the new sun is not wholly incompatible with the old one. Some of the significations persist, as do some of the patterns of thought in which new significations are presented. The sun is still luminous, like the brightest individuals. In the 'Somerset Epithalamion' the sun still appears in a conceit resembling those of his earlier love poetry, in which the beloved and the eyes of the beloved are spoken of in solar terms. What is new, nevertheless, is the poet's uncertain position; he is compelled to explain his metaphors and conceits, since he cannot rely on his *Weltanschauung* and his conceptions concerning the sun being shared by his readers. A common ground for interpretation has vanished with the rising of the new sun.

"'Twixt two suns"

Donne was writing during the era that witnessed the transition from the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic world order to the Copernican one. While Donne's poetry does not exhaust the entirety of contemporary knowledge concerning the sun either before or after the Copernican revolution, it does give several clues to the features of the sun which were of interest to a layman. Some of the significations have since become 'poetic' or 'symbolic', as their philosophical or scientific truth value has diminished; a Foucauldian reading would suggest that this devaluation is due to changes in the Western episteme. In Donne's writing, these changes appear as a shocking revolution of the skies in the 1611 poem 'First Anniversarie'. The shock, however, is merely momentary; it does not lead to a total abandonment of old ideas concerning the sun, but to a gradual transition, appearing in the incorporation of new ideas in the familiar framework of figures in the 'Second Anniversarie' of 1612 and the 'Somerset Epithalamion' of 1613.

In the poetry preceding 'First Anniversarie', the physical location of the sun never surfaced as an issue; rather, like all other significations of the sun, it was self-evident,. Significations such as the sun's effects, its motion and perception, as well as its abilities as a creator, an illuminator and a radiator, could be studied by relating them to hierarchies and harmonies between the planes of existence. While the last three of the sun's meanings are still valid after the Copernican revolution, the former belong to a *Weltanschauung* that is unsustainable after the earth and man cease to be the central point of the world. The Copernican revolution shatters the order of the world, consequently robbing the sun of its occult significations and man of his uniqueness, turning man into an observer.

By the 1613 poem 'Somerset Epithalamion', there seems to be a reconciliation between the old philosophers' concepts concerning the sun and those of the new, the difference between the two being bridged on the one hand by explanation whenever the former are touched upon, on the other by evading any declaration of certainty whenever the latter are introduced. However, the sun, and the manner in which it is perceived, differ from those of the era of cosmic innocence; it is inclusive

of meanings that arise with its new central location. Nevertheless, some of the signs of language that conveyed the true signification of the sun before the Copernican revolution have persisted to our own time: the sun still 'rises' and 'sets'. Although these words have been transformed from literal into figurative terms, in this respect 21st century man is caught between two suns as much as John Donne was in his own time.

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II

EXCLUSION

THE NAKED SEAMAN
Making a Difference with Nudity in Ancient Roman Imagery

Isto Vatanen

In the modern imagination, there is a close association between antiquity and the unclothed human body. Athletes with no clothes on, the erotic imagery of the pottery vases and wall paintings of Pompeii, mosaics and religious sculpture have all nourished the image of an idealised, untroubled culture of nudity among the ancients. The appearance of the unclad seems to be an everyday phenomenon, regardless of whether the naked might be a prostitute, a god or a Roman magistrate spending his time in the baths washing away the impurities of flesh and mind. An unclothed body has not been seen merely as an everyday custom. Since the interpretations of the pioneering classical archaeologist and art historian Johan Joachim Winckelmann and his contemporaries, nakedness has been interpreted further as an act of heroisation of the human body, where nudity becomes something innocent, pure and heroic beyond the realities of human life. The nudity of a Roman or a Greek figure seems to be nothing new or extraordinary for us, even if nudity in most other contexts would be sensational.

Bearing this bias in mind, it is hardly surprising that a cursory browsing through numerous depictions from classical antiquity portraying ordinary seamen unclothed aboard a ship has led to such statements as

"sailors generally went naked when aboard ship",[1] or "sources describe them labouring naked aboard ship", the latter referring to their poverty and miserable state of life.[2] The nakedness of seamen in pictorial sources from the Roman period is linked almost entirely to figures that may be confidently identified as common seamen.[3] Most images representing a *gubernator*, the navigating officer, or a *magister navis*, the ship's master, are clothed even if the rest of the crew is unclothed. But was the nakedness of an ordinary seaman the widespread fashion historian Lionel Casson proposes in his *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971/1995), in practice the standard volume on ancient maritime history? This interpretation is a rather problematic one. It is tempting to suggest that a great number of Roman youths went unclothed, in addition to the many Roman emperors who would have appeared naked in public from time to time.

The plausibility of the claim as to the customary nakedness of seamen aboard has been touched on briefly in the research literature,[4] though mainly within a rather narrow frame of interpretation with regard to the contradictory visual evidence. Any simple notion, whether that the seamen were naked as depicted or were clothed despite the depictions, does not explain comprehensively the evident complexities behind the representations. An image of a naked seaman can be interpreted as representing a seaman without garments, but the depiction always reflects other things as well as merely a state of dress or undress. In the images of seamen, nakedness invariably indicates something of the conventions of perceiving the archetypal sailor and in this sense is a question that requires explanation. But even the literal interpretation calls for more profound explanation. If seamen indeed went naked aboard, the fashion definitely affected Roman attitudes and ideas concerning seafarers; but it also tells us something about sailors and sea-

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[1] Casson 1995, 320.

[2] Rauh 2003, 161. Rauh is referring to Casson (1995, 320) from whom this interpretation seems to be originating.

[3] Examples where all the figures aboard are naked do exist, but seem to be exceptions (e.g. Casson 1995, fig.147) where the two clothed persons are waiting in a harbour probably representing the ship's owner and his associate or relative.

[4] E.g. Beltrame 2002, 86.

faring in antiquity impossible to understand without a more thorough understanding of the custom. The primary purpose of this article is to explore these attitudes and ideas concerning seamen and nakedness, and to discuss further a number of possible motivations for portraying seamen without their clothes on, as different from others.

Nakedness and nudity

When considering representations of naked seamen, the very concept of nakedness and its meaning in Roman society becomes a question of its own. The difference between nudity and nakedness has been discussed vigorously since the distinction between the two concepts was established in the modern scholarly literature by the art historian Kenneth Clark in 1956. Nudity is for Clark an idealised state of exhibiting a beautiful unclothed body, while the naked is something stripped and disgraced.[5] Despite the evident difficulties of a categorical empirical–ideal differentiation in any particular instance, the idea of distinguishing the different cultural levels of a state of being unclothed is essential in order to be able to distinguish between the perceptual categories of the clothed and the unclothed.[6] Being able to identify the culturally nude, i.e. exposed within the frame of reference of the society, and the culturally non-nude, a body appearing acceptable, is an important distinction that may be derived along the lines of Clark's reasoning.

The difficulty in discussing nudity and nakedness is that a Roman *nudus*, a 'nude', was not always totally naked. Similarly a naked figure was not necessarily directly construed as a nude. In the *loci* of unchallenged nudity, both being actually partly unclothed and depicting something as fully unclothed was not only accepted, but was an expected commonplace. Here, however, it is imperative to emphasise that the Roman socially accepted public nudity, *nuditas*, was never identical to the civilising nudity of the Greek culture.[7] A Roman seems to have been

[5] Clark 1972, 3–29.
[6] The approaches of Clark and Hollander to the nakedness and nudity are discussed in detail in Rossi 2002, 60–62.
[7] Bonfante 1989, 562–63.

far more often *nudus* when clothed than when fully exposed. *Nuditas*, in the sense of not wearing the toga, was quite acceptable when plough-ing[8] or performing other, similar physical work. The important condi-tion appears to have been that the person was at home or in the fields nearby when nude. Appearing nude – i.e. in a tunic without a toga – in public life, on the other hand, seems to have been quite unacceptable for a Roman citizen.[9] Whereas in Greece nudity did probably function at least as a limited kind of civic practice in certain situations of everyday life and as an institution articulating the difference between Hellenes and barbarians, it is rather evident that the Romans adopted the prac-tice of nudity only in a considerably more restricted sense. The ideal of nudity as a costume appears never have become institutionalised in daily life, and only partially in the arts.[10] I am not implying that the Romans did not go naked in private or in public, but I would like to emphatically deny the assumption that nudity in Rome carried ideals and ideologies identical to those it had in Hellenic society. It is exceedingly difficult to define with certainty when exactly nudity meant nakedness and when it referred to a state of being partially clothed in public or private, or in landbound or maritime contexts. In terms of the broad cultural context, nudity could evidently refer to a whole range of different states of being clothed and uncovered, depend-ing on the circumstances.

Some perspective on the nakedness of seamen may be obtained by studying the construction of other contexts of nudity in Roman society. Regardless of the conditions and varying possible meanings of nudity, Roman culture was accustomed to a number of everyday scenes of *nudi-tas*, where nudity was actually likely to mean little clothing or none.[11] The Greek custom of exercising in a *palaestra* had become an estab-lished custom in Rome too,[12] and even if most Romans themselves pre-

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[8] Verg. georg. 1.299.; Plin. nat. 18.4.20; Liv. 3.26. Abbreviations used for Latin authors follow the system used in Thesaurus Linguae Latinae and for Greek authors the system used in Oxford Classical Dictionary (3rd ed.).

[9] E.g. Cic. Phil 2.86.

[10] Bonfante 1989, 562–63; Hannah 1998 cmp. Osborne 1997; see also Berg 2004, 150.

[11] Cic. off. 1.129; Bonfante 1989, 563.

served their decency by exercising in a loincloth,[13] they were necessarily fully aware of the Greek custom. Ovid could draw suggestive comparisons between sports and the 'sport of love', all of which were exercised in a natural state of nudity.[14] In a similarly everyday style Tacitus writes of a murder which was committed while the victim was *nudus exercitando*, nude while exercising.[15] Even if public athletic nudity was more restricted in Rome than in Greece,[16] the difference can confidently be expected to have been merely technical. Regardless of the degree of actual nakedness, it seems plausible to suggest that the Romans felt themselves quite as nude in their loincloths as the Greeks felt when completely unclothed.

The locus of exercise, the *palaestra*, was frequently found within the confines of the other,[17] almost archetypal Roman environment for nudity: the baths.[18] Being *nudus* while bathing was such a commonplace that Cicero compares the setting to a something quite unexceptional.[19] With regard to the baths, the question of the proper meaning of *nuditas* becomes even more topical. Whether *nuditas* in the baths referred to a state of full nakedness or merely of being partially unclothed has been the subject of quite fierce scholarly disagreement.[20] In general it may be observed that the existing Roman literary evidence is relatively unanimous as to the *nuditas* of the bathers. Nonetheless, as Fagan emphasises, this does not directly imply that *nuditas* can be interpreted as full nakedness.[21] Considering the variety of bath-houses and *palaestras*, the diver-

[12] E.g. Verg. Aen. 3.281–282.

[13] Isid. orig. 18.18.2; 19.22.5; Bonfante 1989, 563.

[14] Ov. her. 16.151–152; Tac. hist. 2.16; Christesen (2002) has suggested that in Greece, the nakedness in palaestra could have been even a common denominator in forming fraternities between comrades.

[15] Tac. ann. 14.59.

[16] Heskel 2001, 139.

[17] Iuv. 7.233.

[18] Dupont 1993, 264.

[19] Cic. fam. 9.22.4; see also Veyne 1999, 183–84, 225; Not until the late Antiquity the custom of bathing or exercising naked in company became condemned (Brown 1999, 281); DeLaine (2003) referred also to the privatisation of nakedness in the late antiquity in her analysis of the late Ostian baths.

[20] Fagan 1999, 25.

sity of local customs around the Roman world, and some later parallels of public bathing unclothed for instance in Finland, rejecting the possibility of full nakedness would be far too simplistic an interpretation.[22] One possible interpretation is that bathing fully unclothed was the common practice in smaller and more private baths, whereas some kinds of loincloths were used more frequently in the great public baths. Even then, however, the most plausible suggestion would probably be that the degree of nakedness was controlled more by occasional personal and societal choices than by a strict cultural code. The earlier much stricter considerations as to proper and improper behaviour had definitely faded away, as public baths and even baths for mixed sexes became such a commonplace that they had to be prohibited by successive imperial orders.[23] In this sense the apparently conservative Ciceronian moral code regarding proper and improper behaviour has to be taken with some caution. In addition to period and locality, the degree of clothing was also likely to depend on personal choices and preferences. However, regardless of the precise state of affairs, the lack of unequivocal sources and the present uncertainty as to the actual meaning of *nuditas* while bathing does actually indicate something in itself. The meaning of nudity was understood instantaneously by Roman readers; this effectively points to its commonplace character.

Even if the principle of nudity was accepted as a norm in certain everyday situations, this does not imply that the same rules applied in all contexts – including maritime labour – or to all depictions of such nakedness. The resonance of seeing an image of a naked body is distinctly different from oneself being unclad in public. Outside the confines of loci where nudity was accepted, the state of being unclothed was effectively reserved to the divine and mythological spheres. Exercising nude athletes are portrayed in a number of Roman mosaics and wall paintings originating from different locations around the Empire.[24] Bathers, on the other hand, were seldom depicted at all, and even then

[21] Fagan 1999, 25; E.g. Cicero refers in Cic. Cael. 26 that persons in toga should not be allowed to enter.

[22] See also Berg 2004, 151–52.

[23] Cic. off. 1.35; Gell 10.3; Plin. nat. 33.12.54; e.g. Hist. Aug. M. Aur. 23;

[24] E.g. Fantar 1994; Yegül 1992, fig. 177, 194.Yegül, F. (1992).

were primarily nude in the sense of being only partially clothed.[25] While an image is a reflection of a bather or an athlete, it is hardly direct proof that all Romans bathed and exercised either naked or clothed. Obviously, most images cannot be interpreted as of purely documentary value. Similarly, as an image of an athlete becomes a representation of various ideals, a depiction of a nude seaman becomes an abstraction even though at the same time it retains something of the basic representational meaning of an unclothed seaman.

The distinction between the naked and the nude is a key to understanding depictions of seamen. The curious fact is that no literary references to the nakedness of seamen seem to occur. If the phenomenon was as ordinary as has been suggested, the non-occurrence of literary phrases – such as "naked like a seaman" – seems strange, even considering the fact that the amount of extant texts from antiquity is very low. Did the depictions of naked seamen refer to a typical lack of clothing, did the nudity in depictions of seamen refer to something else, or was an unclothed seaman at same time both naked and nude? The difficulty of interpreting the context of ancient nakedness is evident. The question of the connotations of a naked body, and the nature of figures depicted unclothed, remains problematic.

The male body

As the historian Robin Osborne points out, the ancient male nude has been interpreted in the modern post-Winckelmannian discussion mostly through its musculature and structure, unlike the female body, which seems to bear an inherent label of sexuality.[26] In spite of this still prevailing general divide, recent scholarship on the classical nude has revealed a considerably more diverse picture of the different meanings of a naked body. Just as the unequivocal sexuality of the female nude does not stand up to close scrutiny even if it was a relatively common

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[25] E.g. on the partial nudity Le musée des Docks romains, Marseille. A polychrome mosaic of a female bather, 3rd century AD; Yegül 1992, fig. 139a and b from the Casa del Menandro (Pompeii).

[26] Osborne 1997, 504.

assumption also in antiquity,[27] the asexuality of the male nude was also in practice rather conditional.[28]

A free Roman male citizen was basically expected to be above open sexual appraisal. In this sense the male body was publicly untouchable; it retained its *pudicitia*, the physical integrity attributed to a Roman man.[29] It appears that nakedness as such was not necessarily an adequate condition for *stuprum*, an assault on the sanctity of the body, but became such if it was coupled with the material objectification of the body through some complementary action. An example of a disgraceful loss of bodily integrity is an episode where Cicero accused one Gabirius of dancing naked.[30] *Pudicitia* was also disrupted if a person lost independent control of his body and himself. In this sense, an act of physical chastisement imposed by another individual was also a violation, a *stuprum,* just as unthinkable as desecration by means of inappropriate behaviour. The importance of the physical and societal sanctity, *libertas*, of a Roman citizen was confirmed by a series of laws, beginning with the *Leges Valeriae* of 508 BC.[31] The later Sempronian Law *De capite civium* refers directly to the condition, *caput,* of a citizen, which could not be affected without a trial and a vote.[32]

As is evident, nudity was not the only way to violate the body of a free man. Nudity, however, was a highly visible violation, often

[27] Sebesta 1997, 532.

[28] Cicero discusses the contemporary obscenity of the word penis in his letter to Paetus and states that the present obscenity is only a later connotation while the term itself is pure (Cic. fam. 9.22); In the Greek novel Haynes (2003, 90) distinguishes a category of a love hero, more free to have sexual experiences than women while same time maintaining the permanent his relationship, which did probably affect also the Roman perception of well-known mythical characters such as Jason in the Argonautika well known and referred also by Roman authors.

[29] Dupont & Éloi 2001, 20, 338. It is necessary to emphasise that the free Roman man discussed in the texts is always a Roman citizen.

[30] Cic. Pis. 10.22; Dupont & Éloi 2001, 20, 338.

[31] Cic. rep. 2.31; Dion Hal. ant. 5.19.70.

[32] Cic. Rab. Post. 4; Cic. Catil. 4.5; Dig. 48.19. deportation to an island and condemnation to servitude are mentioned as capital punishments; Beating and stripping off the plebeians described by Livy was a major violation of the code (Liv. 3.11.8).

even self-imposed due to the foul manners of an individual; examples are the dancing of Gabirius or the deviant sexual acts attributed to the emperor Tiberius as described in detail by Suetonius.[33] Suetonius accuses Tiberius of a range of indecent sexual acts, including ones exercised in a swimming pool. Florence Dupont and Thierry Éloi argue for the particular viciousness of the swimming-pool episode, since swimming was an important part of the education of young Romans.[34] From this point of view, the nudity, the swimming pool and the unbecoming sexuality constitute a bodily offence against the whole of *romanitas*, the Roman way of life, rather than being a mere act of indecency.

Even if an assault on a free man indeed was forbidden, not all men in Rome were Romans in the strict sense of the word. Foreigners and freed slaves might be considered only conditionally as free Romans, and a notable proportion of the population were actual slaves.[35] Regardless of the huge differences in status among individual Roman slaves, basically a slave was never exempt from physical assault in the same way as a citizen.[36] Slaves were objectified in the sense that their body was not their own property;[37] this made physical chastisement and bodily treatment considerably different from that of free men essentially permissible.

As the physical integrity of a slave was not restricted like that of a free man, a slave could also assume many roles a free man never could. If a Roman citizen during the republican period could not imagine exercis-

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[33] Cic. Pis. 29.70; Suet. Tib. 45.

[34] Suet. Aug. 64.5; Dupont & Éloi 2001, 304–306.

[35] Whether a foreign male was first and foremost inferior or other comparing with a Roman male as Haynes (2003, 140) notes for Xenophon is an interesting question. In the Roman literature the categories of inferiority and otherness seem to intertwine considerably.

[36] Thébert 2000, 148; This distinction is important to understand the Roman bodily context and not to generalise the instrumentation of bodies to the whole society as done by Bottomley (1979, 158) with considerably negative tone. I would suggest the overall desirability of aggressive behaviour did on the contrary decrease during the Roman times through the distinction of allowable bodily categories for the Romans and the others. While the Romans enjoyed aggressive entertainment, they were expected to act less aggressively themselves (see Haynes 2003, 96).

[37] Dupont & Éloi 2001, 26.

ing completely naked, a slave did not have to follow the same rules.[38] Probably the most striking example of this were the *pueri delicati*, naked slave boys, sometimes used at parties to entertain guests by their presence. The boys were specially decorated with make-up and constructed as physically both delicate and delectable in idealised, super-human standards. A *puer delicatus* was the anti-thesis of both the free Roman and the typically asexual child.[39] The example shows clearly how a slave could be made a non-human being, to whom the general standards of *romanitas* no longer applied.

The distinction between a man and his antithesis in terms of physical integrity was not a total one. In Roman society there were a number of marginal groups, whose members were free men but were nevertheless not in total control of their own physical integrity. The military was probably the most visible example of a context where a free man gave up some of his authority over his own body. Corporeal punishment was part of the common military discipline in the Roman army; it included a number of very harsh direct and indirect penalties.[40] Bodily punishments were equally common in the Roman navies, and it is certain that discipline on the merchant vessels incorporated many of the same practices,[41] although everyday methods of enforcing discipline probably depended considerably on the individual officer.

According to the evidence, it seems improbable that the nakedness of sailors in the imagery was a direct indication of a lower level of individual bodily authority. From the social point of view, punishment for a crime or misdemeanour was a deliberate assault on one's bodily integrity, yet hardly something that necessarily affected the status of the person punished on a permanent basis. Since adaptation to discipline was an integral part of life within the group, nakedness can hardly be

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[38] Also their limits of having sexual relationships and performing indecent sexual acts depended rather more on the interests of the owner than on the categories of apt behaviour for a citizen as is reflected in the examples from the Greek and Roman literature. (Haynes 2003, 126–27, 152–53).

[39] Dupont & Éloi 2001, 242.

[40] On the punishments in the republican military see Pol.6.36–39.

[41] Petron. 105; Suet. Tib. 51; Lukian. Iup. Trag. 48; Casson 1995, 176 note 40; Rauh 2003, 160–61.

thought of as a societal indication of a diminishing of the seaman's dignity.

The male body approached the non-human only after direct and exceptional acts of violation, such as dancing or the decoration of a *puer delicatus*. A nude body could be at the same time a neutral, almost value-free object in a number of settings in everyday life, but it still played a role at the liminality between the appropriate and the inappropriate if objectified or laden with unnatural sexuality or a lack of proper self-discipline, or if encountered in improper contexts or with inappropriate purposes.

Images of naked men

The diversity of nudities is well reflected in the classical imagery of the unclothed. In the pictorial sources, naked men are portrayed in a diversity of roles: from divine heroes to ordinary seamen. As already suggested, *nuditas* was a certain kind of norm in Roman culture, though less prevalent than it evidently was in the Hellenic societies.[42] In terms of broad cultural currents, instead of focussing on an idealistic body, in everyday life the Roman apprehension of a man was more focused on clothing as one of its most important characteristics. Clothing was first and foremost a highly important indicator of a person's social status. It was not only the presence or absence of a toga; a person's place in society was indicated by the overall type of clothing, footwear and hairstyle.[43] In this sense, nakedness could effectively remove a person's visible status and make it difficult to distinguish a man of standing from one of lower status.

While the naturalising tradition has challenged the view that the exposure of male flesh in antiquity was primarily an act of heroisation,[44] the heroic portraiture of an idealised male was a highly important category of male nudity in Roman culture.[45] A desire for comparison with athletic and divine ideals made even the imperial circle portray them-

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[42] Osborne 1997, 505–506; Heskel 2001, 139.
[43] Bonfante 2001, 5–6; George 2002; Stone 2001.
[44] Osborne 1997, 505.

selves naked in heroic and athletic poses,[46] thus in a style that followed the style of famous Greek athletes, gods and heroes.[47] Despite the everyday appreciation of clothing, comparison with a heroic figure raised the individual to the world of the superhuman. The tradition of portraying idealised figures as physically ideal representations served the appreciation of physical capability, as well as underlining their difference from the ordinary people. The intentional portrayal of a transcendent unclothed body became a reference to a perfect exemplar rather than a depiction of the person in a state of inappropriate nudity. It is probable that the naked images of dignitaries may have been directed more to satisfy the Greek taste in portrayal instead of that adhering to the old Roman virtues, but it is unlikely that the message was not also comprehensible to non-Hellenes. It is plausible to assume that the nudity of the sailors suggested something of the admirable qualities of an able seaman.[48]

The aspect of differentiating between various kinds of men was even more explicit in the portrayal of barbarians, i.e. savage non-Roman characters, than in the portrayal of different social groups within the Empire. If the Greeks distinguished barbarians from Hellenes by emphasising the latter's civilised nudity,[49] the Romans saw nakedness as a primarily non-civilised trait. The heroic tradition undoubtedly also affected the depiction of barbarian figures such as the famous 'Dying Gaul',[50] but was apparently mixed with an emphasis on portraying the difference between civilised clothed men and uncivilised barbarians,

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[45] Thinking of the number of heroic poses of statues depicting male nudes e.g. Knittlmayer and Heilmeyer 1998, objects 103 (Meleager), 122 (Hypnos).

[46] E.g. Statue of Trajan (Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla, Spain); Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina (c. 161 AD), Musei Vaticani (Vatican City).

[47] Very unlike the Jewish tradition where male nakedness, i.e. exposure of the penis, was an explicit offence against God (Satlow 1997, 431, 434–35); Haynes (2003, 83) notes that in the Greek novel the aspect of attractive appearance and high social status was important were tightly connected also with the category of female heroines.

[48] Ref. in literature on the admiration of the physical skills of a seaman e.g. Lukian. nav. 4. With some criticism a parallel from the 18th century is likely to conform to the ancient mariners (Rediker 1987, 83).

[49] Bonfante 1989, 562.

[50] In Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy.

and with the connotations of simplicity, innocence and in a sense the
Arcadian character of barbaric society in the eyes of the Romans.[51]
Some archaic, originally more or less Roman kinds of nakedness, which
were nevertheless now perceived as barbarian, were also preserved in
Rome in certain religious rituals, such as the Lupercalia.[52] It is, however,
possible that during the late Republic and the Principate these tradi-
tions were more or less intertwined with Greek ideologies of nudity.

Despite the possible indication of uncivilised innocence among the
barbarians, the connotation of innocence par excellence in nudity is
most apparent in depictions of children and of mythical characters,
such as the erotes and *putti* portrayed as small boys. The latter, the
small boy figures that appear repeatedly in different roles in paradisiac
scenes, became especially popular from the second century onwards
and remained so well into the Christian art of late antiquity.[53] It is note-
worthy that many of the depictions of naked seamen do indeed resemble
rather closely the conventions of portraying *putti*. I would assume, how-
ever, that the resemblance is hardly an indication of the innocence of
seamen, but rather of the flexible adaptation of visual schemes for differ-
ent representational purposes. In the genre of funerary relief, the *putto*
was an archetypal character that acted in diverse secondary roles.[54]

In the context of children, the possible use of nakedness for the dis-
tinction of sex becomes an issue. Taking the Greek custom as a paral-
lel, it is possible to speculate that from time to time craftsmen lacked
any other means for distinguishing whether a character was a boy or a
girl. With regard to this intentionally neutral indicative nakedness, the
Greek, distinctly non-Roman origins of this fashion have to be empha-
sised. The sexes were distinguished by the fact that a boy could be
portrayed naked while a girl could not be depicted without clothes.[55]

[51] Tac. Germ. 20.1; 24.

[52] Liv. 1.5.2.

[53] Putti, small winged boys became an indispensable element of a multitude of
scenes from purely decorative ones to ones with more explicit messages of
religious, narrative or political nature. E.g. the 3rd–4th century AD sarcopha-
gus in San Quattro Coronati (Rome), sarcophagus of Helena (Constantia?)
in the Vatican Museums, sarcophagus at the Fontana del Colosseo (Rome);
see also Rossi 2002, 88 cmp. Bottomley 1979, 158.

[54] See Rumpf (1939) for Roman sarcophagi with maritime motifs.

However, the general notion regarding nudity in Roman depictions also applies to children. A circumspect observation of the representations seems to indicate that the imagery which more closely reflects Roman ideologies portrays children mostly clothed, while nude child figures are more closely related to the Greek tradition and mythological representation.[56] The use of nakedness for purely indicative reasons in the Roman imagery of seamen, however, seems unlikely. In the Roman visual arts there are neither direct parallels nor pressing technical reasons for such a practice.[57]

Apart from heroisation and aesthetic value, and the difference in level of civilisation and degree of innocence, one obvious further reason for being naked or poorly clothed was a difference in social status.[58] In Roman society, where clothing was an essential means of emphasising social and political differences, poor clothing or a lack of it was logically destined to indicate poverty and low social status. Owners of hardworking slaves were obviously not interested in investing in the slaves' clothing more than necessary. A passage by Cato the Elder on the clothing of agricultural slaves illustrates this condition rather well, although it probably indicates a practice slightly above the average.[59] Poor or destitute free labourers, such as the majority of the seamen are likely to have been, could on the other hand hardly afford sumptuous clothing even if they were free to buy it. Considering the practical side of their work, labourers and slaves in the Mediterranean climate were likely to wear a rather minimal amount of clothing to endure the heat,[60] in a manner

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[55] Harrison (see Peirce 1994); Depictions of slightly older clothed female putti are known e.g. from the 4th style mural painting in the triclinium of the Casa dei Vettii (Pompeii).

[56] Comparing the representations in e.g. the nude Spinario (Boy with Thorn, Musei Capitolini, Rome) and the imagery in the Ara Pacis Augustae (Rome).

[57] Osborne suggests a gender indicative for nakedness in that in the early Greek imagery (Osborne 1997, 508).

[58] Bonfante 1989, 544.

[59] Cat. agr. 59.

[60] E.g. Casson 1995, fig. 174 even though this particular image belongs to the same style of depiction as many of the naked seaman -images; Satlow refers to Jewish sources indicating of possibility to work naked (Satlow 1997, 436).

rather similar to ploughing *nudus* – which was quite allowable for a free Roman. In a number of cases, excessive clothing could also have hindered the actual execution of the work.

Considering the contexts of relative poverty and an aquatic environment, there was another group besides seamen that was regularly portrayed unclothed: that of fishermen. Some literary evidence concerning fishermen may be derived from the works of Plautus, the playwright known for his colourful gallery of characters. Although his attitude towards fishermen was, as noted by the classicist Eugène de Saint-Denis, perhaps somewhat more empathic in comparison to other marginal groups, Plautus hardly romanticised their life. Fishermen were according to him a bunch of poor fellows earning their living only through toil and tears.[61] Even if Plautus may have described their life as worse than it was, the idealised portrayals in the Augustan and later Nilotic and paradisiac wall paintings and mosaics hardly present a more realistic picture.[62] The fisherman of a paradisiac scene clearly incorporates qualities of an athlete and a hero.[63] The impression becomes clear in the strained postures and nearly warlike bodily expression of the conqueror of the aquatic wilderness.

The actual clothing of fishermen is comparable to that of seamen. Plautus's fisherman says that "from our clothes you see how wealthy we are". The passage undoubtedly suggests that the fishermen sometimes wore some clothes rather than being completely naked all the time, but it hardly gives a hint as to the manner in which they were dressed while working. In the mosaics[64] and statues[65] where fishermen are wearing garments, the clothing mostly consists of a loincloth. Considering the

[61] Plaut. rud. 290–300.
[62] E.g. The nile mosaic of Palestrina, Museo archeologico Prenestino, Palestrina, Italy. Nilotic scenes are discussed in further detail Versluys, M. J.: Aegyptiaca Romana. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 144. Brill. Leiden 2002.
[63] E.g. György 1988, 106 fig. 100; Fantar 1994, 94, 152, 247; Donati & Pasini 1997, 14, 136.
[64] The nile mosaic of Palestrina (Casson 1994, fig. 69); Casson 1994, colour plate X; Fantar 1994, 122; Knittlmayer & Heilmeyer 1998, 108.
[65] Statue of a fisherman. Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome; Knittlmayer and Heilmeyer, object 117.

practicalities, it is quite likely to have been an ordinary garment for a fisherman in summertime. The outfit could have been supplemented in colder periods with a cloak and tunic, garments that are mentioned in the advice given by Cato on the clothing of farm slaves.[66]

To complete the survey of different meanings attached to nakedness, apart from images of art and everyday life, some evidence on the categories of different roles of naked characters may be found in literature. *Nuditas* was often used in the sense of vulnerability,[67] and in the meaning of making an enemy socially or physically defenceless as well as dishonouring him by making him strip off his clothes. Cicero used nudity to diminish the dignity and worthiness of Marc Anthony,[68] and describes how Verres disgraced a man by stripping him in the middle of the forum and readying the rods for corporal punishment.[69] Caesar emphasised the poor condition of Teutomarus, the barbarian king of the Nitiobriges, by stating that the upper part of his body was naked.[70] Likewise Livy uses nakedness as one type of shameful position.[71] Being physically nude at the same time stripped a person of his social and mental worth.

Physical nudity was also used to refer to the nonexistence of belongings in a more literal manner. Cicero argues that Sicily was stripped naked during the infamous governorship of Verres,[72] meaning that it was robbed bare. Cicero also emphasises his accusations through clever comparisons between the nude province and the nudity of the statue of Verres himself and of his son erected in the forum of Syracuse,[73] where the inappropriateness of robbing is accentuated by the disgrace of the public nudity of a Roman man in a quite exceptional context of nakedness.

[66] Cat. agr. 59.
[67] Cic. Sest. 24; Tac. ann. 14.59; Vulg. II Cor. 11.1.27.
[68] Cic. Phil. 3.12; 13.31.
[69] Cic. Verr. 5.161.
[70] Caes. Gall. 7.46.5.
[71] Liv. 9.8.9.
[72] nudata provincia Cic. Ver. 4.142; 2.154.
[73] Cic. Ver. 2.154.

Naked and clad seamen

As has become obvious, being naked in public life as understood in the proper Roman sense was hardly likely among any group in the Roman world. Nudity and especially nakedness, even partial, had in principle to be enclosed within strictly defined contexts, such as the baths or the *palaestra*. Even considering cultural variations, and the evident fact that the strict rules of *romanitas* concerned at most only a fraction of the population, public nakedness could hardly become a commonplace. The inhabitants of the Roman Empire who still had to struggle for citizenship were likely to be sensitised to the codes of conduct to an even greater degree; thus it makes sense to assume that clothedness rather than nakedness would have been the prevailing fashion despite some evident relaxation. Considering the general societal rules about being clothed and naked, the motives for depicting seamen naked are thus likely to have more in common with the representations and cultural meanings of portraying nudity, rather than those of being nude. In this sense I suggest that the nudity of seamen in the images probably reflected the Roman ideology of portraying the qualities of a person or an archetypal character through nudity, rather than actually presenting a known person as uncovered.

Literature tells only sparsely of seamen and their clothing. Lucian mentions that oarsmen might wear a short tunic while rowing.[74] Dio Chrysostom writes that someone is probably a seaman if he is wearing only a tunic and nothing else.[75] As most ordinary seamen definitely belonged to the *peregrini*, the wandering poor foreigners in the society,[76] their clothing was a sign of status, but not necessarily exclusively so. The pictorial evidence that portrays seamen and officers clothed typically shows figures wearing a tunic, sometimes a cloak or a military uniform

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[74] Lukian. Dial. het. 14.2. also mentioned by Casson 1995, 466 note 321.

[75] Dio Chrystom Orat. 72.1.

[76] Romans did frequently comment the suspiciousness of foreigners, and their tendency to bring instability with them (Whittaker 2000, 307). It would be quite logical that many of this maritime mob, as Rauh calls it, were seamen (Rauh 2003, 162–68), even if some of the parallels to the 18th century seafaring suggested by Rauh are rather daring.

if the vessel is a warship or a military transport.[77] Figures that seem by their posture and position to be officers do tend to have more complex clothing, comprising for instance one or two tunics and a cloak. Ordinary seamen, as already mentioned, are portrayed naked or as wearing light clothes such as a tunic or a loincloth.[78]

Direct archaeological evidence on maritime clothing is scarce. A number of shoes, sandals and pieces of leather and cloth have been found from the various investigated shipwrecks of the Roman era.[79] These finds are likely to include the clothing of average seamen rather than merely that of officers, although – as the archaeologist Carlo Beltrame observes – it is impossible to know what part of the excavated remains of clothing actually did belong to the crew or officers, what was part of the cargo, and what represents the possessions of potential passengers. Furthermore if the complete nakedness of ordinary seamen is not accepted as a rule, in all probability some of the preserved artefacts would have belonged to the crew as well.[80] Taking into account the preservation of materials and the probable differences in the locations of artefacts in archaeological contexts, the original ownership of any given find would be rather unlikely to have a major effect on the relative probability that an object will survive. In any case, regardless of any reasoning, speculation as to the ownership of any individual artefact cannot be definitely validated.

Apart from the direct archaeological and literary evidence, some conclusions as to the seamen's clothing may be drawn by considering the practicalities of seafaring life. As Beltrame notes, the seamen's light clothing is not surprising; the sailing season, from early spring to late autumn, is warm in all parts of the Mediterranean.[81] The need for heavy clothing was reduced not only by the relatively high temperatures but also by the favourable winds and the tendency to sail downwind.[82] Espe-

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[77] Casson 1995, figs. 131, 132, 142, 144, 150, 151, 177, 181; Casson 1994, figs. 72, 97, 98, 100; Fantar 1994, 71; Pompeii (VI.15.1 Casa dei Vettii, cubiculum d Theseus leaves Ariadne).

[78] Casson 1995, 154, 155, probably 178, 191 (in colour see Beltrame 2002, 40 fig. 56).

[79] Il museo delle navi – reperti / La vita di bordo, s.a.; Beltrame 2002, 86.

[80] The Digest indicates of a rather heavy regulation on the luggage carried by the passengers (Dig. 4.9.1.6; 4.9.4.2 see Beltrame 2002, 86).

cially rowers were unlikely to suffer from cold during the summer; it is equally improbable, however, that the other crew members would have needed more than rather light garments under ordinary circumstances. The opposite side of the coin was that occasionally some clothing was apparently convenient for the crew on deck to provide some protection from the sun. One suggestive indication of the ancients' probable choice of clothing, and especially of the non-necessity of warm garments, is offered by the light clothing worn by the crew during the sea trials of the *Olympias*, the modern reconstructed trireme.[83]

At the beginning and end of the sailing season, and especially during the winter, the weather was rather different from the warm summer.[84] Those who had to sail all year around definitely needed warmer clothes, not to mention those who sailed the colder seas from the Atlantic to the English Channel and the North Sea. In the Mediterranean, wintertime clothing did not need to have been overly complicated. A suitable set of clothing would probably consist of not much more than a warmer tunic, a pair of shoes, a close-fitting cap, and a cloak for the nighttime. In the north, on the other hand, every available piece of clothing was undoubtedly needed.

From a practical point of view, it was not only weather conditions that affected the seamen's choice of clothing. The work aboard also put a strain on garments. Simple, sturdy pieces of cloth were more likely to endure the sun, salt water, wind and wear. For the same reason the Celtic tribe Veneti were said to have had their sails made of leather instead of canvas.[85] Beyond durability, the seamen's agility – both essential and admired – seamen meant that the clothing should be such as to hinder movement aboard as little as possible. From this point of view, the *subligar*, a loincloth, or a simple sturdy tunic, as indicated in the passages from Lucian and Dio Chrysostom, was simply a practical

[81] Beltrame 2002, 86; On the seasonal temperature variations in Eastern Mediterranean see Fig. 4. In Marullo et al. 1999, 71–73; overall variations in the whole Mediterranean Emeis et al. 2000; Casson 1995, 270–71.

[82] Verg. Aen. 5.26–34; Lukian. nav.

[83] Casson 1994, colour plate VIII and IX.

[84] Sailing conditions in summer and winter seasons see Morton 2001, 255–61.

[85] Caes. Gall. 3.13.

choice rather than a more ambiguous expression of cultural and social standing.

Considering the general Roman ideology concerning nakedness, along with the literary, archaeological and pictorial evidence, we can conjecture that Roman seamen normally wore some clothes. Their clothing was rather simple in appearance, and they probably avoided wearing complex multiple layers of garments. A tunic or a loincloth was likely to be enough. Yet it would be hasty to reject altogether the possibility of occasional nakedness if this was the most practical condition for some tasks, such as swimming, where the obvious result would otherwise be a pile of soaked pieces of cloth. It is also easy to imagine that nakedness was probably not that serious a concern among the crew on the ship, where any kind of privacy was almost nonexistent. They would have been likely to see one another naked due to the pure practicalities of life on board. To speculate further, it is easy to believe that the tendency to sexualise the matter also declined because of the relative absence of women onboard, with the possible exception of passengers on some routes.[86] In a group that stays together onboard for shorter and longer periods, mentally and physically remote from the rest of the world, it seems possible to speculate that – as suggested by evolutionary game theory – the practicality of occasional nakedness could probably rather rapidly rule out the impractical social norm of being clothed.[87] The nakedness of seamen, however, would be restricted to life onboard, where the norms of the wider society were abrogated. Ashore, as indicated by the passage from Dio Chrysostom, the seamen went clothed, albeit lightly, wearing more or less ordinary garments like any other fellow-Roman.

[86] Compare with Davies 1991, 92–93; It seems that images and descriptions of ordinary female sailors from the antiquity are at least nearly if not completely extant.

[87] Boyd & Richerson 2001; Boyd & Richerson 2002; On the dynamics of the revision of norms Ullmann-Margalit 1990, 765–66.

Images of naked seamen

How, then, should the images of naked seamen be interpreted? The depictions have been linked with ideas of nakedness, nudity and the male body in Roman culture. Something else that should not be forgotten is that the images also belong to a variety of other contexts; they are the focal points of numerous choices, ambitions, goals, traditions and beliefs other than nudity. The principal meaning of any given image incorporating unclothed seamen is not likely to be in the detail of nakedness.

Most of the depictions of naked seamen analysed in earlier research are from the second and the third centuries AD, but a number of instances have been dated earlier.[88] It is difficult to establish any definite change over time, especially since in the imagery preserved from later centuries, scenes likely to contain working seamen become more frequent. Similarly any spatial variation is difficult to detect. Unsurprisingly, when the origin of an image is known, maritime scenes seem to be more common in sites closer to the sea. An image of a ship probably does sometimes indicate something of the occupation or source of wealth of the client or customer. Its significance and possible relation to the nakedness of seamen is nonetheless quite difficult to define.

The contextual and ownership issues of all the images are not altogether clear. The quality of the different images is somewhat disparate, but none is of a clearly inferior standard and thus of totally insignificant value for the client. Most of them are from funerary and votive contexts,[89] thus being likely to depict activities which were important to the client and possibly incorporating an image of that person himself.[90] It is very probable that maritime trade was their principal source of wealth and status. Reflecting a sense of pride in achievement, maritime scenes

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[88] Naked seamen e.g. in Casson 1995, figs. 144, 146–47, 149, 151; Casson 1994, colour plate XI.

[89] According to the letters VL (V)otum (L)ibero or Votum Libens ((S)olvit) on the sails of the ship depicted in the Torlonia relief (fig. 1.), the relief is probably a votive offering. Figures 2 (on a sarcophagus), 4 and 6 (funerary reliefs) are known to be from funerary contexts.

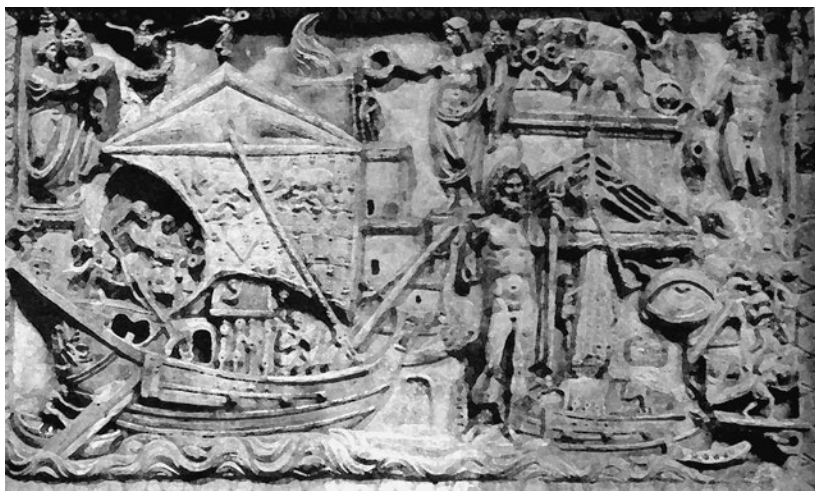[90] E.g. in fig. 2 the clothed figure on the top left corner.

Fig. 1. The Torlonia relief. A large cargo ship passing the lighthouse at the entrance to the harbour of Portus. Original relief found from Portus, at present in the Torlonia museum, Rome. Published in Casson 1995, 112–113 (fig. 84). Illustration: Isto Vatanen.

were proudly portrayed on monuments meant to preserve the memory of the client. In terms of generic probabilities, it would make sense to assume that some of the images do represent the actual nakedness of some seamen. Considering the overall phenomenon of nakedness and especially the context of the depictions, however, I suggest that the bulk of the images can best be interpreted primarily through the necessities and strategies of depiction rather than reading them literally. As the primary function of all votive and funerary images was to emphasise the client, his status and achievements, nakedness would make perfect sense as an expression of social divisions.

In all the western images discussed here, clothing is definitely an indicator of status.[91] The Torlonia relief (Fig. 1) depicts a huge number of different characters of considerably different status. Gods, such as Neptune, are depicted on a larger scale than any human figures; the persons of importance shown in the aft part of the ship are larger than

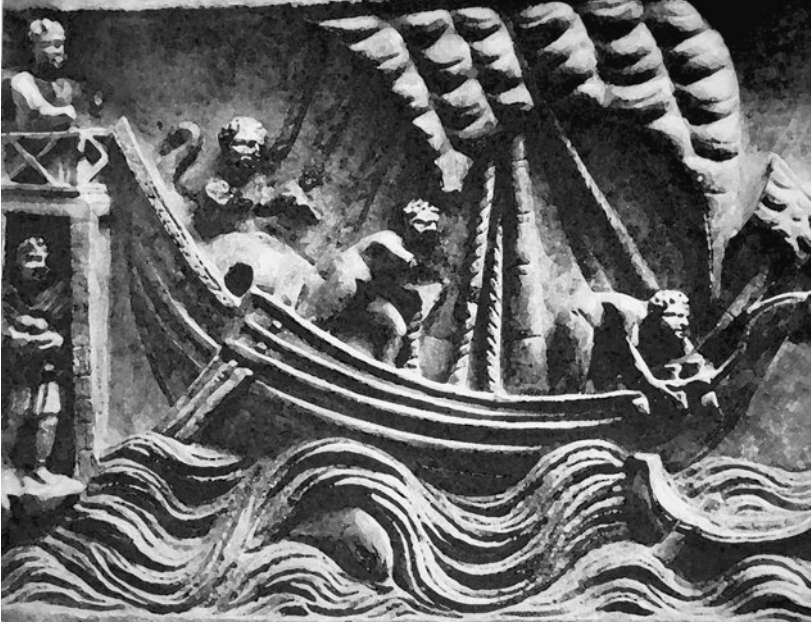[91] Veyne 1999, 225–26; Brown 1999, 253.

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Fig. 2. Ship at the entrance of a harbour. 3rd century AD. Detail of a relief on a sarcophagus, probably from Ostia. Original in Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen. Published in Casson 1995, 134–35 (fig. 99). Illustration: Isto Vatanen.

the ordinary seamen in the same location, who are almost comparable in size to the small figures[92] at the top of the mast and in the stern. Not only size but also clothing is an important factor in indicating social differentiation. The stevedore is distinguished from the seamen by his tunic, while the master and the officers in the aft may be identified as such by their more complex clothing, not worn by low-wage workers or slaves. Underlining evident social differences through clothing is equally distinguishable in another third-century harbour scene, where two stevedores are depicted naked to mark them off from the clothed merchant.[93]

A rather special case of differentiation through nakedness appears

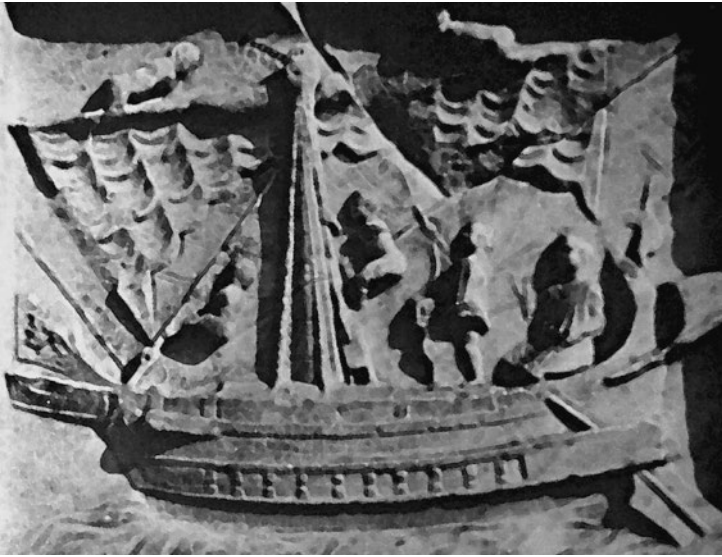[92] Possibly depictions of genii or small statues.

Fig. 3. Stevedores unloading a cargo. 3rd century AD. Original relief in the Torlonia Museum, Rome. Published in Casson 1995, 103 (fig. 76). Illustration: Isto Vatanen.
Fig. 4. A sailing vessel. Middle of the first century AD. Original relief on the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche, Pompeii. Published in Casson 1995, 114 (fig. 85). Illustration: Isto Vatanen.

in a third century AD sarcophagus relief (Fig. 2), depicting ships at the entrance to a harbour and two male figures in a lighthouse looking toward the vessels. In most depictions, the naked seamen are depicted aboard a ship together with a clothed character. On the sarcophagus there are no clothed persons aboard; the only clothed persons are standing at the extreme left of the relief, ashore in what is most likely to be a lighthouse. In images where both clothed and unclothed figures are shown aboard, the difference is constructed between the ship's master or *gubernator* and the rest of the crew; in this sarcophagus, on the other hand, the merchant owning the ship (possibly the person commissioning the relief) seems not to consider anyone aboard his equal.

It can be said that the seamen in the depictions usually seem to represent simply a seaman; they are not an abstraction or artistic convention used to portray a divine virtue, a societal phenomenon or a force of nature. The themes mainly depicted in images incorporating seamen seem to be the approach to a port (Fig. 1), harbour scenes (Fig. 3) and the voyage itself (Fig. 4) Harbour scenes most often seem to focus on the portrayal of a ship unloading, the moment when profits are realised. Although many depictions do bear a physical resemblance to a number of contemporary representations of *putti,* athletes, soldiers and other figures, I would only rather hesitantly interpret any figures depicted as seamen as *putti* or other characters at a deeper level of interpretation if there are no explicit references to any complementary interpretations.[94] The influence of contemporary and antecedent visual language is naturally obvious, but there is nevertheless no reason to assume that most of the naked seamen in the maritime imagery of the first centuries of the Principate represent anything else than themselves.

Among the relatively uniform series of images, the tombstone portraying two male figures – one clothed and one naked – in a smallish boat (Fig. 6) is somewhat different. Unlike the other reliefs, where the

[93] Or possible a scribe (fig. 3); According to Deut. 17.15 it was forbidden for a social superiors to appear naked in front of their inferiors (Satlow 1997, 438).

[94] E.g. the church–ship comparison introduced by Tertullian (De bapt. 8.) which became increasingly popular by the end of the 2nd century (Gambassi 2000).

naked figures are concentrating on various tasks, the two figures are standing straight, the clothed one holding the hand of the unclothed, indicating little of their respective duties. If the relief is interpreted according to the other images discussed, the clothed person would be a trader, *gubernator* or shipowner while the naked figure would be an ordinary seaman. The quite distinct posture, the relative simplicity of the portrayal and the fact that the relief was found at nearby Piraeus in Greece lead us to consider alternative readings. If we take into account the classical Greek custom of portraying young boys naked and the fact that the unclothed figure is smaller than the clothed one while the clothed one is holding the hand of the unclothed, the suggestion arises that the two males are a father, guardian or tutor and a boy, possibly the son of the other. Besides the state of clothing, an item in the hand of the clothed figure, probably a stick rather than a rope, underlines the sense of hierarchy. The two figures might be sponge divers, fishermen, possibly even small-scale traders or travellers. Although the interpretation remains somewhat vague, it is fairly obvious that this image is too different from the other examples to be interpreted along the same lines merely because of the presence of seemingly similar individual elements.

The single most significant feature shared by all the images depicting unclothed sailors (Figs. 1–4, previous notes) in the whole corpus seems to be the overall similarity of presentation. In reliefs of relatively low detail the craftsman has had to express himself clearly through easily accessible expressions; since a seaman was necessarily a relatively difficult subject to identify by any particular tool of the trade or other feature of appearance, resorting to the absence of clothing seems to be an obvious means of creating a difference among the figures in nautical scenes.[95] What else could be denoted by a naked figure onboard ship, with no divine attributes, other than a seaman, especially since the general conception of seamen acquired from literature suggested light or inexistent clothing? The image of qualified nakedness is strengthened

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[95] The same notion applies also to the similar contemporary and slightly later depictions of biblical motifs e.g. numerous sarcophagi in the Musei Vaticani (Museo Pio ex Lateranense); Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus Good Shepherd, Jonah & Whale, Noah (IVc), a ceiling painting.

Fig. 5. Detail of Fig. 1.

Fig. 6. A sailing craft. Second century AD. Relief on a tombstone found near Piraeus, Greece. Original relief in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Published in Casson 1995, 118 (fig. 90). Illustration: Isto Vatanen.

by the corpus of images depicting seamen wearing a loincloth or tunic, where the status and position of figures is obvious notwithstanding the indicative value of clothing.[96]

Conclusion

The difference created by depicting ordinary seamen naked is a much more complex phenomenon than the bare question of whether seamen usually went about naked or not. While aboard ship, a seaman could

well be unclothed if it served some purpose. It was probably not a rule, but nor was it a marginal exception. Taking into account the general Roman relationship with public and private nakedness, the trait of being unclothed in and out of the ordinary contexts of everyday life makes the custom notable enough to become a principal quality of the group in the eyes of others. In many ways seamen definitely were unlike ordinary folk, and the difference was a aspect likely to be emphasised both by sailors themselves and by landlubbers. The differences between men of the sea and people ashore were of momentous value for both groups. It is easy to see that in this line of reasoning the practicalities of seaborne life and the actual prevalence of going naked had very little effect on the establishment of a cultural impression of a distinct group.

The naked ordinary seaman of Roman antiquity was partly a real figure and partly an imaginary one, which was naked but not nude. The unclothed sailor was hardly a sexual being, except for occasional or episodic admiration of his athletic character. He was a heroic figure for passengers onboard, but barbaric and unpolished when coming and going about the harbours. The seaman was subordinate to the owner and master of the ship and an alien figure for most landlubbers. He was utterly different from his fellow-Romans, from modern seafarers and from us, but not in the manner that has been suggested by the most visible characteristics of the images. Nakedness in a depiction was not an indication of a single trait, but an articulation of the whole world of differences between the people of the sea and of the land.

[96] A relief from the cathedral of Salerno (Casson 1994, fig. 94) is an example where the gubernator is easily distinguished by his activity and position from the stevedores or probably seamen despite the fact that the both are clothed. Similar examples Casson 1994, fig. 96; Casson 1991, fig 52.

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INDECENT ROARING:
Reading irreverence and confusion in
Jewish worship in Early Modern England

Eva Johanna Holmberg

In 1663 the reverend Samuel Pepys happened to visit the newly opened Synagogue at Creechurch Lane in London. He went there because he wanted to familiarize himself with the Jewish faith and rituals. Unfortunately that day was particularly joyful for the congregation, celebrating the so-called Simchat Torah holiday.[1] Pepys wrote of his experience:

> After dinner my wife and I, by Mr. Rawlinson's conduct, to the Jewish Synagogue: where the men and boys in their vayles, and the women behind a lattice out of sight; and some things stand up, which I believe is their Law, in a press to which all coming in do bow; and at the putting on their vayles do say something, to which others that hear him do cry Amen, and the party do kiss his vayle. Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws that they take out of the press are carried by several men, four or five several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another; and whether it is that every one desires to

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[1] Simchat Torah (Hebrew for "rejoicing of the Law") is a holiday celebrating the completion of the reading of the Torah. It is a joyous festival that includes singing and dancing. The Torah scrolls are danced around the synagogue seven times during the celebration.

have the carrying of it, I cannot tell, thus they carried it round about the room while such a service is singing. And in the end they had a prayer for the King, which they pronounced his name in Portugall; but the prayer, like the rest in Hebrew. But Lord! To see the disorder, laughing, sporting and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than knowing the true god, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more: and indeed I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this.[2]

Samuel Pepys made his preoccupation explicitly known; he could not see any reverence, order or piety towards God in all this singing and carrying the Torah scrolls around the Temple. The Jewish religious ceremony had affected him greatly, for as he continued, he left the Synagogue "with my mind strongly disturbed by them".[3] The Jewish worship seemed to be disturbing, due not only to the religious difference but also to the manner in which it was acted out and performed, inappropriately. This preoccupation and similarly its literary construction tell not only a story of Christian attitudes towards Judaism, but also of uneasiness and internal struggles within the Christian and English culture and its boundaries. In fact, many writers expressed their frustration in trying to describe the Jewish religion, its customs and ceremonies. This seems to be an emotion that can be detected even in our contemporary ethnography: a sense of discomfort caused by the experiencing of strange customs.[4]

In this article I examine ways in which the early seventeenth-century English expressed their views about Jewish religious rites. I focus on the testimony offered by certain seventeenth-century travelogues concern-

[2] *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, (1659–1669) 1889, 178–79. The day Pepys visited the Synagogue was 13 October 1663.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod wrote about her experience of the laments of death by Bedouin women: "The woman's black headcloth smelled of cloves and smoke and I could feel her tears through the cloth. My discomfort was absolute. Paralyzed and silent, I waited while she went through her loud and seemingly endless lamenting close to my left ear. Then we stood up, I in embarrassment, and all of us walked to the tent." Abu-Lughod 1993, 187.

ing performative and ritual aspects of Jewish religiosity. In these works I try to locate what the English found to be particularly different, menacing or even laughable in Jewish customs. The English had a rationale embedded in their writings and in their culture, which I attempt to grasp by suggesting possible interpretations of their stories. Toward this end, a possible foundation and material for the explanation must be sought in early modern England and its culture. The experiences and emotions of awe, disgust and insecurity of the English can all be seen as culturally embedded. They constructed the Jews and their experiences of them from culturally available components.[5]

As Lisa Lampert has recently argued, "Christian" was just as constructed a term, category and identity as "Jew". The Jews were not simply "the others" to the Christian tradition, but represented also a source of origin. Neither could be conceived without its counterpart. We have to take into account that being either a Jew or a Christian was not a static state, but rather something that had to be performed and enacted.[6] In the same vein as the earlier literary Jewish-Christian disputations of the Middle Ages, these representations do not offer the Jews or Christians a subjective space but both their identities are forged in relation to each other, as has been shown by Anthony Bale.[7]

Jewish rites seemed to be particularly interesting to English observers, and looking at their experiences of Jewish religious practices makes the active nature of cultural construction more visible. The Jews were one of the many groups that could be used in processing and giving shape to various cultural tensions and problems. Other outsiders as diverse as the ambiguous Turks, the Irish or the Catholics were equally popular in this role. Indeed, they were often likened to each other. In this case the difference of the Jews seemed to be construed to serve English ends and purposes in various situations and negotiations. Experiences and emotions concerning difference were regarded as real and

[5] The history of the senses and of emotions is an expanding field of cultural history, both problematic and interesting. For the cultural constructedness of emotions and the relationship between utterances and experience see Korhonen 2002, 61–64.
[6] Lampert 2004, 14–15.
[7] Bale 2003, 140–41.

truthful, but their representations could at the same time entail strategies and motives. Modern practises of thinking about emotions as expressions of something hidden and individual can, as recently pointed out by Gail Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd Wilson, "overshadow the Early Modern investment in emotional expression as either a generic marker of social status or the sentient matter of communal bonds".[8] The descriptions of outrageous rituals of the Jews gained meaning from practices of thinking about socially and culturally acceptable behaviour and expressions of feeling.[9]

In travelogues and natural histories, special attention was paid to relating the customs and ways of living of foreign nations and peoples. The English traveller and travel-writer Henry Blount emphasised the need to do so in his *A Voyage Into the Levant* (1636): "the most important parts of all states are foure, Armes, Religion, Justice and Morall Customes". Blount's objective was to discuss everything he saw as honestly and straightforwardly as he could. He believed that the possibility of travelling in the company of strangers was most fruitful for his purposes, for the hardships and sufferings of travel made people more open about their culture.[10] Blount wanted to portray the life of contemporary Jews and to tell true stories about them. This was carried out, however, by situating the Jews in categories, contexts and places that were understandable to the English.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the English did not have access to much firsthand knowledge concerning the Jewish way of life. The Jews had been expelled from England already in 1290, and it was very rare to see Jews on the streets of London. Jews were most likely encountered on the Continent or in the mysterious East; the small community of Portuguese immigrants and refugees was sometimes viewed with suspicion.[11] This situation also affected the representation of Jews, linking them in the English imagination to foreign lands and territories as far away as the Levant.

The knowledge of Jewish Synagogues, prayers and customs was

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[8] Paster, Rowe, Floyd-Wilson 2004, 12–13.

[9] By this I mean both the "unacceptability" of the Jewish worshippers and the "proper" reactions of the witnessing travel-writers. Both of them were culturally conditioned.

[10] Blount, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (1636), sig. A4.

mediated in England mostly by sources other than Jewish. Indeed, the first Early Modern written record of Jewish religiosity by a Jew, Rabbi Leone da Modena's *Historia degli Riti hebraici*, was first translated into vernacular English in 1650.[12] Other literary testimonies, which rarely gave much space to Jewish rituals or way of life, were written by priests or playwrights. English travel writers, on the other hand, seem to have gathered their information from actual encounters with Jews and in fact many of them mention their visits to the Synagogue. The Jewish Ghetto seemed to be as worthy or interesting a place to see as collections of curiosities, famous statues or churches. For example the widely popular travel book of Thomas Coryate,[13] *Coryats Crudities* (1611) listed encounters with Jews together with those of famous courtesans or "Mountebankes". In addition to people, endless lists of epitaphs as well as detailed descriptions of costumes found their way into his book.[14]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, England was portrayed in various contexts as the New Israel, or – more forcefully – as the *Verus Israel*, the true Israel.[15] Now that the original Israel was being replaced by a new and better one, the Jews had to make room for the new chosen nation, its national consciousness and pride.[16] This seems to hint, as James Shapiro has shown, that the Jews played a significant role in definitions of what it meant to be English. The construction of an imagined community of the English can be seen in the background, but the

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[11] The question whether there were Jews among the Portuguese community has been persistently and richly debated in Anglo-Jewish studies. The controversy was discussed in *The English Historical Review* by John W. Hales and Arthur Dimock in 1894; See Hales 1894; Dimock 1894. For a more recent debate see Valentine Campos 2002.

[12] It appeared under the title *The History of the Rites, Customes, and Manner of Life of the Present Jews*. See Katz 1982, 184.

[13] Thomas Coryate (1577–1617) had studied at Oxford, but never graduated. At the court of James I he had gained a derogatory title as a "privileged buffoon". Coryate's popular book was also translated into other languages. See Yardeni 1990, 72–73.

[14] On peregrination as part of an aristocratic education see Lagerstam 2003, 149–55.

[15] This was by no means an unique line of argument. Many European and mainly Protestant nations had similar claims to this idea. See Ihalainen 2001, 404–405.

motives behind the descriptions of Jews may in my opinion be even more ambiguous.[17] Jewish customs were not interpreted solely in order to define the proper ingredients and members of the English nation. The negotiation of national end ethnic diversity took place on various cultural planes, and the stories of Jews seemed to serve other purposes as well. The travel accounts were meant to be sold to people interested in foreign lands, strange people and curiosities, and to entertain them as well. The informational and entertainment value of the accounts must not be forgotten. Foreign lands and their inhabitants were interesting, and the details of their portrayal can tell us about what the English found worth mentioning or particularly exciting. The accounts were construed in order to provoke and influence, to gain attention and entertain.[18] This was achieved by trying to express own emotions and experiences of foreign phenomena in a suitable way.

Superstitious teachings and irrational minds

One long-lasting feature that infiltrated almost all writing on Jewish religiosity was the supposed stubbornness and superstitiousness of the Jews. This reference was, of course, neither new nor particularly characteristic of the English. These negative superstitious traits were represented in numerous exegetical commentaries, and in the Middle Ages, also in religious plays and pageants. Very often the whole corpus of Jewish religiosity and practices was labelled as irrational and erroneous superstition. For example in John Foxe's influential *Book of Martyrs* (1570), the Jews' irrational submission to the literal, not the spiritual and correct interpretation of the Law was likened to popery.[19] This

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[16] This strand of thought was particularly fashionable in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. See Shoulson 2001, 20–23. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe, Christian Hebraists and scholars were slowly coming to realize the divisions within Judaism and its different strands, such as the Karaites, Samaritans, Sadduccees and other groups, but these differences were by and large not accentuated by English writers.

[17] Shapiro 1996, passim. especially 1–12.

[18] On the meaning of passions in influencing readers and auditors opinions in early modern England, see Staines 2004, 94–95.

expected superstitiousness influenced the portrayal of Jewish worship, on both the spiritual and the corporeal level. The teachings and beliefs of the Jews were thought to influence their gestures and rituals. Both the Jews and their manners were rejected by imputing to them sin, deviance and inappropriate or laughable customs. The English also discussed the possible harm, both material and spiritual, that the Jews could cause to other people.[20]

In the Christian imagination the Jews had been given a chance to choose Christ and salvation. Instead, they had chosen to remain in their blindness, awaiting the destruction of their faith and its empty and meaningless rituals. In the Early Modern period this stubbornness was not only debated as the testimony inherent in the Holy Scripture; it was also explained in other ways that were of interest in the light of the changing conceptions of human and cultural difference. As English travellers were able to test their views of foreign nations, these formulations took on more elaborate forms. The result was a mixture, consisting of traditional ingredients spiced up and mixed with a few novelties. The writers often left the ground open for other experts, saying that the impressions they recorded were only their own and possibly influenced by the lack of better knowledge. This gave space and relative freedom to other writers likewise interested in explaining Jewish behaviour.

The travel-writer Henry Blount was vexed by the Jews, who according to him were inclined to believe their rabbis and learned men spoke the truth. The Jews were too easily convinced of the teachings of their rabbis, who held the ignorant people in their hands by propagating the

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[19] See Achinstein 2001, 93; On the debate over Catholicism in early modern England see Kaartinen 2002, passim.

[20] Strategies of rejection often used the same ingredients, e.g. derogatory definitions or imputations of immorality. See Douglas 1991, 724–26. English witch-trials put special weight on the testimonies of character. The harm caused by the accused had to be "vague, unspecific, difficult to prove or disprove". In the case of the Jews, it must be added that the more serious charges of harming Christians, the accusations of ritual-murder, were also recorded, but not as real-life encounters that the travellers of the seventeenth century might have witnessed in person. On charges of ritual murder in early modern England see Shapiro 1996, 104–106.

truthfulness of the Talmud, the Kabbalah or other superstitious teachings:

> This device (the Kabbalah) was well framed to take with the Jews, who generally are light, ayeriall, and fanaticall braines, spirited much like our hot Apocalyps Men, or fierce expounders of Daniel, apt to worke themselves Into the fooles Paradise of a sublime dotage: They expect their Messias with an unwearied assurance; and as all propheticall delayes doe easily find excuse, so have they.[21]

The Jews were thought to be prone to believe in absurdities and in the incoherent and maniacal teachings of their own rabbis. This tendency was explained by Henry Blount as a feature the Jews shared in common with the English millenarians, an "ayeriall" and fanatical brain. The "othering device" of explaining difference, as it were, by treating the subject as mad, foolish or somehow deficient in reason seems to have been very widely shared, and thus to have influenced a wide range of encounters and expectations of the other.[22] The likening of Jews to English millenarians was yet another way to debate the possible threat of Judaism to the innocent souls that did not have the strength to oppose its lure.

Similar opinions were given by the travel-writer, collector and cleric Samuel Purchas (1577–1626), who thought that those responsible for the Jews' irrational clinging to the old faith were the "Traditionaries, Cabalists and muddy Thalmudists" who frightened their people by threatening them with eternal torments; for "any who mocketh and contemneth their sayings, shall bee punished in hot and boiling Zoah, or excrement in hell."[23] In these representations the Jewish stubbornness was both lamented and explained as resulting from both fear and spiritual weakness. The definitions of the Jewish nation as mad, lunatic or fanatical crossed the boundaries of mere theological interpretations of Jewish spiritual blindness and its origin in the Pauline dictum, "the letter killeth and the spirit giveth life".

The common practice of denouncing people of the wrong kind as

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[21] Blount, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (1636), 116.

[22] This was for example the case with the fool, but also with other groups of people. See Korhonen 1999, passim. Esp. 110–13.

[23] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 143, 145.

being mad could be derived from notions of either bodily or spiritual deficiencies.[24] In the Early Modern period, as has often been noted, a person was regarded as a spiritual and bodily entity. A person consisted of flesh and bones that contained the soul within. Thus a person's body reflected his or her inner being, and the soul was also more prone to outer attacks. It followed that madness could be caused in numerous ways. Insanity could arise as the result of intense study, bad air or powerful emotions that harmed the fragile stability of a person's humoral constitution.[25] In accordance with these causes the concept of insanity was also used in theological reasoning; madness could be seen as a state of alienation from God. Indeed, according to Samuel Purchas the Jews were not only a reminder to Christendom of the righteousness of its faith; they were also "spectacles to the world of bodily and spirituall misery", the result of their alienation from God and rejection of Christ.[26] The idea that different peoples were characterised by their divergent complexions was both debated and widely believed. According to Henry Blount, "men are naturally borne, some for slavery, others to command, divers complexions make men timid, dextrous, patient, industrious, others are naturally magnanimous, considerable, capacious, daring […] This difference of spirit is sometimes manifest in whole nations."[27] During his voyage to the Levant, Blount thought he had found an explanation of these differences of spirit, even though he left some tricky problems for other people to explain. In any case, explanations of strange behaviour and practices were always linked to patterns of thought that were culturally available to the English.

The Jews' rejection of Christ was joined together with the assumption that the specific corner of the world a person inhabited could influence his or her bodily and spiritual state of being. According to longstanding tradition, the people inhabiting the mysterious and climatologically hot east were considered to be prone to madness, irrationality and religious fanaticism.[28] Henry Blount described the eastern religions, both Judaism and Islam, as more appealing to sensitive and frail persons

[24] Korhonen 1999, 124–25, 135; see also Korhonen 2005 (forthcoming).
[25] Korhonen 1999, 135–36; Siraisi 1990, 101.
[26] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 134–35.
[27] Blount, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (1636), 96.

than to those of more sober minds, but also as more capable of enticing even people normally considered rational in their actions. According to Blount the eastern religions "were not put into a rationall way of discourse and therefore entertaine the imaginative part of the minde, befooling the intellectual".[29]

The frightening figures of cunning rabbis, Jewish magicians, Kabbalists and Talmudists, all ready to take advantage of the innocent and sincere Englishman, made the accounts more powerful and threatening. It was, after all, believed that Jews had access to secret knowledge; even in England this trait was strengthened in various almanacs and popular stories. The claims that Jews might already be lurking in London or that they could invade English territory in disguise had already been attested to by some writers.[30] All this secret and dangerous knowledge, together with the ability to persuade innocent people into Judaism, could be seen as a serious threat. As Thomas Calvert, a minister from York, had remarked, the Jews were capable of tainting the world with various kinds of heresies, as a mother who carried in her womb monstrous children: "Out of the Jews [...] sprung up divers of the worst sort of damnable heresies and sundry sects as the Samaritans, Sadduces, Hemerobaptists, Nazareans, Arians, Melchisedechians [...] and Mahometans".[31] Somewhat in the same vein, but writing at the time of the Jewish readmission controversies,[32] William Prynne, a famous Puritan polemicist, thought that if the Jews were readmitted onto English soil

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[28] Mohammed for example was represented as a person suffering from falling-sickness and other bodily and spiritual illnesses. See Vitkus 1997, 155; Vitkus 2003, 8. The same lines of explanation were also used the other way around by Muslim writers, Ibn Khaldun saw the cold character of northern peoples as due to their living in a cold environment. See Sysipuro 1998, 49–50.

[29] Blount, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (1636), 50. Already in Greek thought elaborated by Thomistic formulations the human mind could be seen divided into imaginative or affective and rational parts. See e.g. Flynn 1995, 46–48; Kaartinen 2002, 73–74.

[30] For example the almanac of Erra Pater "A Iewe borne in Iewrie" was printed at least twelve times between 1536 and 1640. It was marketed as "verie profitable to keep the bodie in health". Erra Pater, *A Prognostication for Ever* (1582/1607), cover leaf; See also Thomas (1971)1997, 295; for the supposed Jewish community in London see Valentine Campos 2002, 602–603.

they would immediately try to corrupt both the people and their rulers with their religion and immoral customs. Prynne gave emphasis to his opinion by means of examples of the supposed practices of the Jews during the pre-expulsion period:

> The Jews were no sooner transported and settled in Rhoan and London, but they presently began to grow very insolent against the Christians. Endeavoring to pervert some of them by monies to Judaism. 2ly, Attempting to corrupt the King himself, by Gifts [...] 3ly, by entring into open disputations with the Bishops and Clergy against the Christian Faith, to the great fear of the Professors [...] And will not this be their very practise now, if re-admitted, to the hazard of our Christian Religion, and seduction of many simple, unstable souls, in this unsettled apostatizing age? When not only the ignorant people, but many great Professors turn Atheists, Hereticks, Seekers, Apostates, Blasphemers, Ranters, Quakers, Antiscripturists […].[33]

Prynne considered it possible that even the English could be tainted by the irrationalities of the Jewish faith. There were, after all, some serious examples of religious seduction already taking place on English soil. Ranters, Quakers and Apostates were in Prynne's mind similar to Jews. All these sects could gain influence among simple or unstable folk. In this way the wrong sorts of religion could be seen as threatening stability, order and peace within England.[34] In the seventeenth century, the occasional efforts to establish the Sabbath on Saturday were often

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[31] Calvert, *A Diatriba of the Jews sins* (1648), 2. Calvert's brief diatribe was a preface to a known piece of conversion propaganda, *The Blessed Jew of Morocco, or a Blackamoor made white*, probably written by a Jewish convert, Samuel Marochitanus.

[32] The readmission of the Jews was mainly debated in the middle of the seventeenth century, although no official ordinances or legislation followed. In the so-called Whitehall Conference held in 1655 in London, no official verdict was issued. The Jewish community established itself slowly: the Synagogue in Creechurch Lane was opened in 1656 and a cemetery was made available in 1657. See Katz 1982, 9–11; Endelman 2002, 25–27.

[33] Prynne, *A Short Demurrer to the Jews* (1655), sig. A2-A2v.

[34] On stability, obedience and hierarchical order as the ideal state of existence in society and culture in early modern England see Kaartinen 2002, 13–22, 121–25; Amussen 1988, passim.

treated as an attempt to taint England with Judaism. Normally these propagators were labelled as *Judaizers*.[35] Samuel Purchas thought that listening to them would lead Christians into servitude:

> Frivolous are their reasons who would renew the Jewish Sabbath amongst Christians, tying and tyring us in a more than Jewish servitude, to observe both the last and the first dayes of the weeke, as some have preached.[36]

Lack of spiritual order and reverence

The lack of spiritual harmony and order was seen as dangerous to the minds as well as the bodies of Eastern nations. In the English imagination, the Levant and the land of the Ottomans were inhabited by the sensual, corrupt and cruel "Turbaned Turks", who held the East in their hands. The Jews were sometimes portrayed as their less powerful but in many ways similar companions; together they threatened Christianity with their mischief. The "Islamites" or "Mahumetans" were regarded as even more corrupt and lascivious in their ways than the Jews could ever be, at the same time they were powerful possible allies and trading partners of the English.[37] In spite of their visible differences, the English regarded the Islamic and Jewish ritual customs as related in many ways.[38] Already in the religious drama of Late Medieval East Anglia

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[35] Judaizing could be detected in almost anyone who expressed views that could be claimed to be tainted by Judaism. Being called a Judaizer was also a serious insult. See Kermode 1996; Valentine Campos 2002.

[36] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 103; On Saturday Sabbatarianism in seventeenth-century England see Katz 1988 and 1990.

[37] Matar 1999; Matar 2001. Indeed in some travel books of the period more attention was paid to the Turkish army and its organization than to the diverse sects and rites of the people they had under their control.

[38] According to Purchas, however, the Muslims would not accept Jewish conversion to Islam, unless the Jew first turned Christian: "Nor will the Turke receive a Jew into the Fellowship of the mahumetane superstition, except he hath passed first from his Judaisme through the Purgation of a Christian profession, unto that their no lesse ridiculous and miserable devotion." Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 133.

the conversion of both Jews and Muslims to Christianity was held as a movement away from spiritual disorder and toward spiritual harmony in Christ.[39] Jews and Muslims were also seen as somehow contaminated by their subsequent religions. In Henry Blount's view the Jews had been led astray not only by their stubborn clinging to the old faith but also by their overly close contacts with other nations, particularly the Catholic ones. Before these unfortunate encounters, the Jews had been innocent and ordered:

> […]I desired to be informed of the Jews, whose moderne condition is more condemned then understood by Christian writers, and therefore by them delivered with such zealous ignorance, as never gave me satisfaction: Their primitive profession was shepherds, whose innocent kinde of life had leisure for the study of that Hyerarchie, which in aftertimes, their settled possession of Canaan put into act. Necessitie makes shifts, and nothing corrupts cleare wits more then desperate fortunes, and forreine conversation; so it befell them in their frequent captivities, wherein the malice of their estate, and corruptions of the Gentiles, did extremely debauch their old innocence, and from shepherds, or tillers of land, turned them to what they now are, Merchants, Brokers and Cheaters; here to is added no small necessitie from their Religion, which as of old, so at this day, renders them more generally odious, then any sort of man, whereby they are driven to helpe themselves by shifts of wit, more then others are.[40]

Blount seems to think that the general ambiguity and fluctuation of the Jewish temperament is due partly to their renunciation of the true Lord, partly to the hatred felt towards them by other people. He, however, considered that the Jews had a great capacity for hiding their true thoughts and characteristics from those who sought to inform themselves of their ways. The Jews could also on occasion seem more virtuous or pious than they actually were, for "while they affect to seeme grave and profound, they become fond and shallow, not knowing the wayes of that virtue which moveth all things."[41] This was a way of denouncing first the ability of the Jews to interpret the Bible and

[39] Lampert 2004, 102–104.
[40] Blount, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (1636), 113–14.
[41] Blount, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (1636), 221.

secondly the spiritual foundation of the Jewish religion and its rituals. This lack of true spirituality in turn engraved negative traits on the Jewish temper.

The lack of understanding of the true message of Christ and of a true inner spirituality was a liability that was thought to manifest itself in the disordered behaviour in the Synagogues. In their representations the Jewish forms of worship were located in a hierarchical relationship with the supposedly humble and devout worshipping of English Christians. These did not of course include those who were themselves considered in some way dissident among Christians. Frivolous behaviour was also first and foremost detected in Jewish men, who came to represent Jewish worship as a whole. Jewish women were concealed behind their veils and out of sight, a practice that was by no means scorned by English writers.[42] A rare description by Fynes Moryson told that Jewish women "came not into the Synogoge among men, but vnder the same Roof had their owne Synogoge and doore to enter it, hauing windowes or narrowe Cleftes in the wall to heare the men singing, but themselues only did reade or mumble with a lowe voyce, and were otherwise silent."[43] Women were in fact behaving acceptably, being silent and separated from the worshipping men. The lack of bodily and spiritual control of Jewish men thus seemed to hint at their unstable masculinity. Their disordered shouting, babbling and swinging back and forth was frequently witnessed in the Synagogues. The descriptions thus entailed an attack on Jewish gender-roles, which were blurred on various testimonies.[44]

[42] The testimonies rarely mention Jewish women; when they do, they mainly describe their beauty or outward appearance, not their religious customs. Thomas Coryate mentions Jewish women placed in a gallery:" In the roome wherin they celebrate their diuine seruice, no women sit, but have a loft or gallery proper to themselues only, where I saw many Iewish women, whereof some were as beautiful as ever I saw […]." Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), 233. The spirituality of Jewish women has only recently attracted scholarly attention. On both the doctrinal and the practical level, Judaism is a highly patriarchal religion. See Weissler 1998, ix–x.

[43] Moryson, *Unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (1903), 494.

[44] See Holmberg 2004, 137–38, 159. Lisa Lampert has examined the roles of women and Jews as parallels in relation to righteous Christian masculinity in medieval exegesis. Lampert 2004, 26. On representing Christian and *other* men, see Kruger 1997, 21–22.

Roaring and babbling

The common denominator of almost all representations of Jewish worship was the lack of reverence towards God and the disorderly, sometimes even unruly behaviour. The strangest feature seemed to be the supposed noisiness of their prayers, which was seen as both aimless and meaningless. According to Thomas Coryate the reading of the Torah was not solemn and devout but was closer to activities suitable to the tavern or other similar venues. The chief Rabbi, in Coryate's opinion, shouted the prayers in front of the congregation on such a high note and in such an incomprehensible manner that it could not be understood by anyone:

> The Leuite that readeth the Law to them, hath before him at the time of diuine seruice an exceeding long piece of parchment, rowled vp vpon two woodden handles: in which is written the whole summe and contents of Moyses law in Hebrew: that doth he [...] pronounce before the congregation not by a sober, distinct, and orderly reading, but an exceeding loud yaling, vndecent roaring, and as it were a beastly bellowing of it forth. And that after such a confused and hudling manner, that I thinke the hearers can very hardly understand him: sometimes he cries out alone, and sometimes againe some others seruing as it were his Clerkes hard without his Seate, and within, doe roare with him, but so that his voyce (which he straineth so high as if he sung for a wager) drowneth all the rest.[45]

Likewise in the account by Samuel Purchas, in "Jewish matins, which they chaunt saith another in a strange wilde hallowing tune, imitating sometimes trumpets" the Jews expressed their hatred and wished the destruction of the Christians.[46] Their hellish prayers were also sung in

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[45] Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), 231. The traveller and merchant Robert Bargrave had also noticed the high-pitched voices of the Jews; he explained this, however, as a corruption due to the Jews' long-continued exposition to Spanish influence. See Bargrave, *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave Levant Merchant* (1647–56) 1999, 29. According to Purchas the long captivity in Babel had affected both the Jewish mind and their way of speaking. See Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 148.

[46] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 165.

tremendous haste, because Jews were believed to hold sacred not the inner meaning but the speed of the prayers.[47] Traveller Fynes Moryson wrote that the Jews were first summoned to the Synagogue by "Criers" and the roaring continued inside: "Their singing was in a hollow tone, very lowe at the first, but rysing by degrees, and sometymes stretched to flatt roring, and the people in singing answered the Rabby, and some tymes bowed their heades lowe, shaking their hinder partes, with many ridiculous tones and gestures."[48] Thomas Coryate had also observed a Jewish way of praying, which he explained as condemned by Christ in the Bible, notably senseless babbling or "Battologia", a repetitive mode of praying that he could not listen to without suffering:

> One thing they obserue in their seruice which is vtterly condemned by our Saviour Christ, *Battologia, that is a very tedious babling, and an often repetition of one thing, which cloied mine eares so much that I could not endure them any longer, hauing heard them at the least an houre; for their seruice is almost three hours long.[49]

Coryate supported his reasoning by a remark he added in the margin, indicating the exact quotation from the Bible (Matthew 6:7) that condemned this aforementioned babbling: "But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking".[50] The point made by Coryate may have gained in meaning by the association of this aimless way of praying with the likewise mindless babble of fools and women. As has been pointed out by Anu Korhonen, the fools' way of speaking was represented as mindless prattling, without value or meaning, due to the fool's lack of reason. The fool's talk was a sign of his inner state of confusion.[51] The Jews' babbling prayer could be seen as indicating a similar condition of spirit,

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[47] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 173. "They mutter over their prayers with such a haste, that he is the perfectest who speaketh most with a breath."

[48] Moryson, *Unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (1903),493.

[49] Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), 233.

[50] *The Holy Bible*, King James version (1611) [online].

[51] See Korhonen 1999, 198–200. A clear understanding of God manifested itself in likewise solemn and understandable language.

even if it was also attributed to their stubborn clinging to their faith with its dated rituals.

Representations of the loud outcries and incessant babble of Jewish prayers also had characteristics resembling those of certain radical Protestant sects. For example the prayer-meetings of the followers of John Traske, the notorious "Jewish Christian" prophet, were portrayed as "commonly roaringes, and such loud out-cries as may be heard in distant roomes and houses".[52] An early radical Puritan prophet, William Hacket, was described in a fairly similar way, his praying being denounced as "puffings and beatings" that resembled "the wildgoose chase" and "having neither heade nor foote, rime nor reason".[53] Explaining wrongful religious fervour as losing one's wits seemed to be understandable in England in various contexts. According to Reginald Scot,[54] many "frentick" persons believed themselves to be prophets; all too often these outbursts were due to a lack of balance in a person's complexion. In the heyday of prophesying and millenarian expectations, false prophets had to be differentiated somehow from the pious. [55] The same strategies can evidently also be found in the depictions of Jews. All these strange ways of shouting were represented as a mockery of truly spiritual and devout prayer.

Expressions of hatred and anger had been divided by Gregory the Great into vice (*ira*), caused by impatience that renders people blind by their hatred, and virtue (religious zeal), which may sharpen one's vision. Liturgical curses were acceptable if they were uttered as controlled speech-acts against evil, while spontaneous outbursts of hatred were not.[56] In Early Modern times shouting and cursing were experienced as a threat, even if the cultural meaning attached to them varied according to context. Especially the shouting of women was considered blasphemous and threatening to the social order. Irregular crying and disor-

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[52] Cited by Katz 1982, 19.
[53] Quoted in Walsham 1998, 36–37.
[54] Reginald Scot (1538?–1599) was known for his treatise *The Discouerie of Witchcraft* (1584), where he committed himself to reveal the "knauerie of coniurors, the impietie of inchantors" and the "follie of soothsaiers".
[55] Walsham 1998, 47–48.
[56] See Little 1998, 12, 27.

derly behaviour were shunned; they were explained as being caused not by the positive in men but by traits that were in some way bestial, or by some other defect, whether moral or spiritual.[57] Samuel Purchas wrote that the Jews had liturgies in which they constantly expressed hatred towards Christians by shouting, these exclamations were obviously experienced as threatening. The strange prayers may also have been thought to be able of polluting people who heard them. An evidence of this kind of approach can be found already in Medieval England where decrees were made to restrict sounds that came from the Jewish Synagogues.[58]

Empty rituals and strange gesticulation

The representations of Jewish rituals were informed with the Christian idea that the Jews persisted in their rituals even though they had in truth lost their meaning with the coming of Christ. The Jews did not see this because they stubbornly adhered to the Law rather than the Spirit. Jewish rituals could be seen as lacking all sense or as having lost their meaning with the passing of time. The Jews could be also seen as corrupting the manner of worship, as Samuel Purchas formulated it:

> And thus much of those Feasts which God instituted to this Nation; which now the Iewes of later times have corrupted, and doe now super-stitiously observe, instituting others also of their owne devisings.[59]

Jewish rituals were seen as empty and meaningless, and observation of them resulted in complaints by the English. Thomas Coryate expressed his powerlessness and frustration. He had, after all, tried to convince the Jewish rabbi he met in Venice of the righteousness of Christianity:

> Truely it is a most lamentable case for a Christian to consider the damnable estate of these miserable Iewes, in that they reiect the true Messias and Sauiour of their Soules, hoping to be saued rather by the obseruation of those Mosaicall ceremonies, (the date whereof was fully

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[57] Women's verbal violence was likened to physical assaults by men. See Gowing 1996, 222–23; Korhonen 2001, 141–42.

[58] Hinton 2003, 108.

[59] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 108.

expired at Christs incarnation) then by the merits of the Sauiour of the world, without whom all mankind shall perish. And as pitifull it is to see that fewe of them liuing in Italy are conuerted to the Christian religion.[60]

In the end, the rabbi was pitied by Coryate, because outdated "Mosaicall" ceremonies could not save the Jew from damnation. The Jew's lack of reason resulted in his lack of power, and this hierarchical relationship to English religiousness was strengthened throughout the account. Coryate seemed eager to record his disputes with various sorts of people. In addition to the Jews, he had tried to convert a Venetian courtesan to respectability, naturally without success. This was also a means of justifying his meetings with all these not particularly respectable sorts of people – after all, he did not want to give the impression of being fond of Jews or frivolous women. Coryate had tried to convince a Latin-speaking rabbi to renounce his superstitious ceremonies but their discourse ended in a quarrel and his narrow escape from the hands of the "insolently swaggering Jews".[61] Similar to the Jewish ceremonies, Catholic rituals were considered by many Englishmen as manifestations of vain hopes of salvation. A truly religious person was supposed to leave her destiny in the hands of God.[62]

In the travelogues and narratives of Jewish religion, different genres and sources could be used to prove the point. Thomas Calvert for example retold stories from Roman and Medieval sources that interpreted the Jewish gazing towards heaven as the worship of clouds. He cited Seneca, according to whom the Jews had sacrificed to sloth and idleness on their Sabbath, or worshipped Bacchus, in other words got drunk.

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[60] Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), 233–34.

[61] Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), 235–37. Coryate claimed that the rabbi was in the end joined by "some forty or fifty Jews" that "beganne very insolently to swagger with me, because I durst reprehend their religion". It has been speculated that the rabbi was in fact the famous Leone da Modena, whose work *Riti* has already been mentioned as the first account of Jewish religion by a Jew available in early modern England. See Horowitz 2001, 341, passim.

[62] Kaartinen 2002, 137–38. The ceremonial duties created suspicion also in the early sixteenth century. Sometimes the religious were described as howling like hunters or totally without appropriate devotion.

The same story was found in Samuel Purchas' account. He reasoned that the drinking could at least partly explain why the Jews revelled and were unruly in their Synagogues.[63] As has been already attested, Jewish prayers had been labelled as incomprehensible and meaningless; the same was also claimed of other Jewish rituals, i.e. their supposed irreverent or careless performance.[64]

As has been noted even from the depiction by Samuel Pepys, Jewish ceremonies may have seemed absurd, unruly and preposterous due to the fact that the English viewed their gesticulation and movements as strange. In Early Modern culture, as in older times, gestures played an important part in defining people's attitudes towards God and hierarchy. Gestures were also an important means of social differentiation, in that external bodily behaviour was thought to reflect the inner working of the soul. Gestures were evaluated as either a lack of co-ordination or control or as excessive gesticulation. The differentiation between virtuous *gestus* and excessive or morally dubious *gesticulatio* was apparent already in the Middle Ages. According to Peter Burke the expression "to gesticulate" was pejorative in the English language in the seventeenth-century. Strange customs in movements and gestures could be detected in all manners and ways of people outside England as well as on English soil. For example, it was thought easy to determine a person's birth and background by paying attention to gestures. Moreover, the southern nations were seen as most predisposed to talk with their hands and bodies.[65]

The supposed Jewish trembling and howering in their worship were recorded already in Medieval stage directions in German Christmas

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[63] Calvert, *A Diatriba of the Jews sins* (1648), 30, 33; Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 103.

[64] Horowitz 2001, 349; On conversion sermons see Foa 2000, 46–48. In 1645 the English traveller John Evelyn had witnessed a conversion sermon that the Jews were made to attend in Rome, where they had spit, hummed and coughed during the sermon, a behaviour that could be quite understandable on these occasions.

[65] Thomas 1991, 8–9; Burke 1997, 75; Schmitt 1991, 60–61. Englishmen were also often thought to be a people that used fewer gestures than any other nation. These thoughts were expressed by the English as well as by other nationalities.

plays. For example in the twelfth-century *Ludus de Nativitate* the Jewish character Archisynagogus and his companions were contrasted with the devout, calm and dignified Jewish prophets who proclaimed the Birth of Christ. The stage direction makes Archisynagogus parody Jewish mannerisms by having him shake and yell while blasphemously denying the coming of Christ.[66]

According to Samuel Purchas' ethnographic religious history, the Jews often exaggerated their gestures in order to seem – not to be – more devout. This was one more example of their strange beliefs and manners. According to him, Jews often tried to appear sad and slow in their movements when they exited the Synagogue. Otherwise they could be interpreted as being content that the rituals had ended and the time had come to engage in other activities than worship. This Jewish tendency to 'appear' devout was worrying, and Purchas went on to describe the Jews as leaving the temple backwards, in order to pay homage to the Ark: "Honours sake, not to turne their hinder partes on the Arke: and thus they goe (like crabbes) out of the Synagogue"[…].[67] Thus Purchas at the same time tells us that the Jews tried to appear devout, but failed miserably in doing so since their crab-walk was merely ridiculous. Jewish expressions of religious sentiment seemed to go terribly wrong partly because they were not thought to be genuine, partly because their lack of true faith and substance.

Purchas's collection of accounts by several travel-writers, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, also included Coryate's later writings. While attending a Jewish ceremony in Constantinople, Coryate had detected ridiculous mannerisms in the Jewish rejoicing in the Law, the same ritual that Pepys later witnessed in London. Jewish body-movements were again interpreted as curious and strange:

> When they set at their devotion they used a most ridiculous and unseemly gesture: for they always mooved their bodies up and downe

[66] "Let Archisynagogus with his Jews, having heard the prophecies, make an excessive clamor; and showing forward his comrade, agitating his head and his entire body and striking the ground with his foot, and imitating with his sceptre the mannerisms of a Jew in all ways, with his companions let him say indignantly." Cited in Lampert 2004, 37.

[67] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 165.

very strangely, the head being in a continual motion without cessation. After that they moove their right side then their left, and lastly their forepart forward; which kind of wagging of their bodies by interchange-able turnes they use during the whole time of their service.[68]

Fynes Moryson, on his journey to Jerusalem, explained the rites of the Abessinian Christians in a similar way by making frequent compari-sons to Jewish mannerisms. Apparently the Abessinians hated the Jews, that however did not stop them from imitating the rite of circumcision and gesticulations: "When they sing Masse or Psalmes, they leape and clap their hands, and like the Iewes vse Stage-Players actions".[69] These actions were represented in more detail in an unpublished manuscript of Moryson's writings:

> [...]all the people often turned their bodyes rounde, with diuers mad gestures, and at last fell to weeping and flatt roring, yet so as it appeared an outwarde Ceremony rather then inwarde passion or devotion. In prayers they never kneeled but only bended forward, and neuer putt off their hatts in there devotions or in entring or going out of the Synogoge.[70]

Writers might also lament the Jews' lack of interest in the outer gestures of reverence suitable when entering a place of worship. The Jews did not seem to get it right either way. Moryson had witnessed that the Jews did not take away their hats when entering the place of worship and Cory-ate thought it strange that the Jews rushed into the Synagogue without paying any homage to the place:

> One custome I obserued amongst them very irreuerent and prophane, that none of them, eyther when they enter the Synagogue, or when they sit downe in their places, or when they goe forth againe, doe any reuer-ence or obeysance answerable to such a place of the worship of God, eyther by vncouering their heads, kneeling, or any other *externall ges-ture,* but boldly dash into the roome with their Hebrew bookes in their hands, and presently sit in their places, without any more a doe [...].[71]

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[68] *Purchas His Pilgrimes* II is cited in Yardeni 1990, 80–81.
[69] Moryson, *Fynes Morysons Itinerary* (1617), 233
[70] Moryson, *Unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (1903), 493–94.
[71] Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), 232.

Samuel Purchas' stories of strange Jewish ways of worship became more and more outrageous towards the end of his account. He described strange rites that were still being performed in the lands of the East. Old and new superstitious ways seemed to be spreading there among the Jews and other peoples. Purchas observed various subgroups of for example the 'pharisees', such as Sikhemites, Kifai or the horrendous Draw-Bloud, "which Smiteth his head to the wall, to cause the bloud to come."[72] All these diverse sects and subgroups had arisen among the Jews and their neighbouring nations, which still worshipped the golden calf, Ammon, Moloch and similar monstrous gods. Purchas's particular attention was drawn to the various nocturnal rites of devotion, which were accentuated in their extremity:

> Some lay on plankes, which were only nine ynches broad, that when they slept, they might fall to the pavement, so to be awakened againe to prayer, and keepe themselves waking. Others put stones under them for the same end, by pricking to awake them: others lay on thornes for that purpose. The Pharisees ware womans attire, as not agreeing to their austeritie, which despised all beds, beat themselves against walls, and put thornes […] in their garments.[73]

Early modern English writers saw the Jews as a people clinging to Mosaic laws, and this excessive interest in laws and ceremonies led to various misunderstandings by the Jews. Samuel Purchas wrote that some professed an even stricter piety than their various laws required; these Purchas described as "Hasidim, the popish Jews."[74] Indeed, extreme forms of bodily mortification were seen as characteristic of both Catholics and Jews.[75] For example the keeping of the Sabbath required many practices that Purchas thought were unnecessary. The aim of his religious history of the Jewish nation seemed to be to explain why the Jews were so hated and at the same time an object of curiosity among other people. Jewish customs were considered on many occasions controversial and contradictory: Some sects were thought to collect spittle and

[72] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 121.
[73] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 122.
[74] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 116.
[75] See Kaartinen 2002, 75–78.

excrement as most holy relics, while others shunned every activity on their Sabbath, even the most urgent:

> They will not so much as purge Nature on their Sabbath (they go not to stoole on the Sabbath, because of that instrument they could not use to digge and cover their excrement, without Sabbathbreaking) and on other dayes do it very closely for offending the Divine light, and cover it with an instrument in the earth, and that in the most secret places and are washed after.[76]

This clinging to the various Sabbath-rituals could be told as exemplary stories of Jews that were brought to a desperate end through adherence to their customs. In his *Book of Martyrs*, John Foxe told the moral lesson of a Jew who fell into a privy on a Saturday and did not want to be rescued by an English lord in fear of Sabbath-breaking. The humiliating end of the Jew by drowning in excrement was an appropriate way for Foxe to demonstrate the pitiable status of all Jews.[77]

Conclusions

The Jews were an ideal religious group to be compared to the English because of their long history as the definitive opponents of Christianity, particularly in the sense that they were believed to be a living testimony to the truth of Christianity. In addition, while the Jews were seen as non-Christians, they also represented possible new Christians who some day could be grafted onto the stock and tree of the true faith. When we recall that in Early Modern England many different kinds of millenar-

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[76] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), 125. This story appeared also in the English translation of Boemius's *Omnium gentium mores* by William Waterman. See Boemius, *The Fardle of Facions* (1555), sig. I7.

[77] "A Certain Jewe […] fell into a privy at Tewkesbury upon a sabboth day; who, for the great reverence he had to his holy sabboth, would not suffer himselfe to be plucked out. And so Lord Richard, Earl of Glocester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to be drawne out on Sundaye for reverence of the holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Jew, remayning there tyll Mondaye, was found dead." Cited in Achinstein 2001, 86. On the story of "the Jew of Tewkesbury" see Bale 2003, 136–37.

ian sects and thinkers had gained momentum, this possibility may have created a need to inspect and evaluate Jewish customs more closely: in order for the New Jerusalem or the Second Coming of Christ to become a possibility, all former Israelites would first have to be saved and converted.[78] The Jews not only played their part in emphasising the limits of Christian and English society, they could be used in revealing internal struggles and negotiations of English culture. They were not merely outsiders but also signs of internal dissent and concerns.[79] The Jews could be used in contemporary negotiations over hierarchy and control, or over mental capacities and emotions. The signification of religious rituals and the power to define their acceptability became also visible in English formulations.

The English seem to have seen Jewish rituals in a negative light above all because of their supposed artificiality and emptiness. Because it was all seen as the result of a stubborn clinging to an old faith, its artificiality and its odd manifestations had to be rephrased and retold again and again. Different authors emphasised diverse traits to prove their point, but their stories had much in common. The accounts of Jewish rituals and strange performances formed a circular argument, in which explanations, representations and moral teachings were all interdependent. The Jewish renunciation of Christ, the outdated Law, the wrongful teachings of empty and meaningless rituals and the Jewish proneness to irrationality and superstition were all pieces of both moralistic and entertaining puzzle. Some pieces were more ancient than others but they continued to affect the layered and sometimes contradictory explanations of Jewish difference. This occurred on a practical level by constructing their forms of worship as suspicious and strange. Jewish men conducted their rituals in ways more suitable to fools or females, not to truly pious and honourable males. The Synagogue was likened

[78] On millenarian hopes for the conversion of the Jews, see Katz 1994, 112–13.

[79] Lisa Lampert has discussed these struggles in the context of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and what she calls the role of the "hermeneutical Jew". In Lampert's view the concept "hermeneutical" brings together the problematics of the dualistic representation of the Jews as vicious contemporary Jews and as proto-Christian and thus exemplary Jewish patriarchs. Lampert 2004, 9–10, 68, 97.

to a tavern or other venue full of noise, commotion and rioting, not to a holy place that the English would accept as equal to their own churches.

It can be said that English writers translated the Jews they encountered to fit their own cultural vocabulary. Indeed, in every society notions of gender, class and national/ethnic difference are related to the ways in which that culture seeks to examine its boundaries. As literary critic Ania Loomba has pointed out, these diverse strands of ideas intermingled with forms and patterns of thought that preceded them and at the same time formed the shape of actual encounters of the outsiders. Thus imagining and representing difference could have very real and influential consequences.[80] For example, the accounts written by Samuel Purchas summarized and joined his actual encounters with Jews to observations and legends recorded by others. These encounters and experiences were informed by shared Christian patterns of thought, even if the current situation and political shifts played a role as well.[81] Purchas's writings continued to influence the modes of English travelwriting long after his own lifetime.

This mixture of early ethnography, natural history and moral teachings told of insecurities in defining foreign nations and religions, but at the same time it offered entertaining glimpses of these remote places and cultures. Moral evaluations and sneering at Jewish worship were a pattern of thought that travel writers could not escape, even if their foremost objective was not preaching. Their first aim was to make foreign lands and their inhabitants more understandable and decipherable to English readers. Thus they had to use the tools and meanings available to them. This included drawing comparisons to millenarians, fools, Catholics and other groups that were more familiar to the English than contemporary Jews may have been. The teachings and behaviour of

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[80] Loomba 2002, 6–7, 10–11.

[81] An interesting comparison may be found in travel accounts by Muslim travellers, who saw Christian Europe through their own culture. One traveller reported his impressions of Pisa and its "leaning minaret". Traveller's accounts were written for religious, commercial and diplomatic purposes. These motives informed most of the travel writing of the early modern period. See Matar 2003, xvi, xxiv–xxv.

Jews was linked and compared to other groups that were considered similar in their superstition and confusion. This led to evaluations of gestures and exclamations, which were explained as symptoms both of the religion and of its followers' mental capacity. English experiences and encounters with Jews were presented in such a manner that they could be shared, understood, and even enjoyed by English readers. The Jews' escapades in the Synagogue were constructed in a manner that could simultaneously portray dubious rites, moralise them and strengthen English ideals by making comparisons. The constructions of Jewish difference were sufficiently flexible to meet all these ends.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF HONOUR: DIFFERENCES BASED ON HAVING OR LOSING HONOUR IN EARLY MODERN GERMAN SOCIETY AND LAW

Satu Lidman

Social and judicial honour

What is honour? In the discussion concerning the functions of honour in premodern societies, historians and other scholars have proposed several different definitions. The concept of honour is loaded with different semiotic meanings, according to the context and the type of source material.[1] Due to its vast variation and diverse qualities, Gerd Schwerhoff has even described honour as "chameleonic".[2] According to Martin Dinges, the meaning and nature of honour within a specific historical time can even be crucial in distinguishing different periods from each other.[3] In Early Modern society, honour was clearly everywhere: it operated in the neighbourhood, in the street, in the restaurant and at

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[1] Groebner 1995, 376.
[2] Schwerhoff 1991, 313–14.
[3] Dinges 1995, 30–31.

the market place.[4] Honour was also closely related to ideas of justice and law.

As difficult and diverse as the concept of honour seems to be, it is nevertheless possible to distinguish two main aspects of honour in the context of the Early Modern German system of criminal justice. Practically, these are the meaning of "bona fama" and "dignitas civilis", as well as the effects of "mala fama" and "infamia". To understand the consequences of losing honour, it is necessary to consider the meanings of honour, dishonour and shame in the Early Modern German society in general. In this article, I also discuss shameful and dishonouring punishments, and try to show how the possibility of losing honour was implemented in the criminal justice system. Primary sources include the protocols of the Munich council and Bavarian ducal mandates from the 16th and early 17th century.

According to Jutta Nowosadtko, Early Modern class society understood honour as an inherited status rather than an individual quality. Honour functioned in defining differences between social classes within the hierarchy.[5] A legitimate honourable birth assured the child an estate-linked honour, entailing specific rights. The citizens of a town, on the other hand, also had a certain honour, since they shared in the honour of the city.[6] Nevertheless, the honour of the nobility was considered more valuable than that of the bourgeoisie, because it was old and traditional. While social climbers gained increasing power thanks to their wealth, capital was still easier to accumulate than honour.[7] The rising middle class was eager to adopt the life style of the nobility whenever possible, which is why it also intensely emphasised the importance of honour.

Today's historians and sociologists seem to have accepted the theory of honour as "social property". They prefer to understand honour as a code regulating the behaviour, social interaction and communication of

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[4] Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 7–8.
[5] Nowosadtko 1995, 166.
[6] Dinges 1995, 30–32 and 48.
[7] Rogge 1995, 133. Rogge refers here to Bourdieu's idea, according to which symbolic goods – prestige or reputation bounded on the family or one's good name – can be accumulated like material goods.

individuals and groups. In the spirit of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, honour is seen as a mental passport into the society, a requirement for recognition and acceptance.[8] Bourdieu has suggested that honour is the foundation of a morality in which the individual places himself under the eyes of others and needs others to exist, because his image of himself depends on the reflection he obtains from others. A honourable man must always pay attention to his words because he bears responsibility not only for himself but also for the group he represents. According to Bourdieu, honour is above all a social value and should be identified by its social dimension.[9] Interestingly, the Old High German root *era* (Lat. *honus*) has always embraced social qualities and meanings as well.[10] Additionally, the word *era* also includes the idea of honouring God. This sacral dimension, and the biblical message of human beings being made in the image of God, played a significant role even in Early Modern society, especially in cases of blasphemy.[11]

Gerd Schwerhoff suggests that Bourdieu's theory of honour as symbolic capital has to be understood as a code, which served the people in the same way as economic capital to determine, conserve and defend their social position. Honour had to be regularly reconstructed with the help of particular behaviour norms.[12] Although Bourdieu described a case study concerning a North-African community, his considerations of honour have been applied – as well as criticised – by those studying the Early Modern European honour code. Bourdieu's ideas actually seem to correlate with the historical European concept of honour in many ways. Honour seems to have a universal character, its importance and position depending on the structure of the society. In the western democracies today honour seems to have lost its leading role, but in some other cultures, men are still prepared even to kill for the honour of their family to avoid social condemnation. The idea of honour as a social code, however, only accounts for only one side of the matter.

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[8] Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 5–10 and Dinges 1995, 26.
[9] Bourdieu 1976, 27–28 & 352–53, see also Esser 1956, 30.
[10] Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 3–5, see also Esser 1956, 30–31.
[11] Dinges 1995, 32.
[12] Schwerhoff 1991, 314

In Early Modern German society, honour had a judicial dimension as well.

According to the 19th-century jurist Christian Hübner, all honour is either "natural" or "civil". Natural honour, "bona fama", is objectively the image of an individual being morally faultless in the minds of his fellow citizens. The opposite of this is a bad reputation, "mala fama".[13] Similarly, Jörg Rogge distinguishes between social prestige and honour. The first could be increased, the latter with difficulty if at all.[14] This idea is consistent with Hübner's model of natural and civil honour. In relation to 16th and 17th century thinking, the distinction is somewhat artificial; the terms describing it have been created by historians. Despite the lack of specific terms, however, these two sides of honour were undoubtedly very important components of Early Modern German society. Still, not even contemporary thinkers could give an exhaustive answer to the question, what is honour. In my opinion, historical science needing instruments to help to comprehend and analyse the past, can benefit the model of dividing honour into two categories.

I suggest that honour, on the one hand, can and must be seen as a social honour, "bona fama", while one's prestige in the eyes of others is something that defined the quality of one's life in the community. Undoubted a bad reputation made everyday life very difficult. The foundation of one's legal position, on the other hand, was judicial honour. This "dignitas civilis" was part of one's social status as well. It was the object of actual dishonouring punishments, since the loss of "dignitas civilis" caused a serious deterioration of one's rights and status in the society. Consequently, honour should be viewed as both a social and a judicial value. Questions of having or losing (partly or completely) one's "bona fama", social prestige, or "dignitas civilis", one's legal position, played an essential role in the criminal justice system.

The 16th and 17th century was a period of dramatic religious conflicts, the time of confessionalism. At the heart of the German Catholic world, in the Bavarian Duchy, many of the Dukes of Wittelsbach were deeply religious. Even so, they also used the ongoing religion-related tensions

[13] Hübner 1800, 23–31.
[14] Rogge 1995, 125.

in their domestic politics to discipline the people. For example Duke Maximilian, who at the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century had great influence on the criminal justice system in Bavaria, seems to have actually believed in "God's wrath". Trying to set the moral course of the Bavarians on the right track, he issued innumerable orders, mandates and edicts, which defined the limits of acceptable behaviour and drew a clear picture of honour and dishonour. By following these directions and by living a pious life, one could avoid crop failure, famine, disease and war – all results of heavenly rage.[15] At the same time, the difference between honourable and dishonourable persons was emphasized.

Nurturing and losing honour

Dinges suggests that the Early Modern honour code was based on words, gestures and acts and on their negligence. It was for example necessary to respond to certain external signals, such as clothing or an honorary title, with particular acknowledgement.[16] Conversely, the honour code could also function in diminishing and damaging one's honour. The frequent conflicts concerning honour show clearly how the meaning of these values had to be repeatedly enforced in the society.[17] All this functioned in favour of substantiating and consolidating the code of honour, as well as emphasizing the lack of honour within particular social groups.[18] Early Modern honour was far from unchangeable; it was in constant danger of decline and could change or be totally lost during one's lifetime.[19] There were three ways in which "bona fama" could turn into "mala fama" and "dignitas civilis" could be damaged: insults, criminal acts which affected the delinquent's honour, and punishments.

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[15] These tendencies are clearly mentioned among others in the following mandates: BayHstA: KMS 1524/VIII/10, 1541/X/3, 1595/I/15 and 1604/XII/2.

[16] Dinges 1995, 33 and 53, see also Rogge 1995, 129–30.

[17] Rublack 1995, 381, see also Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 11–12.

The old German tribes placed a high value on honour and considered damaging it a serious transgression. The need to protect honour lived on in German culture into the Early Modern period. There is still is a saying: "to lose honour is to lose everything".[20] In 1579, the procurator Abraham Sauer wrote in his book *Strafbüchlein* how honourable people have always regarded life and honour equally, and a violation of one's honour as more serious than a violation of the body.[21] This idea of the importance of honour seems to have been widely accepted by contemporaries. A hundred years later, the jurist Jacob Döpler still shared Sauer's view literary.[22] According to Dinges, nothing was more valuable for Early Modern women and men than their chaste reputation, their personal honour. It was the precondition for good relationship with neighbours, for material success in work and for profitable marriage politics.[23] The integrity of one's judicial honour was at least as important, since social prestige could not help much after legal rights had been lost.

Furthermore, honour was a virtue, which could be developed and increased with the help of good upbringing. The famous book by Erasmus, *De civilitate morum puerilium*, a guide for the education of young boys and future rulers, first published in 1530, was commonly used as a schoolbook for boys and had great influence in many European countries. Several similar etiquette guides were written soon after. According to Norbert Elias, Erasmus's aim was not merely to advise the higher social classes, but to create general rules for behaviour. He had the

[18] There were some professions and groups which were considered dishonourable – for instance millers, barbers and all public, humiliating and precarious jobs, such as those related to dirt or death: the undertaker, the street-sweeper, the bailiff, the police and of course the hangman. Secondly, there was a huge group of people living some form of vagabond life: musicians, actors, illusionists, prostitutes, beggars, gypsies and even Jews, as well as criminals and convicts evading their punishments. See Dülmen 1999, 24–25 and BayHstA: KMS 1606/XI/27.

[19] Dinges 1995, 52–53 .

[20] Eisenhart 1823, 82–87.

[21] „Es haben Erbare Leut allwege das leben vnd die Ehre gleich geachtet, vnd die verletzung oder die verleumung an Ehre höher vnnd beschwerlicher dann leibsbeschedigung gehalten." Sauer 1579, 31.

[22] Döpler 1693, 817.

[23] Dülmen 1999, 1.

opportunity of directly observing a specific social code, the contemporary standard of manners and bad habits.[24] The picture of contemporary behaviour norms given by Erasmus seems quite vulgar, which is why Elias saw it as proof of his theory of civilisation. It seems more than likely, however, that some of the behaviour normal and acceptable to us would seem to people of the 16th century to be absolutely barbaric; thus history can not be seen as an inevitable development towards a more civilized stage of being. Still, what was necessary to prohibit or point out must have been a problem – at least for Erasmus and other educated men like him.

According to Erasmus, a boy should not be brought up *in a wilderness, like a swineherd, but in all honour and virtue*. He believed that the eyes, the forehead, the eyebrows, the cheeks and the appearance of the figure and its gestures are all expressions of honour. A boy must not, for example, roll his eyes insolently and stare in all directions, as the fool does.[25] Only unashamed boys laugh at all things, but a good boy indicates with his gestures that he has not understood the shameful and rude things that have actually been said or done. One should only laugh because of a visible reason. Otherwise, someone might consider himself insulted.[26] It was necessary to be extremely cautious and avoid giving the impression of wishing to insult the other, because this could easily lead to legal charges and endless fights over a violation of honour. By giving this advice, Erasmus reveals aspects of what he considered dishonourable behaviour.

The growing number of insult cases in the records from the late 16th century onwards, shows how representatives of all social groups struggled for their honour if it was attacked.[27] Modern criminology does not include "verbal violence" among violent crimes, but in Early Modern society, the view was different. Already Thomas Aquinas claimed that "peccata verborum" involved a crime against property; it aimed at robbing a person's honour. A verbal insult could sometimes be punished even harder than a physical offence.[28] In general, social

[24] Elias 1939 I, 89–91&98.
[25] Erasmus 1563, a ii r-a iii r.
[26] Erasmus 1563, a v v-a vi v.
[27] Dülmen 1999, 2–4.

honour – bona fama – could be attacked by gossip, rumours, verbal and nonverbal insults, certain gestures or other suggestions of one's questionable honour, written libels and offences of all kinds; anything that affected the collective impression of a given individual in the society. The more public an insult, the worse its consequences.[29]

Honour was especially essential to craftsmen; their pride in their honourable and respectable work seems to have been unlimited. The honour of the master reflected that of the workers and vice versa. An error made by one craftsman affected the whole guild.[30] The Early Modern guilds practised a detailed system of sanctions and social control, based on the fear of loss of honour. They defined their honour both positively in the form of social norms, and negatively, in the form of the demonstrative, symbolic separation of those who were not honourable.[31] The guilds were constantly worried about their honour, as can be seen clearly in the numerous charges of insults. Suspicious members were put under strict control because they could bring dishonour to the whole guild.

During the Reformation, honour and shame also became the central concepts in marking the boundaries of legitimate and impure – i.e. forbidden – sexuality. In the same process, the roles of men and women and the socially acceptable proper behaviour for each sex were defined.[32] Clearly, Early Modern female honour was sexually conceptualised and filled with images of virginity and purity. Correspondingly, women were insulted by being called whores. Chastity and honour have even been described as the only property of Early Modern women.[33] The woman's body can be viewed as a manifestation of female honour, because it was to be visible in her appearance whether she was a virgin, a legal wife, a widow, a nun or a prostitute. In the 16th century, the tendency towards the growing restriction of sexuality and a stronger pressure of prohibitions was very apparent in both Protestant and Catholic areas. The quality

[28] Schwerhoff 1991, 270–72.
[29] See e.g. Dedekind 1551/1882, 24.
[30] Rublack 1995, 404.
[31] Nowosadtko 1995, 172–73, see also Dinges 1995, 30.
[32] Burghartz 1995, 220 and Dinges 1995, 30.
[33] Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, s. 18–19, see also Breit 1991, s. 5–6.

or lack of honour was the most important reason for differences in the social and judicial position of women in the society.

Indecency being disapproved, a prostitute could not be an honourable person, and the expression "son of a whore" was a most serious insult to a man. According to an old saying, one who takes a prostitute as his wife is himself, or will become, a scoundrel.[34] In *Grobianus*, the brilliant satire by Friedrich Dedekind from the first half of the 16th century, honour and honourable behaviour are one of the leading themes. Dedekind asks how to become a "Grobianus"; [35] and the answer is, to do no chaste or honourable thing to anyone.[36] The motto of the book is: "*read me carefully and often, but always act in the reverse*".[37] Since everything was to be understood conversely, young men were advised to approach honourable virgins with rude and unashamed words and gestures, and literally to grab them whenever they saw them walking in the street without a guardian.[38] In this example, young women are seen as the object of uncontrolled male sexual desire, from which they had to be protected. Dedekind paints a picture of the kind of a manly behaviour that suits a Grobianus, but which honourable men should avoid.

In injuring a person's honour and in the social processes of marginalisation, traditions, gestures and symbolic acts played a significant role. For example in attacking someone's sexual integrity, one might spread straw on the threshold of an unfaithful fiancé in the direction of the church. Alternatively, a stone could be left at the door, indicating the punishment of carrying the stone. Similar hints were also used in libels. Either they described a punishment verbally or an image of a person suf-

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[34] „Wer eine Hure zur Ehe nimmt, der ist ein Schelm, oder will zum Schelm werden", Eisenhart 1823, 86–87.

[35] (Ger. grob=rude, discourteous)

[36] Dedekind 1551/1882, 16.

[37] „Liß wol diß büchlin offt vnd vil, Vnd thu allzeit das widerspil", Dedekind 1551/1882, the titel page.

[38] „Dergleichen solt dich mercken lassen, Wann dir ein Junckfraw auff der strassen, Begegnet, so mach dich zuthätig, Mit greiffen, tasten, nut vnslätig. Dann jetzundt acht doch niemandt mehr, Auff erbarkeit, zucht, oder ehr, Als bald ir holdschafft von ir heisch, Vnd thu dich zu wie katzen fleisch, Das selber kann in hafen steigen, Ein buler gwint ja nichts mit schweigen.", Dedekind 1551/1882, 41.

fering the punishment was painted.[39] It can be difficult for us to comprehend the direct relation between the body and honour in late medieval and Early Modern society.[40] For example, bastard children were often seen as the concrete, bodily result of sinful flesh and sexual wrongdoing. The expressions "illegitimate" and "dishonourable" were used as synonymous insults.[41] Insults, acts and punishments aiming at hurting someone's honour mostly addressed the scorn towards the body or an image of it. To debase the body publicly was to debase a person's honour.

Since a person's body was considered an expression of their honour, women working as prostitutes, or for other reasons bearing a reputation of a whore, represented the antagonism of female honour. In contemporary images, they were mostly represented as quite ugly. On the other hand, it was not only female honour that was bodily combined. The image of a man was often in danger of being transformed into an idiotic, swinish animal, because of masculine drinking habits.[42] In *Grobianus* the husband is told to use harsh language, to curse, to be sure to be drunk at home, and to beat his wife until she bleeds. From the point of view of a Grobianus, three things needed beating to remain good: a nut tree, a donkey and the woman.[43] A honourable husband would of course not treat his wife in the way described in *Grobianus*. He would try to keep peace in his household.

Erasmus tried to teach that it would be a sign of strength of character

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[39] Schwerhoff 1991, 274–75, see also Hergemöller 1994, 46 and Dinges 1995, 52–53. The so-called sinner's stone (Lasterstein or Schandstein) was usually hanged around the neck with a chain and had to be carried through the city while others watched.

[40] Waardt 1995, 317.

[41] Hergemöller 1994, 13.

[42] Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 20.

[43] „Vnd thu vil grosser fluch darzu, So hat kein nachpaur vor dir rhu. Ob dann dein weib vom beth auffstünd, vnd meint die thür auffthon geschwind, Vnd hieß dich lieblich wilkumm sein, So sie merckt daß du wärst voll wein, So schlag sie in das angesicht, Ob sies schon hett verschuldet nicht, Vnd gib jr manchen schweren streich, Daß sie wird mürb, geschlacht, vnd weich, Vnd jr erzitter leib vnd blut, So bald dein Grobheit reden thut. Dann du hörst ja gemeinklich sagen, Drey ding die muß man allzeit schlagen, Will man daß jren eins gut bleib, Ein Nußbaum, Esel, vnd ein Weib.", Dedekind 1551/1882, 114–15.

and mind not to play the endless game of exchanging insults; it would even be wise to repay insults with friendliness.[44] This advice, originally meant for future rulers, actually did not seem to reach the majority of people. On the contrary: the variety of different insults was remarkable. A man was generally insulted with words which debased his honourable name, his origin or his profession, and which made him out to be close to a criminal. Attacks against women concentrated on the domain of sexual honour.[45] Common nouns, such as thief or whore, were often combined with specific adjectives: adultering, Jewish, sacramentless, godless, black, yellow, dishonourable, foolish, doglike etc. It is worth noting that current religious arguments also contributed to popular insults. In Munich, a woman could be mocked as a "priest's whore",[46] echoing the notorious problem of Catholic priests having concubines living in their household. "Calvinist whore", "Lutheran whore"[47] and of course "witch"[48] were common. A man might hear himself described as a "Lutheran heretic",[49] a fool,[50] a crook or a mameluc,[51] as related to the hangman[52] or as being infected with a contagious disease.[53]

Erasmus represents a similar world of thought, associating all kinds of unwanted qualities – which honourable men should not have – with peasants, shepherds, fools, liars, ugliness, shamefulness, ungodliness and rudeness. In addition, particular animals functioned as educational examples: only cats, donkeys, swine and dogs do this and that. Apes and the mentally ill were compared to each other, and certain social

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[44] "Ein groß gemut achtet nit die torheit eines andren vnnd dunckt sich selb zu gut darzu, das es ein schmach mit der andren vertryben vnd überwinden. Ein groß, starck vnd hoch gemut verachtet alle schmach vnd vnbill vnd widergyltet vmb üblthat guthat.", Erasmus 1521, b IIII v-c I r.

[45] More about common insults in: Rummel 1993, 110–13 and 184, Dinges 1995, 53, Dülmen 1999, 8–9 and Schwerhoff 1991, 315–17.

[46] "pfaffenhuer", StadtA: SG 867/1 (1592), S. 153.

[47] "ein caluinische vnd lutterische huer", StadtA: SG 867/16 ⟨1605/1606), Fol. 42 v.

[48] StadtA: SG 867/6 (1597), S. 88.

[49] "lutterische khetzer", StadtA: SG 867/16 (1605/1606), Fol. 92 r.

[50] StadtA: SG 867/15 (1605), Fol. 136 r.

[51] "ein schelmen vnd mamaluckhen", StadtA: SG 867/15 (1605), Fol. 105 r.

[52] "henckhers geschlecht", StadtA: SG 867/3 (1594), S. 22.

[53] "ein sondersiech", StadtA: SG 867/15 (1605), Fol. 10 v.

groups, such as Jews, soldiers, vagabonds and bandits, were conceived of as a heterogeneous group[54]. All these insults go deep into the essence of honour. A hint of the wrong religious orientation, a hint of being infected – which was largely understood as God's punishment for a sinful life – or a hint of dishonourableness, for instance in being referred to as an executioner, were serious attacks against one's honour. Common fears concerning the wrong confession, war, death, superstition, crime, strangers and disease become clearly visible in the legal processes of insults, which sometimes seem to fill the protocols and must have taken up a lot of time on the part of the authorities.

According to Bourdieu, a provocation can only take place when the two participants are equal in honour, because the one who challenges the other has to believe that the latter is worth it. Both of them have to know the rules of the game.[55] In other words, there was no point in a craftsman insulting a beggar, because a beggar insulting a craftsman was not to be taken seriously. There are frequent examples of cases in which one reacts to an insult by returning at least the same number of bad words back. In 1596 in Munich, one man was insulted to be called a Jew, which he most likely was not; he answered by calling the other man a thief, "*to save his honour*".[56] Since an insulted person was in danger of losing his honour, he had to defend it in public, especially in the eyes of those who had the same status as he did. The loss of one's social prestige was understood to be contagious. A person who lost his honour had to go through a phase during which his future status was not yet clear. For a short time, his position was ambivalent. After this limited period passed, he could be rehabilitated and his honour might be restored; if not, he took on a lower status through public conviction.[57] A publicly insulted person, if he cared about his honour, could not simply ignore the incident. Moreover, the community needed to know if he was to be declared a thief, or whatever he had been called, or to be treated as a honourable person.

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[54] See also BayHstA: KMS 1540/IV/3 and 1606/XI/27.

[55] Bourdieu 1976, 15–17.

[56] "...das er ine anfangs ainen Juden gehaissen...vnd ine retorquendo zu rettung seiner ehren ainen dieb gescholten", StadtA: SG 867/5 (1596), S. 45.

[57] Waardt 1995, 309–13, see also Hergemöller 1994, 43–44.

Shameful and dishonouring punishments

According to Sauer, some punishments endangered the criminal's life, some his body and some his honour.[58] Honour and civil rights could be lost either totally, as the result of a legal process, or partly, in the form of social disrespect. Hergemöller calls the first a primary and the latter a secondary stigma.[59] Punishments aimed at humiliating and dishonouring their object were known already during the classical period,[60] but as honour became a central social category from the 15th century onwards these punishments developed at a significant pace. Sometimes they could replace physical punishment.[61] Shameful and dishonouring punishments certainly damaged the convict's social prestige, but especially the latter could also seriously impair his or her judicial position. In other words, judicial honour, i.e. "dignitas civilis", depended not only on the person's estate, status, family, origin, birth and occupation, but also on verdicts and punishments and on other legal actions against him. From the late 16th century onwards, the importance of honour was increasingly taken advantage of by the ruling elite and honour became a genuine judicial instrument.

The dichotomy of honour, as both social and judicial, is elementary for understanding the concept of all defaming punishments. German has two terms for these two different ranks of punishments: "Schandstrafe" and "Ehrenstrafe". Schandstrafe was what I here call "shameful punishment". It was a form of civil discipline, carried out by a public servant, and did not destroy one's judicial honour.[62] A shameful punishment merely affected the convict's reputation and social honour, not his dignitas civilis. Ehrenstrafe was what I call "dishonouring punishment". It was meant to damage one's dignitas civilis, to reduce one's civil rights, and might even make life in the society impossible. A dishonouring punishment made one permanently "infam". In Bavarian criminal historiog-

[58] Sauer 1579, Aviii v.
[59] Hergemöller 1994, 1–2 and 42–43.
[60] Esser 1956, 64–65.
[61] Dülmen 1988, 68–71.
[62] Funke 1940, 110.

raphy, the difference between shameful and dishonouring punishments has been noted in particular by the historian Reinhard Heydenreuter.

One difficulty in defining the concept of honour is that shameful and dishonouring punishments are still constantly confused in the literature. However, they cannot be kept totally distinct from each other either. This makes it sometimes very difficult to distinguish on the one hand "bona fama" and "dignitas civilis", on the other "Schandstrafe" and "Ehrenstrafe". The difference between these two punishments was actually defined very clearly in the first half of the 20th century by the German jurist Wilhelm Funke, but it nevertheless often seems to be ignored. According to Funke, the distinction was earlier very familiar.[63] The original sources, however, do not use the term "Ehrenstrafe";[64] it was probably invented by later jurists to describe the past criminal justice system. It is clear, in any case, that contemporaries had different categories for both shameful and dishonouring punishments. The scale ranged from minor public mockery to total loss of civil rights by means of highly scandalous and painful processes. The different consequences of the punishments had great importance and were mentioned in the protocols.

Shameful punishments were many, and varied from city to city. In general, they did not cause extreme physical pain, even though they might leave a visible sign on the criminal. For example the hair or the dress might be cut. Some of the shameful punishments used in Munich and in most other German towns included a public apology, house arrest, being kept in a "fool's cage",[65] standing in front of the church or in the market square with some symbolic reference to the crime committed, or carrying the so called "sinner's stone" through the city. One interesting form, which has its roots in the late medieval justice system, is the so-called "baker's dip". A baker caught baking loaves of bread below the standard weight but still charging the set price was thrown

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[63] Funke 1940, 110.

[64] In the excerpts I have translated, I use the terms "dishonouring" or "shameful" punishment, depending on which one I think the author intends. In the original text, the expressions used might be Ehrenstrafe, Schandstrafe, ehrenrührige Strafe or entehrende Strafe.

[65] For explanation, see picture 1.

Picture 1: The fool's house in Nördlingen, built in 1618 under the staircase of the renovated, originally medieval city hall. The punished one had to sit in the cabin behind the fool's image saying, "Now there is two of us". People passing by could peep through the decorative holes. Photo: Lidman.

into the water while others watched.[66] Sometimes a chicken thief had to stand in the middle of the market square with the dead birds hanging around his neck.[67] Although such punishments may have seriously damaged the convict's social honour, there were no legal obstacles to life within the community afterwards.

A very common "crime" in 16th-century Munich was hard drinking. In his book, Friedrich Dedekind advised a man coming home from the tavern at night to make as much noise as possible by singing and shouting insults on the streets, so that all the neighbours would wake up. When he then found himself in jail, he could be calm and think of imprisonment as a shelter from the rain and cold, the poor diet as a healthy change, after which the wine would taste even better when he got out. Afterward, the same cycle was repeated, as he drank to be as drunk as possible.[68] Dedekind's story was to be understood in reverse, as an example of unwanted and shameful behaviour. Reading the council protocols of Munich, there seems to have been a genuine need for such advice.

In punishing the numerous problem drinkers, there was a special system of writing their names on a board,[69] which probably hung in front of the town hall or some other public place. Some men had their names written there repeatedly. First offenders could get away with a promise not to repeat their crime, a promise they usually could not keep. If having one's name hanging up for everybody to see did not prevent renewed errors, it was time for harder punishments, such as walking with a chain around one's legs for a month,[70] sometimes with chiming bells on it. Despite their harshness, these were still "merely" shameful punishments, not dishonouring ones. They increased the drinker's bad reputation, but left his legal position untouched.

Dishonouring punishments, such as whipping, the pillory or brand-

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[66] StadtA: RP 211 (1596), Fol. 53 v.

[67] StadtA: RP 215/1 (1600), Fol. 229 v-230 r.

[68] "Wo du dann kompst herauß ein mol, O wie schmackt dir der wein so wol: So sauff dich dann als bald voll wein, So legt man dich gleich wider ein.", Dedekind 1551/1882, 112–14.

[69] StadtA: RP 224 (1609), Fol. 168 r.

[70] StadtA: RP 215/1 (1600), Fol. 70 v.

ing, were adjudicated by the high court and carried out by the hangman. Often they were the result of a prolonged legal process, during which the suspect was kept imprisoned. Pre-trial detention could take months or even more than a year. Dishonouring punishments were considered equal in severity to corporal punishments.[71] Sometimes they were used in commutation of a death sentence; they were very often combined with shameful punishments.[72]

The most common and probably best-known dishonouring punishment was the pillory,[73] which was usually combined with whipping and banishment. According to the contemporary jurist Jacob Döpler, whipping happened in the following way: the delinquent had to walk through the city with his upper body bared, while the hangman followed him with his lash. If the convicted person was a woman, her breasts were covered with a piece of cloth to avoid provocation.[74] Döpler considered whipping a harsh punishment; not only was it "the first step to gallows," it also caused physical pain.[75] Whipping could also be carried out with the convict tied to the pillory. In describing the emotional pain banishment could cause, Döpler becomes almost sentimental. Inspired by the legend of Ulysses, he writes: "*the love of fatherland lives in every person, the more noble a person is, the more powerful is this feeling*".[76] A person's wish to live out his life where he was born was thus universal, and a punishment that made this impossible was among the cruellest.

The criminal law in Bavaria was arranged with the help of mandates and different orders relatively early. Still, it has to be understood that despite these legal documents and norms, the reality could have been very different. In many cases, the cruelty of the punishment was only on paper, so the most horrible punishments were not always carried out.[77] The Munich magistrates also often preferred much milder punishments

[71] Funke 1940, 110. Corporal punishments aimed primarily at causing physical pain and permanent damage to the body. In some cases, the line between corporal and dishonouring punishments is difficult to draw.

[72] See e.g. Dülmen 1988, 67.

[73] (Ger. Pranger). Picture number 2.

[74] Döpler 1693, 859–60, see also Constitutio Criminalis Carolina 198§.

[75] Döpler 1693, 852–62.

[76] Döpler 1693, 839.

Picture 2: The late gothic pillory in Schwäbisch Hall, built in 1507. The stony column has iron chains to fasten the convict. Photo: Lidman

than those recommended by the duke. Both dishonouring and shameful punishments were determined by rituals and symbols,[78] such as processions through the town, objects hung up on the pillory, or physical injuries, and they were always performed in public. For example, one who committed perjury was publicly declared infamous. He lost all his honour, along with the two fingers he had used in taking the oath, as a sign of his dishonesty.[79] At the end of the 16th century, new punishments were created, and some traditionally ecclesiastical punishments were used in the secular courts. For example the sentence passed on an adulterer, of being made to stand in front of the church with a candle in his hand, could be enforced by the city as well.[80] The candle symbolised penitence.

Punishments damaging one's honour did not aim at either inner and moral chastisement or at physical damage alone: they were somewhere in between.[81] Dishonouring and shameful punishments that aimed at maximising publicity and mockery cannot be understood merely as legal acts of the aristocracy, but also as social sanctions. They depended on the reactions of both the public and the criminal. A major part of the punishment was the scorn of other people. Such criminal laws were an effective medium of social control.[82] They encouraged people to observe the behaviour of the convicted person in the future, and it was thus much easier to raise charges against him again. Dishonouring and shameful punishments became an important part of the Early Modern ducal disciplinary system.

[77] Heydenreuter 1981, 48–50.
[78] Dinges 1995, 52.
[79] Sauer 1579, 5–8, Constitutio Criminalis Carolina 198§.
[80] Heydenreuter 1991, 269 and BayHstA: KMS 1589/I/21.
[81] Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 5.
[82] Esser 1956, 42, Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 2, Schild 1980, 212 and Dülmen 1999, 72.

Discrimination and inequality in the law

It is said, "money comes to money". In Early Modern German society, the same seems to have been true of both honour and shame. If a person had a certain amount of honour, this could save him from the dishonouring torture used in examinations.[83] Nobles and other honourable persons usually did not have to endure dishonouring or shameful punishments, which were mainly addressed to the common people. Poor people, who could not pay a fine, were punished publicly.[84] Persons who already had a bad reputation were more easily arrested. Even if they turned out to be innocent, the incident did not harm the authorities, because the person was generally considered suspicious. If the authorities wanted to arrest a honourable individual, they had to have more credible grounds.[85] Paradoxically having high enough honour could prevent one from losing it. However, honour, money and influence were tightly linked. Either having or not having honour strongly regulated a person's life within the society.

In Early Modern society, honourable women had great importance for the status of their family and were respected in the society. Traditionally, a man who violently or otherwise dishonourably took the honour of someone's legal wife, a virgin, a widow or a nun, had to suffer the death penalty. The woman's willingness made no big difference in these matters.[86] A dishonourable woman, however, was in a different position and could be abducted without any sanctions.[87] A man who fooled around with a woman of bad sexual reputation, one who was considered more or less a prostitute, was not punished for adultery even if the woman was married.[88] In a case of adultery, the cuckolded husband was

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[83] Sauer 1579, 326–27.

[84] Dülmen 1988, 65, Breit 1991, 135 and Constitutio Criminalis Carolina 218§.

[85] Dülmen 1988, 15.

[86] Sauer 1579, 79 and 81, see also 74–75.

[87] "Diese straff vnd satzung aber hat nit statt so jemandts ein vnehrlich Weib oder Bulerin hinweg geführet hette.", Sauer 1579, 78.

[88] "So jemand ein gemein Weib gebulet hette, der kann darumb nicht als ein Ehebrecher gestrafft werden, ob gleich dasselbige Weib einen ehelichen Mann hette", Sauer 1579, 129.

not allowed to kill the other man if the latter belonged to the same estate. If the adulterer was of lower status, however, the husband could feel free to get even, and was not to be punished for this.[89] This is just one example of the many cases in which the law did not treat people equally. The justification for this discrimination was the difference in the honour of the persons involved.

That the wife's adultery was considered more serious than the husband's now seems peculiar. Nevertheless, this topic was extensively discussed by Sauer and other contemporary writers. Since a wife's adultery could bring bastard children, i.e. illegal heirs, into a man's household, women had to be more chaste than their husbands. Sauer concluded that adultery committed by the wife is a more serious crime than that of her husband.[90] Women were expected to behave chastely in every situation, since if they did not the honour of the whole family would suffer. These attitudes appear clearly in the whole image of women and the feminine mind. Women who had to deal with police authorities were mostly accused of sexual misbehaviour – which might never have actually happened. If suspicion had arisen, however, it had to be cleared. Often merely being suspected could stain the woman's reputation and hurt her social honour badly. In case of future accusations, this made her position more difficult.

Social stigmas and outcasts

Bourdieu's interpretation, that the consequences of an insult were either the rehabilitation of one's honour or a social death,[91] seem to be consistent with Early Modern German society. Still, it is important to remember that there were different degrees of insults; only the most serious ones could lead to total social disqualification. It was not easy to escape a dishonourable status, but it was possible. The legal authorities could declare a person or a complete occupational group honourable through

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[89] "...sondern allein so gerings standts vnnd leumuth, als die Kuppler, die Schalcksnarren, Pfeiffer vnd Singer.", Sauer 1579, 121–24.
[90] Sauer 1579, 93–94 and 109.
[91] Bourdieu 1976, 33–34.

a special oath and rituals.[92] Even after rehabilitation, however, one's "bona fama" might still not recover; no law could restore the good reputation of those who had lost it and became stigmatised. An individual not punished was still legally honourable, even if his fellow citizens might consider him otherwise.[93] Rehabilitation did not usually concern people who had for example undergone the punishment of the pillory, because it left permanent marks on their honour. For this reason the pillory was usually combined with banishment.

All insults, verdicts and punishments had some effect on honour, some of them being more severe than others. They either caused a social stigma, a decline in one's social honour to some degree, or they led to partial or total loss of civil rights, in which case the person became an outcast. The verdict had its effect on honour, even if the punishment itself was not carried out.[94] Without honour, the chances for a normal life in the society were lesser or none.[95] In people's minds, shame and dishonour were linked with danger, criminality and disorder.[96] A person who had lost his honour could not be given a position of trust, hold membership in a guild, function as a witness in court or be buried honourably. Being without honour was a judicially definable status.[97] As Hübner puts it, "infamia" meant a bare reduction of "dignitas civilis".[98] The idea of infamous people being without legal rights is rooted in ancient German culture, where honour and legal position were associated tightly.[99]

Punishment carried out by the hangman was a crucial point in becoming infamous, because such a contact closed the doors to a life within the society. By rule, it meant political and social exclusion from society. Since shameful punishments were carried out by a public servant, not by the hangman, integration back into society was possible.[100]

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[92] Dülmen 1999, 64–65, Eisenhart 1823, 83–84 and Schreiner & Schwerhoff 1995, 13–15.
[93] Hübner 1800, 10.
[94] His 1928, 93–94.
[95] Hergemöller 1994, 2 and Schwerhoff 1993, 175–80.
[96] Dinges 1995, 1–2.
[97] Eisenhart 1823, 83–84 and Nowosadtko 1995, 166–67.
[98] Hübner 1800, VII.
[99] His 1928, 92–93.

Becoming infamous was always the result of an obvious crime, a legal process and public punishment. A shameful punishment, however, did not make one infamous, since it did not damage the "dignitas civilis". Theoretically, "mala fama" had no effect on one's legal position, but being sentenced or suffering the actual punishment obviously affected one's prestige. In reality, judges and other members of the court were also members of the society – at least they had their ears among the common people. It would be hypocritical to claim that this did not affect them in any way.

Importantly, the contamination of dishonourable objects or persons was feared in Early Modern society.[101] Dishonour and dishonourable people were a constant threat to the whole community, and for example craftsmen building the gallows had to be protected from it with a special law. They all had to participate, so that the contagious dishonour could be shared among many. The more people working in the process, the less damage to their honour.[102] It was important to distinguish between one's own honour and the dishonour of criminals and outcasts; the stigmatisation and discrimination of other groups strengthened the honour of one's own.[103] In literature and art, beggars and other vagabonds were described as ugly, unchaste and dishonest, which increased the intolerance towards all poor people without a permanent domicile.[104] Often they were the objects of public mockery and punishments. A public punishment made manifest the dishonour of the convict.

It is questionable, however, whether we can really speak of loss of honour in cases of severe criminals, and if this could have had any noticeable effect on them. Bandits had their own social groups and within them their own "bandit's honour".[105] The same question has to be asked concerning the lowest social classes. In terms of the social

[100] Dülmen 1999, 69–73.
[101] Dülmen 1999, 67.
[102] Constitutio Criminalis Carolina 215–217§, Schreiner&Schwerhoff 1995, 14, see also Dülmen 1988, 94–95.
[103] Dülmen 1999, 21.
[104] Picture number 3.
[105] Esser 1956, 115.

Picture 3: Beggar and his wife roaming through the country. A 15th century wood engraving in Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (Inv. Nr. 10930). Photo: Lidman.

structure, it was easier to carry out shameful and dishonouring punishments aimed at the lower classes, outsiders and strangers. Nobody within one's own social group would have to worry about its honour because of a non-related person.[106] Sometimes a scapegoat was found – usually among persons of questionable honour – who could be blamed for the misfortunes of the community. When a poor beggar or thief was publicly punished, it did not cause much trouble to the authorities. The ritual of punishment, however, helped to ease tensions in the community; "God's wrath" was thought to be calmed down, and the normal life of "honourable" people could be resumed. In that sense, public punishments played an important role in regulating crises in the community. The individual being punished became an instrument of the ducal disciplinary system, which the city council was to practice as well.

The possibility of going through a dishonouring punishment and still having a chance of honourable life somewhere else was quite small. Those banished had to be clearly warned not to return, and were threat-

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[106] Dülmen 1999, 71–74.

Picture 4: A marking-iron with gallows, total length 24 cm, in Bavarian National Museum, Munich (BayNat-Mus St.R. 63). Photo: Lidman
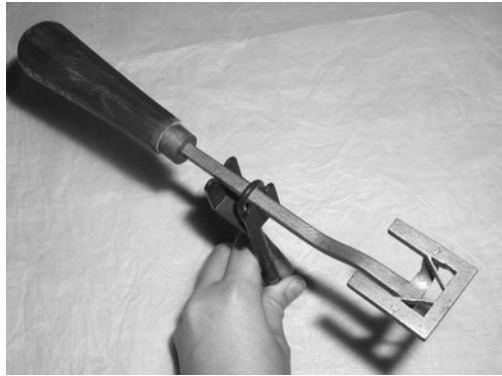
ened by even more horrible punishments.[107] Sometimes the loss of "dignitas civilis" was sealed with a visible physical stigma, a brand on the skin,[108] which made future identification of the convict easier. A figure of the gallows, for example, spoke a clear language: this person should actually have been hanged, but had gone through the dishonouring punishment instead. If he relapsed, he would be hanged without any prolonged legal process. After losing one's "dignitas civilis", one surely had no other possibility than to become an outcast. The experience of some people being punished strengthened the community's sense of its own honour. The difference between "us" and "them" was intensified, as unwanted individuals were kept at a distance from one's own group by means of concepts of honour and dishonour. Like other rulers of the time, the Bavarian dukes made the most of it in their political and ideological regimes.

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[107] BayHstA: KMS 1605/III/10.
[108] Picture 4. For more on brand marks, see Döpler 1693, 851 and 896–902.

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KEEPING THE WHORES RECOGNIZABLE
Segregating and Identifying Prostitutes
in Late Medieval Europe

Leena Rossi

In late medieval urban centres, there were several groups and individuals that caused ambiguous feelings in others; that were not only morally despised and spatially separated but also officially labelled with discriminating and stigmatising signs. Most of these people were part of certain religious or occupational groups or were physically or psychologically deviant, e.g. Jews, Christian heretics, executioners, prostitutes, lepers, and were mentally ill.[1] These people were tolerated but frowned upon and even pushed to live at the physical edges of the towns.

In this article I study one occupational group, that of prostitutes[2] and their position in the late medieval urban societies. There were

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[1] People were also suspicious about former convicts, vagabonds, and those who dealt with blood and death in their work, e.g. butchers, barber-surgeons, pharmacists, and gravediggers.

[2] The term 'prostitute' is relatively neutral, while other words used in everyday language, such as 'whore' and 'harlot', carry a certain amount of judgmental freight. Brundage 1975, 825, note 2; 1987a, 248, 389–90; Karras 1996b, 243–44. Since 'whore' and 'harlot' are frequently used in contemporary scholarly texts I also use them here to avoid tautology.

whores also in the countryside and following the army, but I focus on the urban 'common women', since it was in towns that prostitution flourished and surfaced in complex forms. Urban centres attracted large numbers of young men – apprentices, journeymen, foreign traders, and clergy – within their walls. The demand for sexual services was large enough to justify the existence of a professional category to satisfy it.[3] Prostitution was intended to cater to the sexual needs of unmarried men. Regulations often prohibited married men, priests, and Jews from patronising 'Christian' brothels. Nevertheless, these frequented the places. In certain areas, the clergy also accounted for a fair amount of the clientele of bathhouses and private brothels.[4]

A number of social and legal historians have been interested in medieval prostitution and they have also discussed the questions of discrimination and the segregation of the prostitutes from "respectable" people. However, these questions have not been at the focus of systematic research. In this article, I examine the ways medieval prostitutes were officially identified and separated morally, spatially and visually. I also wish to challenge certain ideas about prostitutes and prostitution expressed by male scholars. Geographically I limit my study into Western European countries, mainly England, France, Germany, and Italy. I attempt to find answers to these questions: How were prostitutes morally distinguished? How and where were they physically segregated? How were they visually discriminated? What kinds of signs were forced on them? Were there any similarities between prostitutes and other despised groups? I also try to explicate the motives and purposes of separating and marking the prostitutes.

Moral differentiation: sinful women

Deviant insiders: Only a few medieval writers were concerned with defining the 'prostitute'. The fourteenth-century English text *Fasciculus Morum* by an unknown Franciscan, containing material for preachers,

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[3] Otis 1985, 2; Rossiaud 1988, 3–4.
[4] Rossiaud 1988, 40–41; Karras 1996b, 253.

states that "the term 'prostitute' must be applied only to those women who give themselves to anyone and will refuse none, and that for monetary gain".[5] The canon law used only one term, *meretrix* or *meretrix publica* to mean both 'commercial prostitute' and 'loose woman'.[6] Laypersons used a wider spectrum of words; the French, for instance, called prostitutes 'belles filles', 'bonnes dames', 'filles communes (publiques)', 'filles joyeuses' and 'filles publiques', or more rudely 'bagassa', 'garce', or 'putain', while the English called them 'common women', 'harlots', and 'whores'.[7]

According to the leading authority on the canon law of sex, James A. Brundage, medieval canon lawyers acknowledged the financial element in prostitution but considered promiscuity the key.[8] A woman was seen as a prostitute not because she accepted money for sex but because she was a lustful woman. The social historian Ruth Mazo Karras says that prostitution was not just another illicit occupation, as we consider it today and as it has been treated by some medievalists, but was a spiritual state that made the woman behave badly.[9] Lyndal Roper, who has studied women and morality in Reformation Augsburg, also argues that the 'whore' was a moral category rather than an occupational one.[10]

Medieval society could label any transgressive woman as a prostitute, and immoral women were banished from a town unless they went to live in the streets or in areas dedicated to prostitutes.[11] *Meretrix* could apply to any woman who strayed from the path – not just those involved in commercial sex. For both commercial and non-commercial *meretrices*, the prostitute label meant the ascription of a sinful identity; for a woman to be sexually active was not just a series of acts but the reflection of a sinful feminine nature. Once the label was there,

[5] *Fasciculus Morum* 1989, 669.

[6] Otis 1985, 11, 16; Karras 1996b, 244.

[7] Otis 1985, 1; Rossiaud 1988, 7.

[8] Brundage 1987a, 248–49, 308–11; see also Karras 1996b, 243–44.

[9] Karras 1999, 162. In a recent article Karras has briefly treated the subject of sex work in Medieval Europe; she suggests that although most medieval authors primarily regarded prostitutes as sinful women, some writers identified prostitution as a variety of work. Karras 2003, 153.

[10] Roper 1985, 21.

[11] Otis 1985, 29.

and stuck, the woman belonged to a distinct group, subject to special regulation.[12]

Concubines and courtesans were also counted among women with "loose moral". The former, *ancillae*, lived as unofficial wives of powerful members of society, even clerics. They were usually socially inferior to the men.[13] While many priests and bishops had concubines and even children, the canonists clearly considered them undesirable, but less so than prostitutes and they felt it necessary to draw a sharp distinction between the two groups on the basis of promiscuity.[14] If a prostitute could gain wealth and status by her accomplishments she became a courtesan,[15] something more than an ordinary whore, and could afford to be selective in her choice of clientele. She was mistress or concubine to only a few.[16] However, the courtesan, who flourished in the early modern period and even later, was in the late Middle Ages little more than a shadowy figure appearing only rarely.

Historians have interpreted the attitudes of late medieval Europeans toward prostitutes in slightly differing tones. Many tend to consider whores in the context of marginal urban groups, while others are convinced that they did have their place in society.[17] I agree with Leah L. Otis, who has studied the medieval prostitution in Languedoc, Southern France, that the term 'marginal' does not apply well to the Middle Ages, as prostitution was then a recognised profession, if not a particularly respected one. The phenomenon was shaped by demographic, economic, social, and cultural forces, and its shape in a given society was determined and transformed by changes in social structure and in cul-

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[12] Karras 1999, 163, 165–66.

[13] Otis 1985, 14.

[14] Brundage 1982, 151.

[15] 'Courtesan' is derived from the word 'courtier' and originally meant 'one attached to the court'. It soon became synonymous with a high-class prostitute who restricted her attention to men of the upper class. Bullough 1982b, 184.

[16] Bullough 1982b, 184; Rossiaud 1988, 131–32.

[17] See e.g. Graus 1981, 385–437; Lömker-Schlögel 1990, 52–85; Karras 1996b and 1999. Paul Schuster critiques the whole concept of 'marginal group' as not particularly useful in the study of prostitution. Schuster 1992.

tural values. In addition, changes in demand and supply were reflected in changing attitudes toward prostitution.[18]

The French historian of sexuality Jacques Rossiaud considers prostitution as a more or less normal phenomenon and part of everyday urban life. He writes:

> There was nothing discreditable in frequenting bath-houses or *prostibula*. People went to them quite openly: all levels of society were to be found there, the better-off in bath-houses rather than the brothels; and the latter were not for paupers and tramps, since one had to pay for both girls and wine. […] Sexual behaviour in the brothel or the bath-house seems in no way to have departed from the norms of married life.[19]

In the Middle Ages, the 'lesser evil' or 'necessary evil' argument, attributed to Saint Thomas Aquinas among others, seems to have been taken quite seriously. Prostitution was seen as a safety valve for masculine sexuality, preventing the seduction or rape of "respectable" women; it also redirected men away from sodomy that excited considerable civic anxiety.[20] For example, since men in fourteenth century Florence married fairly late, prostitution was regarded as a preferred alternative to homosexuality.[21] As Ruth Mazo Karras says, *meretrices*, whose existence protected society were, according to Aquinas, not women who performed sexual acts for money, but rather women who were abandoned to sin.[22]

There was a fundamental ambivalence in the Church's law of prostitution. Although the canon lawyers disapproved of prostitution in principle, they viewed it as an evil that had to be tolerated in order to avert the greater evils that would follow from its abolition. They treated also the prostitute as a necessary evil, to be tolerated and dealt with rather leniently. This toleration of prostitution seems to go as far back as to St Augustine (354–430), who observed that if prostitutes were not available, established patterns of sexual relationship would be endangered.

[18] Otis 1985, 2, 3.
[19] Rossiaud 1985, 79, 81.
[20] *Summa Teologica* II-II, Q.X, Art II and II-II Q. lx, 2 and 5, II-II, LXXXVII, 2, ad. 2, and II-II, CVIII, 8 ad. 4. See also Karras 1996b, 245; 1999, 163.
[21] Trexler 1980, 350.
[22] Karras 1999, 163.

Therefore, he thought, it was better to tolerate prostitution, with all of its associated evils, than to risk the perils that would follow the elimination of the harlot from the society.[23]

Ruth Mazo Karras has pointed out that the acceptance of the fact of prostitution in the late Middle Ages coincides with a considerable toleration of male premarital and extramarital sexual activity. Yet tolerance towards prostitution did not automatically mean the acceptance of prostitutes. Both in legislation and in the public mind the stigma was attached to the prostitute. According to Karras medieval prostitutes present a clear example of a group set aside as different from other people on the basis of their sexuality; the society saw prostitution as a deviant sexual practise.[24] The *meretrix* was actually closer to the modern 'whore' than the 'prostitute' – she was not a woman who committed certain acts, but a type of woman.[25]

Although she speaks about marginalization and outcasts, Karras argues, quite correctly, that in some ways prostitutes were not marginal but central; the purpose of legalising prostitution was not to exclude prostitutes but to integrate them into society under specific regulated conditions.[26] According to Bronislaw Geremek, who has examined late medieval Parisian prostitution, the legislation simultaneously struggled against prostitution while striving both to define a space for it and to achieve the maximum possible distance from it.[27] Mary Elizabeth Perry expresses similar ideas, using a very telling term about the prostitute: the "deviant insider".[28] To me the struggle against prostitution seems to have been more or less temporary and half-hearted.

Doomed to prostitution: There were many reasons why young women ended up with prostitution as a means of livelihood. There were poor girls whom the break-up of family had left unprotected. There were

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[23] Brundage 1982, 149–50, 151, 159.

[24] Karras 1999, 161, 163. Karras has developed her argument further in her book *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*, 1996a. See also Brundage 1987a, 248, 389–90.

[25] Karras 1999, 162.

[26] Karras 1996b, 250.

[27] Geremek 1987, 212.

[28] Perry 1992, 137.

widows. There were victims of rape who had had their reputation thus tarnished; rape caused unmarried women to lose their value on the marriage market, while married women felt ashamed and guilty, often having their husbands abandon them. None of these women had any other means of income; in practice prostitution was their only alternative.[29] The city fathers who organised the brothels and recruited the prostitutes knew quite well that they were recruiting poor girls driven by violence or by poverty and subjecting them to sin of lust.[30]

Jacques Rossiaud notes that half of the prostitutes in Dijon, Burgundy, in the fifteenth century were forced into the profession; more than a fourth of the girls were victims of rape; and nearly a fourth had been prostituted by the family. Only 15 per cent of them seem to have offered their bodies for sale on their own initiative and without constraint. [31] Modern scholars assume that women entered prostitution for financial reasons, not for the sake of lust; the main part of them remained among the poorest women in towns.[32]

It was no wonder that the French poet, Francois Villon (1431 – c. 1461), targeted the prostitutes' hunger for money in his *Ballad of Ladies' Love*, in his refrain "Riche amoureux a toujours l'advantage" – the wealthy gallant always gains the day.[33] Nevertheless, this recorder of the lower levels of Parisian life showed in his poems and 'testaments' a deep-seated sympathy for many of the women of the street.[34]

Male hypocrisy and a double standard of morality are revealed when Rossiaud argues that the medieval city fathers in Florence who organised the brothels not only paid careful attention to the teachings of the Church but saw to it that the *prostibulum* functioned smoothly and to the profit of citizens. According to Rossiaud, the clients ran no risk of committing an act of qualified fornication, since the women came originally from outside Tuscany. Transgressing ties of spiritual parentage or

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[29] Rossiaud 1985, 79, 85 and 1988 29–30, notes 4, 5, 6. Raping a prostitute, however, was not regarded as a crime.

[30] Rossiaud 1988, 123.

[31] Rossiaud 1988, 32.

[32] Karras 1996b, 252.

[33] Lewis 1928, 324–25.

[34] *Francois Villon* 1960, 51, passim; Lewis 1928, 276–77, 324–25; see also Bullough 1982b, 185–185.

committing incest were made impossible as well, and the city officials avoided subjecting local girls to the sin of lust. The private prostitutes, however, may easily have had quite different geographical origins.[35]

Rossiaud's argument about city fathers' concern does not, however, hold in the long run; by the end of the fifteenth century foreigners had completely disappeared from the ranks of public prostitution, and been displaced by Lombardian women. Even Tuscan and Florentine girls were recruited for private houses.[36] Ruth Mazo Karras takes a sober view of foreign prostitutes: perhaps they had hard time finding other work. She also suggests that prostitutes may have received foreign names or nicknames because these made them sound exotic.[37]

Judging by the careers of modern prostitutes, I suggest that the working life of medieval prostitutes was probably rather short and the choices for their later lives were scarce. Bullough also says that there was little a "respectable" woman could do to support herself.[38] Some of the former prostitutes could of course continue as procuresses or brothel-keepers. Repentance was always a possibility, and ex-prostitutes were encouraged to enter into religious life or to marry. In 1224 an effort began to create a special religious order of penitential nuns to harbour reformed whores. In 1227 Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) gave the highest sanction to the Order of St Mary Magdalene, which was subsequently established in numerous cities. Since the sisters wore a white habit, they were called 'White Ladies'. Similar convents not necessarily affiliated with the Magdalene order received endowment and support from monarchs, such as the pious Louis IX of France. (1226–1270).[39]

Clerics also offered marriage as another alternative to prostitutes who wanted to leave their sinful life. Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) lauded those men who took prostitutes to their wives to reform them.[40] Marriage may have been the most frequent end to a career in prostitu-

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[35] Rossiaud 1985, 112–13.

[36] Rossiaud 1988, 131.

[37] Karras 1996b, 250.

[38] See also Bullough 1982b, 186.

[39] Brundage 1982, 157–58; Bullough 1982a, 41 and 1982b, 183; Karras 1999a, 166.

[40] Brundage 1982, 158; Bullough 1982a, 41–42.

tion, as Jacques Rossiaud argues, but his claim that ex-prostitutes could easily find a place as a servant seems unrealistic. His explanation is that the women were not rejected socially and that they often had contacts among the clergy and men of law.[41]

Spatial segregation: brothels and red-light districts

Secret and public brothels: In the Middle Ages prostitution took many forms. Among the urban prostitutes there were 'loose women' who worked on their own account, occasionally soliciting in lodging-houses and taverns, in market places or on the streets and receiving their customers in various places. The number of these secret and occasional prostitutes was periodically swollen by an influx of stray outsiders attracted by agricultural gatherings, fairs, holidays, and royal occasions.[42]

Most commonly, prostitution was practiced in a setting of a brothel. Small private bordellos (*bordelages privèe*) were managed by a madam, a hostess, or a procuress, who would have at her disposal one, two or three girls, either under her own roof or under her command. In some cases these places were managed by the widows or wives of craftsmen, e.g. ploughmen, bakers, carpenters, or coopers.[43]

Prostitution was freely tolerated up to the fifteenth century, but gradually the trade became regulated and finally institutionalised.[44] The shift from merely a tolerated vice to the open taking over of prostitution by the municipality happened in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. Towns in southern and western France, Italy, southern Germany, and England established public brothels, *prostibula publica*.[45] Normally the brothel would be farmed out to a tenant, the *abbesse*, who theoretically had a local monopoly in prostitution. Her duty was to recruit girls and keep an eye on them, stick to certain rules, and report to the local authorities anything that was said by customers who were not known

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[41] Rossiaud 1988, 36–37.
[42] Rossiaud 1985, 77.
[43] Rossiaud 1985, 77 and 1988, 7; see also Bullough 1982b, 179.
[44] Otis 1985, 9, 24, 25, 29.
[45] Schuster P. 1992; Rossiaud 1988, 89; Karras 1996b, 244–45.

locally. Not only did the *abbesse* earn money for the municipality but she was also a very valuable source of information.[46]

In some cities, such as Avignon or Paris, instead of one *grande maison* there would be one or several precincts officially reserved for public prostitution. There were great buildings, courtyards with rooms all round, particular neighbourhoods of streets lined with bawdy houses and taverns, all of them officially protected places, dedicated to the practice of fornication.[47]

In Languedoc, for instance, burghers' attitudes towards prostitution were positive. However, for a while in the thirteenth century they were frustrated by the policy of King Louis IX the Pious and possibly other regional rulers, who wanted to repress prostitution and banish the prostitutes completely. In addition to outlawing the whores, Louis ordered all their personal goods – clothing, furs, tunics, and linen chemises – to be seized.[48]

By the end of the fourteenth century, however, the municipalities and the French king were united in their efforts to realise a positive policy in the interest of public order; burghers established municipal brothels and the king granted royal protection to such institutions.[49] The first public brothels in France were established in the 1370s and 1380s, and during the first half of the fifteenth century several cities bought or built their municipal *maison de fillettes*. Italian cities accepted the practice even earlier. Lucca established a public brothel sometime in the fourteenth century, Venice in 1360, and other cities followed suit.[50]

In most places of any size there were a number of bathhouses, stews or *étuves*, which usually had several rooms for cheerful gatherings. In spite of all regulations these bathhouses were used as places of resort, permanent centres of prostitution, real *maisons de tolérance* of their day. Around 1470 Avignon had six bathhouses, Lyon seven, and Dijon seven, in addition to the local brothels.[51]

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[46] Rossiaud 1985, 76.
[47] Rossiaud 1985, 76.
[48] John of Joinville 1955, CXL, par. 702; see also Bullough 1982b, 177.
[49] Otis 1985, 30–31.
[50] Rossiaud 1985, 87–88 ja 1988, 59–60.
[51] Rossiaud 1985, 76–77 and 1988, 5–6.

Jacques Rossiaud suggests that after the 1450s an intense *joie de vivre* was apparent everywhere. He interprets as a sign of lively and easy-going sensuality the calm assurance with which "men of all conditions openly admitted to occasional frolic with girls". Another sign is the decision taken by the council leaders to turn the *prostibulum publicum* into a haven of peaceful fornication, which could accommodate clients overnight and be open on Sundays.[52] At least for me, it is difficult to imagine that the prostitutes themselves experienced their lives as frolicing or peaceful fornication.

Red-light districts: Writing in the first half of the thirteenth century, Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170–1240) described Parisian prostitutes as being everywhere.[53] He might have slightly exaggerated the situation, but obviously even before the creation of official brothels there was a need to restrict the places in which prostitutes were allowed to solicit or receive their clients. Prostitutes were explicitly prohibited from working in certain areas, i.e. near churches and monasteries, and were allowed to work in prescribed areas. Even in towns that did not operate or licence municipal brothels, some formal provision was often made for setting prostitutes apart.

From the twelfth century onward, a certain district or street might be set aside for brothels either within or outside the town walls. In southern France several towns expelled their prostitutes outside the walls. In 1201 the whores of Toulouse were not supposed to live or stay in the city or its suburbs. Soon thereafter the town of Carcassone ordered: "Public prostitutes are to be put outside the walls".[54] The statutes of Pamier, southern France, ordered in 1212: "Public prostitutes are to be placed outside the walls in all towns."[55]

Several towns issued similar ordinances. In 1213 the council of Paris prohibited prostitutes in 1213 from living within the city or *bourg*.[56] In the 1240s Arles expelled prostitutes and procurers from the town.

[52] Rossiaud 1985, 90–91.
[53] *Historia occidentalis*, 1972, 91.
[54] Otis 1985, 17.
[55] Otis 1985, 22.
[56] Otis 1987, 23; Richards 1994, 119.

In 1254 Louis IX barred the prostitutes "from the fields as well as the towns". This total exclusion failed, and in 1256 prostitutes were expelled only from the centre or *cuer* of towns "outside the walls" and "far from holy places, such as churches and cemeteries". Again in 1269 at his departure to a crusade, Louis ordered 'notorious and manifest brothels […] to be exterminated in towns as well as outside them".[57] In his wrath against prostitution Louis was, however, rather alone.[58]

Official red-light districts were established and protected in France in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. According to Leah L. Otis, their creation was a conscious innovation on the part of certain municipal authorities. In 1285, Montpellier in southern France authorised a red-light district, Hot Street, where the prostitutes were obliged to live.[59] Other towns in Languedoc soon imitated the practice, and in the early fourteenth century areas of authorised prostitution began to multiply. Not only in large towns but also in smaller ones common women were not to circulate or install themselves anywhere except in a proscribed area, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of their clothing.[60] In Germany too, brothels that had previously been located in towns were forced outside walls.[61]

The streets that were set apart for prostitution in the Middle Ages often continued to be so identified even centuries later, in Paris, for instance, the Rue Froidmantel, la Court Robert de Paris, Rue Charon, Rue Tyron, and Champs Fleury. In those towns where the districts had been shifted, old streets still carried names associated with their previous tenants, such as Frauengasse Strasse, Frauenporte Strasse, or Frauenfleck Strasse in German speaking areas. Most streets bearing the name Rose, regardless of language, had probably originally been streets for prostitutes.[62]

In England development took a similar direction. In 1285, Edward I (1272–1307) – who later expelled the Jews from the country – ordered

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[57] Otis 1985, 19, 254.
[58] Otis 1985, 18, 19, 23, 254.
[59] Otis 1985, 24, 25–26.
[60] Otis 1985, 28–29.
[61] Lömker-Schlögell 1981, 61.
[62] Bullough 1982b, 182.

all the prostitutes in London to reside outside the city wall on pain of forty days' imprisonment; the order was repeated in 1307, 1383, and 1483.[63] Also Leicester and Cambridge banned prostitutes.[64] The whores, however, wandered into the city, and both crown and city council sought to enforce other laws on them. In 1345 Edward III (1327–1377) placed harlots and lepers in the same category, ordering that both must wear a distinctive badge and that no leper is allowed to reside within the precinct of the town, *infra procinctum ville*, nor was any prostitute allowed to dwell within the walls, *infra muros*.[65] When such exclusion proved impractical, London set aside certain areas within the city in which prostitutes could settle.[66]

During the Black Death European cities lost large numbers of their inhabitants and plenty of houses became vacant. Suburban people – including prostitutes – began to move to the empty houses inside the walls. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth century brothels were again to be found in the city centres.[67]

The authorities strictly controlled women's entry into the public brothels, their freedom of movement within the city, and permissible charges and customers. They also promulgated rules for the protection against prostitutes' being beaten by brothel-keepers or forcibly detained in an establishment. They defined the days and hours when entertaining guests was permitted.[68]

Part of the strategy for setting prostitutes apart and underlining their low status was the appointment of officials of low or stigmatised status, often public executioners, to oversee them. In many French towns an official called the "king of ribalds", *roi des ribauds*, who was also hangman, exercised "ignominious jurisdiction" over the brothels. Thus the whores differed clearly in status from other occupations, which were self-regulating or overseen by more respected officials.[69] Sometime before

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[63] The law that banished prostitutes from the City, appeared in *Liber Albus*, containing London laws and customs and compiled by the city clerk, John Carpenter, in 1419. Ribeiro 1986, 43.

[64] Bullough 1982b, 178.

[65] Lilley 2002, 245; see also Richards 1994, 120, 121.

[66] Bullough 1982b, 178.

[67] Bullough 1982b, 179.

[68] Otis 1985, 66–67.

the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the king of the ribalds was abolished; thereafter a woman, called 'abbess', 'queen', or 'rectoress', enforced discipline in the brothels.[70] In 1439, Florence correspondingly established an *ufficiale di notte*, an official who in addition to sumptuary duties was to be concerned mainly with the prosecution of homosexual offences and the regulation of prostitution. The office was unpopular and it was very difficult to find candidates for it.[71]

Brothel regulations seem to be designed to maintain the commodity status of prostitutes, ensuring that they belonged *to* the city rather than *in* it.[72] By demarcating the prostitute, the regulations constructed a prostitute identity.[73]

Visual distinction by means of dress

Obviously moral and spatial segregation was not enough to distinguish the prostitutes from "respectable" women, since the honesty or respectability of a woman was not immediately perceived. Besides whores could easily wander into areas forbidden to them. The prostitutes, therefore, also had sumptuary laws concerning appearance, dress and ornamentation applied to them, so that they could be visually distinguished and thus easily recognised. Three kinds of regulations were issued. In some cases, prostitutes were prohibited from wearing certain types of clothing; or they might be allowed to wear whatever fashionable items they wanted; or, finally, they might be forced to wear special identifying and stigmatising garments or signs.[74] Although such laws were often ignored, they were nonetheless an important part of the discourse that constructed the prostitute.[75] This "shaming strategy", aiming at mark-

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[69] Lömker-Schlögell 1981, 62; Bullough 1982b, 177; Rossiaud 1988, 58, 65; Schuster B. 1995, 66, Hunt 1996, 248.
[70] Rossiaud 1988, 65.
[71] Hunt 1996, 334.
[72] Roper 1985, 23; Karras 1999, 165.
[73] Karras 1999, 165.
[74] Brundage 1987b, 343–55; Schuster 1992, 147–59; Karras 1996b, 247.
[75] Karras 1999, 164.

ing the prostitute, drew a clear and unambiguous line between 'good girls' and 'bad girls'.[76]

Restrictions: In the first place, prostitutes were not allowed to wear garments or decorations that were regarded as "respectable" women's items. In twelfth-century Arles in Mediterranean France, prostitutes were prohibited from wearing a veil, the sign of "respectable" woman; anyone who saw an immoral woman wearing one had the right – and indeed the responsibility – to take it from her.[77] In 1243, the municipal statutes of Avignon directed officials to restrain prostitutes from wearing mantles, the garment of "respectable" women in public. Marseille ordinances of about the same period listed the garments that only "honourable" women could wear.[78] The symbolic meaning of the veil is clearly seen in the practice of fifteenth-century Dijon; although it was not enacted in law, removing a woman's headgear was an accusation of sexual immorality.[79]

Civic codes also began to restrict the anonymity that female head coverings might provide. Siena ruled in 1342 against veils that covered the face. The mantle was still allowed, if it could be held with hands, and was not fastened in some more permanent ways; for a woman's face should be "open and clear". Veils fixed on the face to mask it were allowed only to one class of women, prostitutes.[80] In Lucca a law specified that only widows were allowed to wear cloak or *mantello* over their heads, except when it was raining,[81] while in a number of German cities prostitutes were forbidden to leave their hair uncovered as this was a sign of an unmarried girl.[82]

In London the city fathers became worried when the local prostitutes assumed the fashion of being clad in the manner of "dames and

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[76] Hunt 1996, 246.
[77] Rossiaud 1988, 57.
[78] Brundage 1987b, 346.
[79] Rossiaud 1988, 57; Karras 1999, 164.
[80] Hughes 2003, 82, note 53, 92.
[81] Herald 1981, 50. *Mantello* is a form of cloak, was a practical garment worn habitually by older women or occasionally by women of all ages when out riding or travelling.
[82] Hunt 1996, 244.

damsels of the realm" in an unreasonable manner. In 1351, the Mayor, Alderman and Commons therefore issued a proclamation titled *As to the Dress of Common Women Within the City*. It ordered that no such "lewd woman" should wear any vestment trimmed with fur, such as miniver (white squirrel), grey work (badger), squirrel or any other manner of noble budge (lamb's wool). Their clothes should not be lined with silk or any rich stuff "on pain of forfeiting the said vestment".[83] The order attempted to prevent the whores from dressing like "good and noble dames and damsels". The regulation did not, however, apply if the prostitute was of noble birth.[84]

In Paris, several ordinances were issued to explicitly distinguish the prostitutes from "respectable" women. In 1360 an ordinance issued by the Provost of Paris forbade whores to wear embroidery or other ornamentation on their hoods. This ordinance was probably ineffective, as in 1426 a statute was issued forbidding prostitutes a range of ornamentations "which are the ornaments of women of honour". Between these two regulations, in 1415, prostitutes were forbidden to wear gold or silver on their hoods or robes, golden or gilt girdles, habits lined with grey squirrel or vair or other "respectable" furs, and silver shoe buckles.[85]

In the various ordinances it is made quite explicit that the restrictive dress regulations which specifically forbade a harlot to wear certain kinds of attire, first of all separated the prostitutes from "respectable" women of the upper classes and identified them with the women of the lower classes. Obviously the lower-class women were not thought of as "respectable".

Permissions: Interestingly, some towns did not adopt restrictions but took a different approach. In France, Perpignan simply exempted the prostitutes in 1308 from observing the regulations imposed on the dress worn by "respectable" women in the community. This created a presumption that a woman, who failed to conform to the statutory prescriptions was a whore.[86] In Toulouse, prostitutes were also allowed to dress

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[83] Burford 1976, 93; Hunt 1996, 302.
[84] Burford 1976, 93; Brundage 1987b, 346; Riley 1968, 267, 458.
[85] Hunt 243.

as they pleased from 1389 on, provided they kept a discreet mark of profession on their sleeve.[87]

In the fourteenth century some Italian cities tried to shame the virtuous into simplicity by allowing rich dress to prostitutes. Certain towns assigned their whores with tinkling jewels and other finery in their expressed hope that association would discourage "respectable" women from adopting them. In 1335 a Florentine order permitted prostitutes to wear garments of any kind.[88] With the same purpose Siena allowed prostitutes in 1343 the silks, belts, dresses of cloth of gold and clothes painted or embroidered with trees, fruits, flowers, and animals as well as platform shoes that "honourable" women wanted to wear but were denied by the city's sumptuary laws. Neither were the prostitutes bound by the sumptuary law's restraints in Ancona and in Brescia they were positively encouraged to wear as many forbidden items of clothing as they could.[89]

The main purpose of the sumptuary laws concerning dress, however, was not the segregation of prostitutes but restricting women's general luxury and extravagance.[90] Lyndal Roper notes that the finery of whores' finery was a mockery of patrician or noble dress. Extravagant dress was a way displaying wealth beyond the normal expectations of the social class from which they were mostly drawn, and was a distinct improvement to the drab dress allowed to servant women of their own class.[91] By encouraging the prostitutes to wear luxurious clothes, these regulations separated them above all from the lower classes.

Stigmatising signs: In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Coucil required Jews, Muslims, and Christian heretics to wear identifying signs. Gradually, the same rule was also came to be applied to prostitutes.[92] Especially

[86] Otis 1985, 141, note 14; Brundage 1987b, 346.
[87] Otis 1987, 80.
[88] Trexler 1980, 350.
[89] Hughes 1986, 25 and 2003, 92; Brundage 1987b, 352.
[90] Herald 1981, 39–40; Hughes 2003, 92.
[91] Roper 1985, 20.
[92] Among those required to wear a distinctive dress were also executioners and fools. Both have been studied by cultural historians the former by Hannele Klemettilä (2003) and the latter by Anu Korhonen (1999).

during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, various signs were forced on them all over Western Europe. There was, however, no uniform practice; the signs varied from town to town and from country to country. The marks were not always consistent even within a city.

In France the first reference to an obligatory sign for prostitutes is found in Languedoc, in the police regulations of Castelnaudary, from the year 1333; it requires them to wear a cord belt.[93] Later, striped clothing also came to be the sign of a whore.[94] The royal court of Nîmes issued a sumptuary law for prostitutes in 1350 and decided on an obligatory sign in 1353: "on their dress there shall be a sleeve of a different material and colour". About the same time the Parisian authorities were busily prescribing the types of garments that prostitutes might wear.[95]

During the fourteenth and fifteenth century, smaller towns too began to issue dress ordinances for prostitutes. In the kingdom of France, the 'badge of infamy' was in many places a knotted colourful cord, the *aiguillette*, falling from the shoulder.[96] In addition, there were many other stigmatising marks and garments; it could be a man's hat and a scarlet belt,[97] a striped tunic, a white badge four fingers wide, or a white cap and ribbon.[98] The signs gradually became highly discreet, changed their meaning, or fell into disuse. In Toulouse, Charles VI (1380–1422) replaced the chaperon with a thin contrasting edge on one sleeve. Avignon adopted the same sign in 1413.[99]

In England, prostitutes were most commonly marked with a hood. A London ordinance from 1351–1352 forced them to wear a hood of striped cloth and plain vestments. The London statutes was repeated several times and was a model for the rest of the kingdom.[100] In Hull the town even provided hoods for 'common women' in 1444–1445.[101]

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[93] Otis 1987, 80. The Poor Clares formed around Saint Clare of Assisi in the beginning of the thirteenth century wore cord belt, perhaps even knotted cord belt like the Franciscan friars. Warr 1999, 85–86.

[94] Pastoureau 2001, 94.

[95] Brundage 1987b, 346.

[96] Otis 1987, 23; Rossiaud 1988, 8, note 10, 57.

[97] Otis 1987, 80.

[98] Hunt 1996, 246–47.

[99] Rossiaud 1988, 64.

[100] Brundage 1987b, 346; Riley 1968, 267, 458.

Italian prostitutes were also labelled with certain garment, sign, or colour. In fourteenth-century Pisa, for example, the whores had to wear a yellow band. During the next century, in various big cities the stigmatising item could be gloves, a yellow scarf, a white cloak, a black coat, a green scarf or a red hood with a bell affixed "so that it can be seen and heard".[102]

In German towns the regulations of prostitutes' clothes began at the end of the thirteenth century and various garments with special colours were used in the fifteenth century. The item could be a yellow scarf, a red cap, a red-and-white or black-and-white sugar-loaf hat, or a yellow coat trimmed with blue. The marking colour could also be green, but it was never blue.[103] For travelling women, it must have been extremely important to be aware of the prevailing practices to be able to avoid sexual harassment.

Even in towns where prostitution was technically illegal, clothing ordinances required prostitutes to wear distinguishing marks. These were inherently ambiguous; while setting prostitutes apart, at the same time they signified a certain acceptance of prostitution. Labelling enabled men to recognise unattached women, with whom there was no sin in the consummation of lust.[104] Both secular and ecclesiastical authorities tolerated prostitution as long as the prostitutes distinguished themselves and thus reproduced the dichotomy of good and evil women.[105]

[101] Karras 1996a, 21, 22.
[102] Bullough 1982b, 182; Hughes 1986, 30; Brundage 1987b, 349, 352; Hunt 1996, 344–45; Pastoureau 2001, 94.
[103] Brundage 1987b, 346; Hunt 1996, 246; Pastoureau 2001, 94.
[104] Brundage 1987b, 343–55; Lömker-Schlögell 1981, 81; Schuster P 1992, 145–53; Schuster B. 1995, 80–86; Hunt 1996, 247–48; Karras 1996b, 247.
[105] Perry 1990, 49.

Picture 1. There was nothing discreditable in frequenting bathhouses or *prostibula*. People went there quite openly: all levels of society were to be found there, the better off in the bathhouses rather than the brothels, says Jacques Rossiaud in his book *Medieval Prostitution*. – Interior of a fifteenth century bathhouse in *Codex Facta et dicta* by Valerio Massimo from *Breslau memorabilia* (c. 1450). Picture published in Franco Gardini: *Europe 1492* (1989).

Motives, purposes, and functions of segregation and discrimination

In the late Middle Ages most contemporaries – at least those <u>men</u> whose opinions were recorded – recognised that prostitution was inevitable, and therefore tolerated it. In the public mind prostitution gradually transformed from a private concern or natural phenomenon to a social matter requiring public intervention and supervision.[106]

The late medieval segregation and setting apart of prostitutes explicitly aspired to make them recognisable, because it was desirable "that all folks, native and strangers, may have knowledge of what rank others are".[107] According to Alan Hunt the purpose was to construct a distinction between good girls and bad girls, between the respectable and the dissolute, the virtuous and the vicious.[108] Referring to Dyan Elliot, Ruth Mazo Karras expresses the same thing in terms of purity; prostitutes needed to be distinguished from "honest" women to prevent the potentially contagious transgression of sexual norms. By taking a small group and labelling them as different, they can be labelled deviant so that others might remain pure.[109]

The existence of prostitutes as a category also served as a motivation for women to maintain their chastity. The creation of the promiscuous, prostituted "other" thus also created the "virtuous matron".[110] As Jacques Rossiaud expresses it, the prostitutes had both a social and a moral responsibility.[111]

It has been said that whores were demarcated so that "honourable" women would not be taken for lewd ones and harassed in the streets; or in order to prevent women from wishing to become prostitutes so that they would be able to wear fancy clothing.[112] I would rather interpret this practice not as avoiding the embarrassment of "respectable" women,

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[106] Otis 1985, 25.
[107] Riley 1968, 267; see also Burford 1976, 93.
[108] Hunt 1996, 241.
[109] Karras 1999, 169; see also Elliot 1999.
[110] Rossiaud 1988, 43, 48; Karras 1999, 170.
[111] Rossiaud 1988, 43.
[112] Hunt 244; Karras 1996b, 247.

but as avoiding the embarrassment of men. By being able to immediately recognise a harlot, men would not mistake "respectable" women for prostitutes and reveal their own lustful intentions to these women.

According to Alan Hunt, "respectable" women and whores were differentiated by denying the latter fashionable or luxurious dress in order to reduce the attraction of prostitution as a way of life and the attractiveness of prostitutes to men, at the same time rewarding the virtuous by granting them access to fashionable attire. On the other hand, fashion and luxury were allowed to prostitutes in the hope that modesty and shame would discourage "respectable" women from imitating their sinful sisters to protect and confirm their own respectability.[113]

These two strategies of restriction and permission were clearly in conflict. Restrictions merely separated the prostitutes from upper class women and identified them with lower class ones. Permissions, on the other hand, separated them from lower class women and allowed them to identify themselves with upper-class women, at least in dress. Neither distinguished them from all "respectable" women. Only the stigmatising labels or specified garments singled the prostitutes out – provided they wore them.

Although the key to the formal definition of the prostitute and prostitution was promiscuity and publicity,[114] taking money may also have provoked regulation, because it allowed women economic independence from men they would not otherwise have had.[115] Prostitutes were neither part of a family, as most women in the Middle Ages were, nor did they belong to a religious order. They operated outside the system of male dominance;[116] thus male officials felt a need to control their behaviour. According to Ruth Mazo Karras the figure of the whore encapsulated two frightening cultural processes: the sexualisation of feminine independence and the commodification of feminine sexuality.[117]

Along with certain other scholars, I see the separation and setting apart of prostitutes in the late Middle Ages, as well as in later periods,

[113] Hunt 1996, 242, 244.
[114] Brundage 1987a, 248, 389–90.
[115] Karras 1999, 166.
[116] Karras 1999, 166–67.
[117] Karras 1999, 167.

mainly as a question of power. The religious, royal, seigneurial and municipal authorities contested for power to define prostitute and prostitution.[118] R. I. Moore, who has studied the creation of the "persecuting society" in the High Middle Ages, states that "with the regulations nascent states or the Church wanted to demonstrate their power by persecuting them whom they defined as outsiders".[119] It is worth remembering that all those who participated in designing and issuing the laws and statutes on prostitution were male.

Many European towns closed down their institutionalised brothels in the mid-sixteenth century, while many towns without official brothels restricted prostitution to a single street or district within their borders or just outside their walls. It was not a question of Protestant or Catholic intolerance but, according to Leah L. Otis, of shift in general morality.[120] Yet the regulation of prostitutes lives and appearance continued, even increased after the Middle Ages. Alan Hunt expresses the development of sumptuary ethic eloquently: "it survived as a component of a cultural nostalgia for a time when people knew their place and that place was recognisable from their dress and deportment".[121]

[118] Otis 1985, 1.
[119] Moore 1987, 99.
[120] Otis 1985, 247; see also Hunt 1996, 198.
[121] Hunt 1996, 329.

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