Newberry Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Studies

Volume 9

Edited by Karen Christianson and Andrew K. Epps
Newberry Essays
in Medieval
and Early Modern Studies

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Selected Proceedings of the
Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies
2015 Multidisciplinary Graduate Student Conference

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Contributing Editors:
Caroline Carpenter, Max Deardorff, Patrick McGrath, Julia Miglets, Sarah Morris, James Seth, Amanda Taylor, and Chris Zappella
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Introduction

By Karen Christianson

The Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies’ 2015 multidisciplinary graduate student conference, held January 22-24, brought together scholars from across the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom to share and discuss new research in medieval and early modern studies. The nine advanced doctoral students who organized the conference selected seventy presenters whose research encompassed fields in Europe, the Americas, and the Mediterranean world. This volume comprises eleven of the best papers presented at the conference, selected and edited by the conference organizer/editors.

In the first section, on ways of creating knowledge, Jordan Amspacher argues that western biographies of Muhammad should be understood as literature, concerned with characters and narrative, rather than judged as biased or inaccurate history. Veronica Rodriguez examines the making of the Florentine Codex, contending that Indigenous Nahua intellectuals inserted into it their own version and symbolism of the Conquest, modifying Spanish accounts. Samantha Snively explores Margaret Cavendish’s interwoven strands of scientific investigation, domestic labor, and women’s writing, suggesting that women’s work methods and circles of interaction represent “spaces of scientific exploration” and “important contributions to the speculation and experimentation of the Scientific Revolution.” Nydia Pineda De Avila delves into the recurring theme of an analogical Earth-Moon correspondence throughout Robert Hooke’s Micrographia, a correspondence that reflects Hook’s overarching view of the “mirroring providential structure of the cosmos.”

The second section, on political performance, begins with Daniel Rogers’ essay casting Stefano Landi’s early seventeenth-century work La morte d’Orfeo as a forerunner to later Venetian operas that promoted the political and social views of the Accademia degli Incogniti, especially with regard to their negative regard for women. Edward Gray scrutinizes the opposing and competing religious world-views of Cardinal Richelieu and the English diplomat Sir Thomas Roe, through the lens of their divergent approaches to a single peace treaty. Through analysis of the musical elements of satirical French Revolution-era vaudevilles and operas, Jenna Harmon adds a new layer of interpretation to recent scholarly work on pamphlet literature and on pornography as social criticism.

The last section presents studies of the phenomenon of transformation. Sheila Coursey considers conversion in the play Henry VI, Part 3, in both religious and secular contexts, relating it to
the back-and-forth conversions of state religion recently experienced by Shakespeare’s contemporary audience. Christina Moss compares the views on marriage propounded in a variety of Protestant prescriptive literature with real-life examples: Martin Luther and Katharina von Bora, Mathis Zell and Katharina Schutz, and a peasant couple, Lienhard and Ursula Jost of Strasbourg. José Estrada examines the space of the inn in Cervantes’ novella, “The Illustrious Kitchen-Maid,” as a pilgrimage destination for several characters. And finally Lise Mae Schlosser traces throughout Shakespeare’s *King Henry VIII* a strain of similarities to the biblical story of Job, as one once-powerful character after another falls, even as the king gradually asserts the authority proper to his sovereignty.

This ninth volume of *Newberry Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Studies* is anticipated to be the last. The milieu for publication of scholarly essays has altered dramatically since our first volume appeared in 2007; graduate students hoping to share their research now find a multitude of opportunities open to them, many online. At the same time, digital humanities scholars seek to formulate innovative projects to provide humanists with broader, more accessible, and more collaborative ways of both performing research and disseminating conclusions. It no longer makes sense to us for the Center to host one more traditional academic journal. The journal has served its purpose well for nine years. Now we look forward to developing creative new endeavors in the future.

*Karen Christianson is Interim Director of the Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies.*
Personae Miserabiles: Implications of Orphanhood in Medieval Biographies of the Prophet

By Jordan Amspacher

*Did He not find you an orphan and give (you) refuge? Did He not find you astray and guide (you)? Did He not find you poor and enrich (you)?* (Q 93.6-8)

A truism suggests that the measure of a society is how it treats its most vulnerable members. This sentiment lies at the heart of the three great Abrahamic faiths, all of which demand that charity and compassion be extended to the less fortunate; Christianity’s Judaic inheritance assumes a keen sense of responsibility for the indigent, the sick, widows, and orphans.¹ This inherited obligation and its requisite sentiment of compassion raises problems for readers of medieval Christian biographies of Muhammad, biographies that depict the Prophet as an orphan yet are filled with calumnies, curses, polemics, and vitriol. Why would the authors of these texts include a detail with such potential to arouse sympathy for their subject, especially if these works were crafted as polemical tools intended to disparage and distort the Islamic faith? This paper will examine this literary trope through the lens of authorial intent.

Traditional scholarship has not been kind to the twelfth-century Latin biographers of the Prophet of Islam. These works have been criticized for lack of objectivity, for privileging specific narratives for ideological purposes, for crediting rumors both implausible and impossible, and for deliberately eschewing reputable sources. They have often been portrayed as uncritical, passive transmitters of spurious and nonsensical gossip. In his book *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, Norman Daniel makes frequent reference to the “distorted,” “nonsensical,” “unpleasant,” and “untrue” versions of Islamic history proffered by medieval Christians, as well as to the “historically absurd” narratives, the “silly Western fables,” the “ridiculous fantasies,” and the “fantastic tales” dreamed up by Christian polemicists. Richard Southern reads these biographies in a similar way,

describing the works as “only accidentally true” in their details and their authors as “luxuriating in the ignorance of triumphant imagination.”

To contribute a more nuanced understanding of how medieval biographers crafted these texts, I will analyze a common element of the Latin biographies of Muhammad, the Prophet’s origins as an orphan, and consider it as an element of inter-religious dialogue in conversation with the recently-translated Qur’an. When viewed in this light, the portrait of Muhammad as “orphan” begins to take shape; by stressing Muhammad’s orphaned status, his biographers cast him in the role of an eternal child, a passive conduit whose place in the world is ultimately in the hands of others. This portrayal carries over into Muhammad’s adult life, where the Prophet is frequently depicted as little more than a stooge to rebellious bishops, bitter monks, and delusional preachers. His entire movement is dismissed as an ancient error fed to him by deranged heretics, in whose hands he is but putty to be molded into the guise of a pseudo-prophet. While this reading may seem to exculpate Muhammad for his sins, in reality it undermines his movement, calling Muhammad’s legitimacy and the legitimacy of his message into question. It casts him as a simple, fallible fool, and denies him any active or meaningful role in the formation of Islam. This complex portrayal rests on Muhammad’s role as “orphan.”

Before examining authorial intent, several questions address a critical issue in analyzing these texts. How were they conceived of and received? Were they envisioned as narratives that were faithful to and supported by the historical record? Were they understood as objectively true depictions of recorded historical events? Traditional scholarship has always assumed so. Daniel’s assessment of one of the texts as “historically absurd” only fuels his indignation that “so much of what was said about Muhammad was believed in good faith.” Southern too takes it for granted that these “legends and fantasies,” though useless from an objectively historical point of view, were understood by their readers “to represent a more or less truthful account of what they purported to describe.” Yet the texts themselves do not support this assessment. In fact, one biographer, Guibert of Nogent, states in the preamble to his narrative:

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3 Daniel, 130; Southern, 29.
Clearly it is an exercise in futility to discuss whether these things are true or false, since what is in question here is merely the character of this man whose notoriety for prodigious crimes continues to spread; for it is safe to speak ill of a man whose depravity transcends and surpasses whatever evil might be attributed to him. In other words, a man’s place in history will be decided by his character rather than by his actions. Guibert is not concerned with historicity or objectivity. These elements of historiography remain irrelevant to his aim and his age. To paraphrase the theoretician Edward Said, expecting any sort of correspondence between Guibert’s Muhammad and the Muhammad of history remains anachronistic, not because his portrayal is inaccurate but because it not even trying to be accurate. Guibert aims to incorporate his character onto a theatrical stage whose audience and actors are meant for Christians and only for Christians. He is concerned only with presenting a portrait of his character that is true to the narrative he is crafting, and with making that character readily comprehensible to his audience.

Finally, a note on the primary sources: I have limited them to texts composed within the former heart of the Carolingian empire during the first half on the twelfth century. Most of these biographies do not stand as texts in their own right, but exist within the confines of assorted chronica, gesta, apologiae, or dialogiae. The earliest of them, Embrico of Mainz’s Vita Mahumeti, was written sometime prior to Embrico’s death in 1112. Uniquely among these works, Embrico’s Vita represents both a full biographical work in its own right, and a life written in verse as opposed to prose. He locates Muhammad in fourth-century Libya and, in a theme that recurs throughout the Latin biographies, attributes his success to the subtle machinations of a heretical Christian monk behind the scenes. This anonymous Magus, frustrated by his failure to secure his own election to pontifex of Jerusalem, flees the Holy Land with demonic assistance and spirits himself away to Libya, where he vows to spend his days orchestrating the ultimate corruption of the Church. Aiding him in this endeavor is a young slave, Mahumet, with whom Magus makes a pact to pursue their mutual advancement and glory. Magus convinces Mahumet to murder his master in order to marry his widow, the fabulously wealthy Khadija. Magus then arranges for Mahumet, the humble slave, to ascend the throne of Libya; from his new position, Mahumet can enforce a new religious code recently drafted by Magus, which makes a mockery of all things holy. Mahumet’s cruelty, his legendary lechery, his propensity for violence, his epilepsy, and his eventual dismemberment by a herd of pigs all are described in lurid detail.

Next is Guibert of Nogent’s Dei Gesta per Francos, completed in 1108, shortly after news of the First Crusade’s success in the East reached Western Europe. Ultimately concerned with detailing the miraculous events associated with these great happenings, Guibert’s work takes a moment in the

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7 Embrico, 171, cols. 1349A-1366A.
opening book to detail the life of Muhammad. Guibert describes Muhammad’s lowly station as a pauper and his indoctrination at the hands of a heretical Christian hermit on the run from Alexandria. The hermit’s influence on Muhammad’s life includes arranging Muhammad’s marriage to Khadija in order to ensure that the two, disciple and teacher, would never want for monetary support; poisoning Muhammad’s mind with diabolical doctrines; casting Muhammad’s epileptic fits as divine revelations; taking a role in forming the Qur’an; and portraying the Prophet’s ignominious end at the hands—or rather the hooves—of ravenous swine as a miraculous ascension.

Chronologically, Petrus Alfonsi’s *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, written ca. 1109, comes next. Peter, a Spanish Jew recently converted to Christianity, dedicates one of the twelve chapters in his polemic against the Jews to an exposition on Islam. He describes the Jacobite deacon Sergius who, after his teachings are condemned in Antioch, flees to Arabia. There he encounters Muhammad, an orphan who, having arranged a financially fortunate marriage with his former mistress, bursts onto the Arabian political scene with aspirations of kingship. Peter details Muhammad’s villainous violence, his regular acts of sexual depravity, and his unwitting manipulation at the hands of both Sergius and a few local Jews, manipulation that results in the creation of the Qur’an and its wide dissemination via the violent conquests of Muhammad’s conscripted Arabs.

The next relevant work is Sigebert of Gembloux’s *Chronica*, which dates to 1111. The shortest of the lives, it details Muhammad’s life from childhood to death in only ten lines, mentioning Muhammad’s status as an orphan twice. Sigebert also notes Muhammad’s history of epilepsy, the fiscal reason for his marriage to Khadija, his penchant for polyamory, and his early familiarity with both Christian and Jewish scriptures.

The final work examined here is Peter the Venerable’s *Summa Totius Hæresis Saracenorum*, composed by the abbot of Cluny in the wake of his 1142-1143 visit to Spain. Intending to craft a short summary of Islamic doctrine by which the nature of the noxious heresy might be better understood by orthodox Christians, Peter opens his tract with an introduction to the life and crimes of the notorious heresiarch. It depicts the Prophet as a low-born idolater who achieves wealth and status through connivance, treachery, and violence. When he eventually turns his eyes to temporal rule, he is aided by a heretical monk, Sergius, through whose encouragement and expertise Muhammad cloaks himself in the mantle of a prophet. Sergius coaches Muhammad in Nestorian

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9 Guibert, III-IV.
10 Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue Against the Jews*, trans. Irven M. Resnick (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 151: “Muhammad then, after he was orphaned, passed the years of childhood under the protection of his uncle.”
11 Petrus Alfonsi, 146-163.
12 Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica in Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS 6, 323: “ex orphano et inope… cum esset pauper et orphanus.”
13 Sigebert, 323.
doctrine mingled with Jewish mysticism to create the abominable scripture known as the Qur’an.\(^{15}\) I believe these works should be read as participants in a dialogue with the Qur’an, with the goal of questioning the legitimacy of the Prophet’s recitations. The authors demonstrate some familiarity with Qur’anic passages, or at the very least with Qur’anic tropes, and they seize upon perceived weaknesses, not philosophically or doctrinally but narratively, to craft the image of Muhammad that will most effectively delegitimize his prophecies.

The sources I explore all date to the twelfth-century, except the *Risalat* of Al-Kindi, which was composed in the ninth century but not translated into Latin until the twelfth. By this time, the First Crusade had conquered Jerusalem and established multiple Christian kingdoms along the Eastern Mediterranean coast, in lands that had been occupied by Muslims for almost five hundred years. These victories opened a land route connecting Western Europe to the Holy Land and made it accessible to Christians, a route that ran through many formerly Islamic territories and along which information and ideas travelled almost as quickly as people. Furthermore, the Christian kingdoms of Iberia had conquered roughly half of that peninsula within a few decades and had to adjust to ruling over vast populations of Muslims in their newly “liberated” realms. In short, in the early twelfth-century Western Europe was coming to know Islam more personally and more intimately than it ever had before.

It was within this context that the Qur’an was first translated into Latin. During a visit to the Spanish kingdoms in 1142-1143, Peter the Venerable, abbot of the famed monastery at Cluny, as part of an effort to compile a thorough refutation of the Islamic faith (which he understood to be a Christian heresy) commissioned Peter of Toledo to translate five Arabic documents into Latin so that he might use the texts to debate the heretics on their own terms. Among these texts were the *Risalat* (Apology) of Al-Kindi, an Arabic-Christian text which enumerates Islamic doctrine and then attempts to defend Christianity within an Islamic context, and the *lex Sarracenorum* (the title given to the Qur’an by its translators).\(^{16}\)

In the newly-translated Qur’an, Peter the Venerable and other like-minded biographers would have found the following verses: “Certainly We know that they say, ‘Only a human being teaches him’” (Q 16.103); and, “Those who disbelieve say, ‘This is nothing but a lie! He has forged it, and other people have helped him with it’” (Q 25.4). From these verses, Muhammad’s Christian biographers extrapolated two conclusions: first, Islam was indeed a Christian heresy, informed by Christian teachings, as its own scripture made clear; and second, Muslims felt particularly sensitive to this possibility, which is why they went to such great lengths to deny it in their holy book.\(^{17}\) Thus we

\(^{15}\) Peter the Venerable, 204-11.


\(^{17}\) For Peter the Venerable’s familiarity with and debt to the Qur’an, the *Risalat* of Al-Kindi, and the *Dialogi* of Petrus Alphonsi, see James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 116; and John Tolan, 56.
read in Sigebert of Gembloux, “He was in contact with Christians and Jews, and he established his own heresy on the basis of their writings,” and in Peter the Venerable

And Sergius, having been united with Muhammad, supplied him with what he lacked, and, explaining to him the sacred scriptures, both the Old and the New Testaments, in part according to the interpretation of his teacher Nestorius, who denied that God is our salvation, and in part as they seemed to him, and filling his mind with the fables of the Apocrypha, he made him into a Nestorian Christian . . . and lest Muhammad become a true Christian, the Jews, craftily providing for this man who was so desirous of novelty, whispered in his ear not true scripture but rather those fables in which they even now abound.\(^{18}\)

The Latin biographers, recognizing a Qur’anic preoccupation with any insinuation of outside influence upon Muhammad, perceived an opportunity to capitalize on their rivals’ fears. Here we see evidence that these writings were not the products of ignorance; however deliberately distorted their narrative structures may be, they demonstrate some familiarity with their subject matter and with the insecurities rooted in its attendant texts.\(^{19}\)

We must understand Muhammad’s status as \textit{orphanus} in this context. While the appellations \textit{orphanus} and \textit{miser} carry with them the potential for arousing the audience’s sympathy and compassion, the Prophet’s biographers nevertheless made the conscious decision to include it in their narratives.\(^{20}\) I contend that their underlying motivation bespeaks their familiarity with the Qur’an, or at least with Qur’anic themes, and with what they perceived to be its insecurity concerning potential human influences on the Prophet. The concept of \textit{orphanus} necessarily implies childhood; the decision to depict Muhammad as an orphan therefore lends itself to a reading of Muhammad as child. This picture fits when viewed alongside Muhammad’s instruction at the feet of a heretic, or in the context of the adult Muhammad’s regular manipulation at the hands of his mentor. The disproportionately large role Christian heretics, hermits, and monks play in these tales stands out. They play the active role; they seek out Muhammad as a partner in their crimes; they compel Muhammad to kill his master; they convince Khadija to marry Muhammad; they initiate Muhammad’s education in the subtleties of various heresies; and under their direction Muhammad begins to preach.\(^{21}\) The prevalence of passive verbs to portray Muhammad and his actions is worth acknowledging; Peter the Venerable describes Muhammad, not as “studied,” but rather as


\(^{19}\) Rubenstein, 125.

\(^{20}\) Guibert, Liv.305: “pridem miser Mathomus.”

“instructed” (a distinction of agency not adequately conveyed in the English translations); similarly, Guibert does not state that Muhammad grasps the mysteries of the faith for himself, but rather that he is filled with the teachings of his masters.22 As the examples multiply, the portrait gradually takes shape of Muhammad as an eternal child, a passive conduit habitually led by others.

While this understanding may seem to exculpate Muhammad for his sins, in reality it undermines his movement. His biographers, aware of the Qur’an’s vehement denials of the possibility of outside influences upon the Prophet, eagerly seize this opportunity to remind their audience that not only did Muhammad’s instructors lead him around by the nose by arranging his marriage and inaugurating his political success, but they could also claim credit for the very formation of Islam. Petrus Alfonsi tells us that Sergius helped Muhammad to accomplish what “he was not able to complete on his own,” and that, together with some local Jews, “these three mixed together the law of Muhammad, each according to his own heresy.”23 Guibert grants to Muhammad a slightly more active role in the creation of the Qur’an, yet he still notes that Muhammad did not issue his code until after first consulting with his master.24 Muhammad the orphanus, Muhammad the perpetual child, Muhammad the passive agent of others is thus utterly neutered by his biographers. By recounting these incidents that cast the Prophet in the role of an unassuming patsy to an exiled monk, Muhammad’s biographers call into question both the legitimacy of the Prophet and the legitimacy of his movement. Muhammad becomes a simple, gullible fool, denied any active or meaningful role in the formation of Islam.

For too long, the twelfth-century biographies of Muhammad have either been held to an anachronistic standard of historicity or been dismissed as mere polemics lacking in objectivity. Such a reading of these texts is thoroughly unfounded. As Guibert de Nogent makes explicitly clear in his preface, these biographers were not concerned with historicity or objectivity, but rather with narrativity and characterization. Consequently, these works must be understood within their historical and cultural context and analyzed as works of literature, not historiography. This kind of reading, paying particular attention to the contemporary environments, circumstances, and cultural assumptions underlying the texts, yield nuanced and original understandings, not only of the works in question but of the history of European attitudes towards Islam.

Jordan Amspacher is an MA student in history at the University of Notre Dame. Max Deardorff, a PhD student in history at the University of Notre Dame, edited this paper.

22 Peter the Venerable, 206, “…institutus…”; Guibert, Liv.329-331: “Interea per hereticum heremitam ad prophana dogmata homo ille diaboli fistula imbuebatur.”
23 Petrus Alfonsi, 152.
24 Guibert, Liv.335-336: “Communicato cum suo doctore consilio legem ripsit.”
Cultural and Linguistic Dispositions of the Nahua Intellectuals in the Making of the Florentine Codex

By Veronica Rodriguez

In sixteenth-century Mexico, some of the most educated Indigenous Nahua intellectuals extensively collaborated with Fray Bernardino de Sahagún in the production of the Florentine Codex. For years, they worked together to create this magnum opus that represents one of the most complete works about the pre-Conquest history, language, and cultural practices of some of the predominant Indigenous peoples of Central Mexico. While it was initially prepared in their native language, Nahuatl, Sahagún later supervised the translation of the text into Spanish in order to make Nahua culture and language accessible to the Christian missionaries. The Florentine Codex contains substantial information about the native gods, omens, ceremonies, rulers, animals, plants, and minerals of the Nahua. Book XII of the Codex, however, diverges from this content by including the largest Indigenous account in Nahuatl of the Conquest of Mexico. Prepared by Nahua intellectuals, the narration provides a rare history of the Conquest from the perspective of those who lived through it. This paper examines that account, particularly the Nahua representation of the Spanish army and its Indigenous allies. I argue that the way in which the Conquest is narrated in the Florentine Codex shows the active participation of the Nahua intellectuals, who had the cultural and linguistic dispositions to prepare the narration and thus influence our understanding of this historical event.

Even though various scholars have acknowledged some sort of participation of Indigenous people in the making of the Florentine Codex, they minimize the active role of the Nahua as educated intellectuals, referring to them as simple informants. To better understand their participation, I consider the social conditions that influenced and enabled them to intervene in the construction of social reality in their own language. In order to do so, I use the work of Pierre Bourdieu who argues

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2 In 1579, the twelve-book manuscript was sent to Madrid, and it somehow appeared in Florence in 1793. In 1886, Joaquín García Icazbalceta gave it the name of the Códice Florentino. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI (Mexico: Librería Andrade y Morales, 1886).

3 Nahuatl is the language that the majority of people living in the core regions of central Mexico spoke. Lockhart, The Nahua, 1.

4 Sahagún states that the translation into Spanish did not take place until 1577. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, “Prologue,” Códice Florentino (México: Secretaría de Gobernación, 1979), fol. 1v.
that the construction of social reality is the result of a combination of *habitus* and social structures.\(^5\) He defines *habitus* as the schemes of perception and thought that predispose agents to act and react in social situations.\(^6\) According to Bourdieu, these dispositions have the power to generate products, practices, thoughts, perceptions, attitudes, and actions that become regular without being consciously governed by any established rules.\(^7\) Furthermore, these cognitive structures depend on social conditions that also determine such structures.\(^8\) Bourdieu’s discussion of the importance of social conditions in connection to the *habitus* offers a means to consider the social origin of the Indigenous intellectuals as well as their access to a unique educational system and research opportunities. The interaction of this *habitus* and social conditions enabled their participation in the making of the *Florentine Codex*. By considering their position in this social space, we can see that the Nahua intellectuals were cultural agents who had the economic and academic capital to enter into symbolic struggles over the perception of their social world.

In 1536, Spanish authorities sponsored the creation of the Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco for the children of the main elite Indigenous groups, providing them with the appropriate tools to participate in the production of cultural artifacts.\(^9\) In their years as students in Tlatelolco, this privileged group received a humanistic education and became experts in Latin, Nahuatl, and Spanish while working with some of the most educated Franciscans in America. In addition to providing its Nahua students with academic training, the Colegio functioned as an institution, understood as a set of social relations that endowed its students with power, status, and resources.\(^10\) Because of their affiliation with the Colegio, students (and later alumni) had the opportunity to get involved in the production of various linguistic, pedagogical, cultural, and historical materials.\(^11\) The status of the Nahua is apparent in the friars’ acknowledgement of them in some of their writings. The friars recognize the contributions of the Nahua as well as their connection to the Colegio, by frequently referring to them as “hijos del colegio.” For instance, in the *Sermonario en lengua mexicana*, which is one of the largest collections of sermons prepared in Nahuatl, Fray Juan Bautista provides a long, detailed list of the Nahua who participated in this project, mentioning precisely their

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7 Bourdieu, *Outline*, 72.


9 Some of these peoples were Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Tlaxcala, and Huejotzingo. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish Crown favored education for the members of the elite groups through several decrees and laws. See Francisco de Solano, *Documentos sobre política lingüística en Hispanoamérica* (1492-1800) (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991); also see Francisco González del Cossío, *Cedulario mexicano del siglo XVI* (México: Ediciones del Frente de Afirmación Hispánista, 1973).


11 For information about the works prepared in Nahuatl, see Asunción de Hernández de León-Portilla, *Tepoztlán: Impresos en nahuatl* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988).
affiliation with the Colegio as their alma mater and/or the place where they worked as teachers. In the Florentine Codex, Sahagún also writes about the significant contributions of these "hijos del colegio," who, "being knowledgeable of the Latin language, inform us to the properties of words, the properties of their manner of speech. And they correct for us the incongruities we express in sermons or write in catechisms. And whatever is to be rendered in their language, if it is not examined by them, if it is not written congruently in the Latin language, in Spanish, and in their language, cannot be free of defect." Sahagún finishes by remarking that only those who were brought up in the Colegio had the training to examine and correct religious materials used during evangelization. Sahagún’s words highlight not only the importance of the Colegio as the place where the Indigenous intellectuals developed their linguistic and cultural dispositions, but also its role as an institution that authorized them to participate in the production of the Florentine Codex.

In addition to their academic training in Tlatelolco, the Nahua intellectuals found an opportunity to deepen their expertise about their own culture and language during their participation in various projects with Sahagún. This collaboration was especially beneficial since the Nahua worked with him gathering, organizing, analyzing, revising, and preparing a large corpus of materials and manuscripts about the Nahuatl world, which would end up as part of the Florentine Codex. For instance, in 1558, Sahagún and the Indigenous intellectuals went to Tepepulco to interview the Nahua rulers and old wise men. In book X, he points out that during these interviews, “everything about which we conferred they [wise men] gave me by means of pictures, since that was the system of writing which they used in times of old, and the Latin scholars [gramáticos] explained them in their tongue, writing the explanation at the foot of the picture.” As Sahagún states, this was not a simple transcription but rather a more complex process in which the Nahua intellectuals helped decode the paintings and prepare the glosses about Nahuay rhetoric, history, culture, rituals, and traditions. During these transcription process, the role of the gramáticos, as Sahagún calls them, was not that of informants but rather of cultural agents whose linguistic training predisposed them to participate in this project. Furthermore, the gramáticos were also members of the elite Indigenous groups whose social capital facilitated their interaction with the Nahua rulers and old wise men.

12 The Franciscan Juan Bautista mentions Hernando de Ribas, who was trilingual and an expert in translating from Latin to Nahuatl; Juan Bernardo, known as a great Latinist; Esteban Bravo, from Texcoco and an expert in Nahuatl; Diego Adriano from Tlatelolco, a famous Latinist. Bautista also mentions Martin Jacobita, Andrés Lorenzo, Juan de San Buenaventura, Diego de Grado, Juan Bernardo, and Francisco Bautista de Contrerases. Juan Bautista, "Prologue," Sermonario en lengua mexicana (Mexico, 1606).
14 There were three main stages in which the Indigenous intellectuals and Sahagún worked together: Tepepulco, Tlatelolco, and Mexico. See Códice Florentino, book II, fol. 1v-2r. See also Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España, ed. Angel María Garibay Kintana (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2006), 4-7; and Miguel León-Portilla, Bernardino de Sahagún: First Anthropologist, trans. Mauricio J. Mixco (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
15 Anderson and Dibble (eds.), Florentine Codex, 55.
16 Regarding this transcription process, Patrick Johansson Keraudren has stated that at the very least there is always more than the act of reading the paintings, since glossing creates a metatext. Patrick Johansson Keraudren, “La Historia general de Sahagún. De la voz indígena el capítulo 15 del libro XII: las tribulaciones editoriales de un texto,” Estudios de cultura náhuatl 29 (1990): 209-49, 211.
As this episode in Tepepulco illustrates, the knowledge acquired in the Colegio and reinforced during their subsequent work provided essential training for the Nahua intellectuals to participate in the production of the Florentine Codex. Their role as cultural agents is especially apparent in book XII, which tells the story of the Conquest from a Nahua perspective, specifically from that of the people of Tlatelolco. The Nahua rulers and old wise men gave testimony about this event, which was then recorded by the gramáticos in their native language. Initially prepared in 1555, the account is unique in that it adds information about the Conquest of Mexico that canonical Spanish texts did not consider and/or include in their narratives, offering a valuable insight into the way the Nahua perceived the Indigenous allies of Hernán Cortés as well as the Spanish army and its leaders.

In particular, book XII describes the ethnic origin of the peoples that became Cortés’s allies, showing that for the Nahua, the Indian friends of the Spaniards were not a homogenous group. This cultural practice of identification was especially important to Indigenous intellectuals during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For example, the Nahua historian Chimalpahin, who wrote extensively in Nahuatl, pays special attention to this sort of information. When he was making a copy in Spanish of the History of the Conquest of Mexico by Francisco López de Gómara, Chimalpahin added details about the Indigenous peoples who participated in the Conquest. The cultural practice of making distinctions by considering ethnic origins shows that the Nahua did not see themselves as one homogenous group even after being reduced to the category of Indios by the Spaniards. In book XII, the Nahua intellectuals provided information about the Indigenous groups actively fighting as Cortés’ allies that official Spanish accounts, such as Gómara’s, did not consider important. While telling their version of the Conquest, the Nahua intellectuals gave credit to some Indigenous groups that might have played a more important role than the Tlaxcaltecs, the well-known allies of Cortés. By adding this information, they showed that behind the often reductive conceptualization of who the Indian friends of the Spaniards were, a larger and more complex set of groups contributed to the Spanish victory. These additions also illustrate the sort of cultural knowledge that the Nahua intellectuals accumulated and used in writing their version of the Conquest.

The Otomies are one of these distinctive groups whose participation was key during the Conquest. Even though they became allies of Cortés, the Nahua perceived them in a positive manner due to their role and reputation as powerful warriors. In the account, the Nahua intellectuals described the Otomies as bravely fighting against the Spaniards. Later, though, the Otomies are depicted as allies of the Spaniards after having been defeated by them. In chapter 15, when

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17 Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan were part of the same state, but they identify themselves as different towns/peoples.
18 These peoples included Tepoztlan, Tlaxcala, Tlhuquiztepec, Xochimilco, and Huexotzingo.
19 His full name was Domingo de San Anton Muñon Quahuatlenintzin Chimalpahin.
20 Chimalpahin, Chimalpahin y La conquista de México. La crónica de Francisco López de Gómara comentada por el historiador nahua, ed. Susan Shroeder, David Tavárez Bermúdez, and Cristián Roa-de-la-Carrera (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012).
21 Kevin Terraciano has pointed out that the Nahua text uses the term “our enemies” (toiaovan) as a category to describe the Indigenous allies as well as Spaniards, in addition to their ethnic origin. Kevin Terraciano, “Three Texts in One: Book XII of the Florentine Codex,” Ethnohistory 51 (2010): 52-72, 61.
describing the Spanish military formation, the Otomies appear as an integral part of the Spanish army and are described as “the strong and valiant . . . its buttress and support.”\(^\text{22}\) For the Nahua who witnessed the Conquest, the Otomies greatly contributed to the Spanish efforts due to their abilities on the battlefield. Contrast this active participation of the Otomies with that of the people of Tlaxcala. While the Nahua intellectuals acknowledged the participation of the Tlaxcaltecs in the Conquest, they also minimized their military strength and importance throughout the account. For instance, in the same description of the Spanish military formation, the people of Tlaxcala appear at the rear of the formation with no comment added about their abilities on the battlefield. As a result, the Nahua intellectuals produce a narrative in which the Tlaxcaltecs do not seem like the Indigenous group that collaborated the most with the Spaniards. By highlighting the military intervention of other groups, such as the Otomies, the Nahua challenge and criticize the image of the Tlaxcaltecs as the Indigenous group that helped the most with the victory of the Spaniards.

Because the Nahua wrote an account of war, they also included information about the Spanish military formation and the tactics they used to conquer Mexico. Chapter 15 specifically draws attention to the order in which the soldiers appear on the battlefield as well as the position of Cortés in this military formation. After carefully describing the order of the groups, their animals and equipment, the account briefly mentions Cortés, who notably appears at the end of this formation surrounded by an army that “gathered and massed about him, going at his side, accompanying him, enclosing him.”\(^\text{23}\) For the Indigenous people witnessing this, the position of Cortés in relation to his army would have been problematic, since it did not correspond to their understanding of where a leader was supposed to be located on the battlefield. In the Indigenous world, leaders and rulers were the ones on the frontlines, since it was considered an honor to lead their armies. This might explain why the account portrays the Spaniards on the frontline as brave and intimidating soldiers facing people down, gazing everywhere, and examining what was around them. Certainly, the Nahua recognized Cortés as the “director in battle,” but when it came to the battle’s action, his men and their equipment captured the attention of the Nahua.\(^\text{24}\) Furthermore, this description of Cortés offers a different perspective from that of the official Spanish accounts, such as Gómara’s. In Gómara’s account, Cortés is the great conquistador, fighting against armies and destroying them.\(^\text{25}\) In contrast, the Nahua who witnessed the battle and the intellectuals who wrote book XII applied their own perceptions to describe the Spanish army, drawing attention to its men and minimizing Cortés on the battlefield.

In addition to the military formation and equipment, the Nahua also included a description of some of the Spanish military tactics that had a strong impact on the people who experienced the Conquest. Among these, the Nahua discuss the surprise attack on the Mexicas that took place during the feast in honor of Huitzilopochtli, the God of War and main deity of the people of

\[^{22}\text{James Lockhart, We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico (Los Angeles: University of California Press and the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1993), 112.}\]
\[^{23}\text{Lockhart, We People Here, 112.}\]
\[^{24}\text{Lockhart, We People Here, 112.}\]
\[^{25}\text{Francisco Lopez de Gómara, Historia de la conquista de México (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2006).}\]
Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The inclusion of this event, particularly its emphasis on the ambush, shows that the Nahua intellectuals were actively constructing a narrative that aimed to highlight the treacherous intention of the Spaniards and its bloody consequences. Without explicitly mentioning the name of the Spaniard behind the attack, there is an oblique reference to Pedro de Alvarado, who “requested the festivity of Huitzilopochtli wanting to see and behold how this festivity was and what sorts of things were done.” However, the Spaniards had other intentions than just seeing what things were done. During the preparations for the celebration, they “came out well adorned in battle equipment, outfitted for war, arrayed as warriors.” These words indicate that the Spaniards were not necessarily interested in learning about the festivity; instead, as the emphasis on their weapons and uniforms suggests, they were prepared and ready to ambush the Indigenous people.

The celebration in honor of Huitzilopochtli offered the Spaniards an ideal opportunity to attack the Mexica warriors who were the main participants in the event. Given the fact that the people of Tlaxcala were guiding the Spaniards on their way to Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and they are the only Indigenous group mentioned right before the attack, it is likely that they had also informed the Spanish about the presence of the warriors in this festivity. According to the account, when the Mexicas were in the middle of the celebration, singing and dancing, the Spaniards blocked the exits and immediately ambushed them. The result of this premeditated action was that “the blood of the warriors ran like water; the ground was almost slippery with blood, and the stench of it rose, and the entrails were lying dragged out.” The overwhelming amount of blood in this verbal image captures the magnitude of the surprise attack in which a great number of Nahua warriors and captains were killed. Not only did this event have an impact at the time, making the Mexicas finally react against the Spaniards, but it also influenced the Nahua intellectuals who later narrated it, providing an Indigenous perspective.

Most notably, these passages about the Indigenous allies and the Spaniards have some of the briefest Spanish commentaries or annotations throughout the account of the Conquest. In the short paragraph prepared in Spanish for chapter 15, Sahagún simply states, “in all the rest of this chapter, nothing is said except the order that the Spaniards and the Indian allies kept when they entered Mexico.” Even though this brief description can be interpreted as a way of silencing the Nahua voices, the lack of translation or interpretation indicates that Sahagún chose to let the narration in Nahuatl speak for itself. Sahagún recognized the validity of the Indigenous intellectuals’ viewpoint, whose version of the Conquest was closer to the reality that the Nahua had lived through. Sahagún’s silence demonstrates that the Indigenous intellectuals exercised a symbolic

26 Lockhart, *We People Here*, 126.
27 Lockhart, *We People Here*, 126.
28 Lockhart, *We People Here*, 134-35.
30 In books IX (“The People”) and XI (“Earthly Things”), there are various sections that Sahagún did not translate.
31 Lockhart, *We People Here*, 109.
power based on their recognition as cultural agents whose contribution to the construction and accuracy of social reality was indispensable.

Like chapter 15, the Spanish annotations for chapters 19 and 20 are also short compared to the text in Nahuatl, showing a lack of intervention by Sahagún. Even though a description of the celebration to honor a deity would have been useful for those interested in eradicating the Indigenous cults, Sahagún decided not to add commentaries about this important Nahua feast. In a brief paragraph in chapter 19, he states, “in all this subsequent text, nothing else is said except the way they made the statue of Huizilopochtli from the dough of various vegetables, how they painted it, how they arranged it, and how afterward they offered many things before it.” In this summary, Sahagún does not make any allusion to the ambush. In contrast, Gómara not only mentions an ambush, but in his Historia the Mexicas are the ones planning to attack the Spaniards. By elaborating on the feast to Huizilopochtli and the participation of the Mexica warriors in it, Sahagún would have presented the feast as an ideal opportunity for a surprise attack, thereby drawing attention to the Spaniards’ complicity in carrying it out. This would have been problematic for his religious order since the Franciscans kept a close relationship with the conquistadores. The Nahua intellectuals, however, did not have this conflict of interest and could make the underhanded Spanish tactics conspicuous.

In a colonial situation, the authorities in power have the capacity to be fully in charge of the production of cultural artifacts. By looking at social conditions and the habitus of those who participated in this production, it is possible to see that the colonizers did not impose their culture and language unilaterally. While the Spanish Crown exercised some control over the colonies, it also provided the elite members of the Nahua groups with a privileged education that allowed them to participate in the making of cultural products. Their years as students in the Colegio de Tlatelolco paved the way for a scholarly career in which they also enjoyed the power and status that came with their education. Fluent in Latin, Spanish, and Nahuatl and experts in Nahua culture, these Indigenous intellectuals contributed to the construction of social reality by giving their own version of the Conquest. They included information that Spanish official accounts did not consider, and they exercised some symbolic power. Even though Sahagún was the editor, and is normally credited as the creator/author of the Florentine Codex, his brief commentaries in book XII show that the Nahua intellectuals had the cultural and linguistic dispositions to provide a version of the Conquest that modifies both the Spanish accounts and our understanding of this event.

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32 Lockhart, We People Here, 127.
When William Cavendish described his wife Margaret’s first literary work as a “limbeck, where the Muses sit /Distilling there the Quintessence of Wit,” his choice of metaphor was particularly apt.¹ The alembic, a distillation tool with many uses, weaves together the realms of science, domestic work, and women’s writing.² In Staging Domesticity, Wendy Wall argues that the practices of household management, medicine, and experimental science were much less distinct in the early modern period than scholars had previously thought. Following Wall’s influence, subsequent work by scholars of women’s domestic labor and early modern science has continued to demonstrate just how closely household work intertwined with the emerging new science, medicine, and other typically masculine-gendered pursuits. Margaret Cavendish’s Poems and Fancies (1653, 1664) figures the relationship between scientific investigation, domestic labor, and women’s writing in a collection of poems about atomic theory, mathematics, anatomy, philosophy, and domesticity. The focus of this paper is a series of twenty-five poems tucked into the middle of Poems and Fancies that describe a personified and feminized “Nature” using household imagery. These poems group naturally together into a subgenre that I call “kitchen fancies,” and ten of them imitate the form of early modern recipes.³ Despite their coherence as a subgenre, these poems have not yet been examined as a distinct element within Poems and Fancies. In the kitchen fancies, Cavendish combines stylistic elements of early modern recipe collections, conduct manuals, and methods of experimental science in order to elevate women’s roles in experimental observation and the emerging new science.

² Wendy Wall, Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Elizabeth Scott-Bauman, referencing Wendy Wall’s work in Staging Domesticity, writes, “Laboratories built in the mid-1650s ‘show a variety of tools identical to those in a well-stocked batterie de cuisine’. Not only did laboratories resemble kitchens, but men and women actually practiced science (most obviously chemistry) in their kitchens,” in “Bak’d in the Oven of Applause: The Blazon and the Body in Margaret Cavendish’s Fancies,” Women’s Writing 15.1 (2008): 89. Distillation was only one of many techniques that crossed the boundaries between scientific methods and domestic labor: Wall writes that the alembic and still were used in the alchemical search for a quintessence as well as in the housewife’s kitchen to distill spirits or create rose-water; Wendy Wall, “Distillation: Transformations in and out of the Kitchen,” in Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 90-95. Michael Best, in his introduction to one of the more famous household manuals of the time, Gervase Markham’s The English Housewife, notes that distilled waters were often used as medicines or “kitchen physics,” and the same alembic would have been used to clarify or refine wine; Michael R. Best, The English Housewife (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986), xiii-xlix.
³ The rest of the kitchen fancies feature conceits drawn from elsewhere in the house but still within the realm of the domestic. There is no clearly defined conclusion to the kitchen fancies, but I suggest that following the poem “Nature’s Exercise and Pastime,” the conceits in the “Fancies” section are too far removed from the world of domesticity to be considered “kitchen fancies.”
The culinary and domestic conceits throughout the kitchen fancies imagine the kitchen as parallel to the laboratory in ways similar to those Wendy Wall, Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, and Amy Tigner have identified, reiterating that knowledge of nature can be gained through the practices and labor of the kitchen. These poems also appeal to the communities of female readers already attuned to the mechanisms of the recipe book and household manual. By referencing similar literacies and subjects, the poems acknowledge and draw upon collections of knowledge exclusively found in the space of interwoven scientific and domestic practices.

The early modern housewife possessed a body of highly specialized, experimental knowledge, and often shared it with her female friends and relatives. Communities formed around the production and circulation of recipe collections and household manuals, leading to a treasury of practices and experiential knowledge that Wendy Wall has termed “kitchen literacy.” I argue that Cavendish employs a kind of kitchen literacy by appropriating the form of the domestic manual to craft her poems, allowing them to circulate among female readers already connected through household networks. Calling on other women to test and circulate her writing while validating their labor as a form of scientific inquiry, Cavendish envisions a community of female readers and consumers forming around her work and, through it, engaging in dialogue with the leading writers and thinkers of contemporary scientific inquiry.

Experimental science and observation, often the work of household practitioners, were the provenance of what became the Royal Society. By the time the Society was founded in 1660, amateur scientists were so common that one of the Society’s aims was to “establish a demarcation between professional scientists and mere amateurs,” which meant that “women were systematically barred from membership . . . and thus from the process of producing legitimate knowledge about nature.” Cavendish’s kitchen fancies, however, propose the domestic sphere as a space for continuing experimentation by asking the reader to envision practicing the culinary arts as analogous to replicating an experiment, with a greater understanding of nature as an end result in both cases. In these poems, the language of science merges with the vocabulary of the kitchen, and the poems’ construction as recipes suggests the writer’s understanding of the matter that composes Nature, as well as a related inverse: that readers will be able to understand Nature’s components by “recreating” the recipes.

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8 David Goldstein writes of the household guides of Hannah Woolley that “To practice a recipe is to treat it as an experiment, to use it as a template for empirical exploration and observation,” and Cavendish’s kitchen fancies are informed by a similar approach to method; David Goldstein, “Woolley’s Mouse: Early Modern Recipe Books and the Uses of Nature,” in *Ecofeminist Approaches to Early Modernity*, ed. Jennifer Munroe and Rebecca Laroche (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 117.
For example, in the poem “Head and Brain Dress’d,” Cavendish envisions the composition of the brain, using the process of preparing a stew to theorize the brain’s component parts. The first four lines concern the abstract, metaphorical, and affective ingredients of the brain, including reason, judgment, wit, and fancies, but the next two lines consider the physical components of the mind: “A Bunch of Sent, Sounds, Colours tied up fast / With threads of Motion, and strong Nerves to last.” The language of motion looks back to the atom poems earlier in the collection, in which Cavendish speculates not only on the literal motions of physical processes but also on the “motions” of imagination, thoughts, and the animating force inside all life—precisely the concerns of the Atomists whose theories she subscribed to at the time. In “Of the Blood,” she details the circulatory system and references the recent discovery, through William Harvey’s dissections in 1616, of the system of pulmonary circulation, noting that “Some by their Industry and Learning found /That all the Blood like to the Sea runs round.” William Harvey published *De Motu Cordis* (*On the Motion of the Heart and Blood*) in 1628, and Cavendish’s topical reference to the discovery demonstrates her interest in and familiarity with the subject. By importing the theory of motion into her kitchen fancies, Cavendish “renders the increasingly male sphere of science accessible to women,” as Elizabeth Scott-Baumann notes. And by conveying the ideas of motion through the conceit of a recipe, Cavendish also puts these scientific concepts literally into women’s hands for them to manipulate and fashion in their own terms. Furthermore, the kitchen fancies’ inclusion in Cavendish’s scientifically-minded text indicate an equivalency of topics—both the kitchen and the laboratory can be sites of exploration and provocation of imagination and fancy. As English society’s perception of practitioners of science was shifting to the cult of the individual male scientist, Cavendish’s inclusion of the women’s sphere in her own scientific investigations elevates and validates its practices and concerns to the status of the scientific. *Poems and Fancies* shows its female readers that they need not feel excluded from scientific inquiry, and the poems appeal to the creative experimentation they already engage in at home as a method perfectly suited to scientific investigation.

One such poem, “Nature’s Cook,” highlights the transmission of household knowledge by referencing the intersection of domestic labor and another branch of scientific inquiry, that of medicine. Early modern housewives often acted as physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries for their household and the local community. “Nature’s Cook” draws its conceit from the extensive knowledge of disease and the shrewd observational skills that early modern housewives needed to spot and diagnose illness. In the poem, the cook, named Death, serves Nature dishes “cooked” through various forms of illnesses, diseases, and fatal ailments. The list of ailments and their characteristics featured in the poem suggests the writer’s knowledge of *materia medica*, and the poem presumes this same familiarity in its reader:

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9 Cavendish, 161.
10 Cavendish, 53.
11 Scott-Baumann, 88.
13 Cavendish, 156.
Some Death doth Roast with *Feavers* burning hot,
And some he Boyls with *Dropsies* in a Pot;
Some are *Consum’d* for Jelly by degrees,
And some with *Ulcers*, Gravy out to Squeeze;
Some, as with Herbs, he stuffs with *Gouts* and Pains (emphasis mine).

The methods of food preparation Cavendish connects with their matching ailments read like a catalog of recipes, elaborately winding together both the domestic conceit and the diagnostic reference handbook. These clever connections reinforce the intermeshed realms of medicine and cooking by noting their reliance on observation, both of disease symptoms and of the physical processes of cooking. Furthermore, both the kitchen and the surgery share an investment in preserving human life as well as herbs and flowers. Preservation methods abound in Cavendish’s poem above—including references to jelly-making, drying and preserving meat, pickling, and the making of salt bacon and blood puddings. The poem’s attention to preservation suggests a parallel between the preservation of food and the preservation of human life, achieved through observation and understanding of disease. Katherine Capshaw Smith reads Nature’s cannibalism in this poem as Cavendish “forcing the reader . . . to recognize the ultimate meaninglessness of life and death,” an apt reading given the thread of autocannibalism that winds throughout the kitchen fancies. However, seen in light of early modern women’s household medical responsibilities, “Nature’s Cook” can also be read with a conclusion as positive as Capshaw Smith’s is dark, advocating for the preservation of human life and distributing the knowledge necessary to do so. While it can be said that a cannibalistic feast may be the finale of Nature’s cooking, I argue that this poem crafts a positive image of the housewife, positioning women as possessors of medico-scientific and culinary knowledge that can counteract the effects of natural disease. Reading human life as the nourishment or “ingredients” of Nature suggests that women have a unique understanding of the workings of Nature, gained by means of the knowledge they acquire in the kitchen. This specialized knowledge allows them to understand the concerns of medicine and apply their domestic skills to benefit human life.

Many of Cavendish’s kitchen fancies take on the form of actual recipes, combining the language of the kitchen with the themes and concerns of conduct books, resulting in poems that create a miniature domestic manual within Cavendish’s text. These recipe-poems envision a reader familiar with the generic conventions of the recipe-book and domestic manual, while their conceits

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14 Cavendish, 157.
15 Amy Tigner notes a similar move in the work of one of Cavendish’s contemporaries, Hannah Woolley, who authored a number of recipe books in the 1660s and ’70s, in which the techniques of the kitchen and the surgery were closely allied if not inseparable. The process of preservation, one of Woolley’s particular concerns, “is also clearly part of the larger culinary and medicinal production that constituted kitchen science”; Amy Tigner, “Preserving Nature in Hannah Woolley’s *The Queen-Like Closet, or Rich Cabinet*,” in Munro and Laroche, 130. Woolley “identifies the art of cooking with chemistry and empirical natural philosophy,” and Cavendish makes a similar comparison in “Nature’s Cook,” Tigner, 130.
presuppose a form of domestic literacy that privileges women’s household work and the experiential knowledge necessary to complete it. In poems like “A Posset for Nature’s Breakfast,” “A Bisk for Nature’s Table,” “A Tart,” and “A Heart Drest,” Cavendish crafts recipes for the “pleasing meats” of ideal womanhood, passionate love, youthful beauty, and other abstract concepts. “A Posset for Nature’s Breakfast” describes the housewife Life as she “Scums the Cream of Beauty with Times Spoon,” then “Boys it in a Skillet clean of Youth, /And thickes it well with crumbled Bread of Truth,” puts it on the fire, then “Cuts in a Lemmon of the Sharpest Wit,” and adds “A Handfull of Chast Thoughts, double Refin’d, /Six Spoonfulls of a Noble and Gentle Mind, A Grain of Mirth to give’t a little Taste” and then feeds the result to Nature.17 An early modern reader could easily have cooked an actual posset from this poem (if the ingredients were not abstract nouns) given its adherence to the conventions of the recipe format, and the rest of the poems similarly include instructions to make olios, “bisks,” hodge-podges, tarts, and dressed meats. Much more abstract than cookbooks of today, early modern recipes gestured to possibility rather than strictly formalizing a given recipe. Even complex dishes usually consisted of a simple outline of the ingredients and methods of a dish, leaving space for adaptation, improvisation, and individual taste.18

The non-specificity of Cavendish’s recipes—for example, just how much of Beauty’s cream and how many “Eggs of Fair and Bashfull Eyes” go into the posset—also calls attention to the importance of practical, experiential knowledge and experimentation necessary to crafting the dishes and thus to reading the poems. In “A Heart Drest,” the epistemological gap between stated instructions and edible finished product is filled by the housewifely reader’s knowledge of technique, measurements, and method—a body of knowledge external yet supplemental to Cavendish’s text. Cavendish describes the ingredients that go into the dish of dressed Heart, but leaves out almost all instructions regarding amounts, methods, cooking times, and the entire recipe for the “Sawce of Jealousie.”19 The wit of the conceit—and indeed the kind of literacy produced by actual early modern recipes—envisions that the reader will be able to supply these missing steps and supplement the text with her own body of knowledge. The kitchen fancies provide a way to reverse-engineer the components of Nature: female readers use their specific set of skills to investigate and manipulate

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17 Cavendish, 158. A posset, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is a sweet drink made from hot milk curdled with alcohol and flavored with herbs and spices, often used medicinally. Even in this recipe, medicine and cookery overlap, as a posset could become the base for a syllabub (a dessert) served at dinner or a drink given to the ill. An olio is a spiced meat and vegetable stew of Spanish or Portuguese origin, “Hence: any dish containing a great variety of ingredients.” The word also came to mean “any mixture of heterogeneous elements,” or a hodgepodge of any kind, including literary. Thus, when Cavendish published The Worlds Olio in 1655, she used a domestic term to describe a collection of poems and essays on scientific, medical, philosophical, and related topics.

18 As an example of typical early modern recipe formats, I include a recipe from Gervase Markham’s The English House-wife (1653). Compare Cavendish’s poem “A Tart” with Markham’s recipe for a yellow tart [a custard tart]: “Take the yolks of Eggs and break away the filmes, and beat them well with a little cream; then take of the sweetest and thickest cream that can be got, and set it on the fire in a clean skillet, and put into it sugar, cinnamon, Rosewater, and then boyl it well when it is boyld, and still boyling, stir it well, and as you stir put in eggs, and so boyl it till it curdle, then take it from the fire and put it into a strainer, and first let the thin whay [whey] run into a by dish, then strain the rest very well, and beat with a spoon, and so put it into the tart coffin, and adorn it as you do your prune tart, and so serve it, and this carrieth the colour yellow”; Gervase Markham, The English House-wife, in A Way to get wealth, containing six principall vocations, or callings, in which every good husband or huswife may lawfully employ themselves (London: Printed by W. Wilson for E. Brewster and George Sawbridge, 1657), Special Collections, University of California, Davis, G7r-v.

19 Cavendish, 161.
them. Nature’s cooks are figured as in control precisely through their recipes rather than as insignificant because of them. From the early modern kitchen, notes Wall, radiated control of the household: “The ailing human, waiting to ingest home remedies, might well have quivered in the face of the housewife, who so evidently had her finger on the pulse of life and death.” The cook of nature is presented as a positive role in which a specific set of skills contributes to the understanding—and pleasure—of Nature.

By including recipe-shaped poems in her collection, Cavendish references the unseen labor and particular literacy found in circles of women’s textual consumption and production, and invites these communities of readers to partake of her own work. A number of scholars, including Wendy Wall and Sara Pennell, have begun to analyze manuscripts of recipe books collected, transcribed, and annotated by women. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw an enormous rise in the publication of handbooks, manuals, and miscellanies, and Pennell notes that “cookery literature was an attractively viable non-fiction genre. . . . Between 1650 and 1750 no fewer than 106 ‘new’ culinary texts and 169 subsequent editions of texts in print were published.” The topics of the domestic manuals ranged from the solidly practical recipe collections to the emerging genre of “the compleat housewife.” These manuals brought together “definitional” skills for genteel women with “attributes increasingly commended as desirably female: self-sufficiency and the maintenance of distinctively English habits, notably frugality and domestic (in explicit contrast to commercial) expertise.” In addition to the published texts in circulation, early modern women often compiled their own recipe collections, borrowing from friends and family and modifying their own copies of published texts. With each transmission, the recipes needed to be tested and in many cases emended, leaving behind

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20 Wall, Staging Domesticity, 4.
21 The kitchen fancies also evoke the genre of the conduct manual, and thus widen further the circle of prospective readers of Cavendish’s text by gesturing to another type of knowledge-circulation and regulation common among women’s communities. Household guides and domestic manuals of the seventeenth century often included descriptions of the ideal housewife and prescribed behavior for a woman. One famous example, Gervase Markham’s The English Housewife, opens with a discourse on proper womanly conduct. Markham writes, “Our English House-wif must be of chast thought, stout courage, patient, untyred, watchful, diligent, witty, pleasant, constant in friendship, full of good neighbor-hood, wise in Discourse, but not frequent therein, sharp and quick of speech but not bitter or talkative, secret in her affaires, comfortable in her counsels, and generally skillful in the worthy knowledges which do belong to her Vocation”; Markham, 3–4. Cavendish includes a number of these tropes in her kitchen fancies, replicating the format of household guides in her own work and employing her recipes to enable the creation of properly behaved subjects. “A Posset for Nature’s Breakfast” echoes many of Markham’s precepts above: among the “ingredients” that go into the posset are truth, “Fair and Bashfull Eyes,” “a Countenance that’s Wise,” sharp wit and discretion, “Chast Thoughts,” “Noble ‘nd Gentle mind,” and good health (Cavendish, 158). “An Olio Drest for Nature’s Dinner” details the preparation of a passionate lover’s heart, but advises temperance of the emotions, for “Nature’s apt to Surfeit of this Meat” (Cavendish, 159). “A Bisk for Nature’s Table” resembles less a conduct manual than a blazon, and Elizabeth Scott-Bauman has masterfully described the ways in which Cavendish’s kitchen fancies ironize blazonic tendencies, subverting another form of regulating women’s conduct; Scott-Bauman, “Bak’d in the Oven.” Furthermore, many of these conduct manuals for women were written by men, and by writing a little conduct-guide of her own, Cavendish both draws on and subverts the genre, expanding women’s authority and the influence of their knowledge.

23 Pennell, 239.
“distinctive records of practice” that recall the experimentation and regulation of knowledge occurring in the kitchen. 24 The University of California, Davis’s 1657 edition of Gervase Markham’s *The English Housewife* provides one example: an early modern owner not only added her own recipe for a remedy for “scurvey/rickets” in the margins but also corrected Markham’s advice, changing a step in a recipe for jelly from “bruise [the fruits] in fair water” to “boyle,” which is the correct method. 25 Emendations like these figure the early modern recipe as an ongoing experiment, requiring the personal, experiential knowledge of a housewife to render them viable.

The recipe-in-circulation required not only the knowledge of a specialized set of skills but also created the need for what Wall terms “kitchen literacy”: a set of skills that “used navigational tools to shape conceptions of household labor even as they articulated specific practices for readers to emulate. . . . [The manuscripts] entangled conceptions of household labor with methods for reading.” 26 Building on Pennell’s and Wall’s work, I argue that Cavendish’s kitchen fancies articulate a kind of “kitchen literacy,” combining the actual literacy required to read the text with the practical literacy required to understand the kitchen conceits. The poems require such a kitchen literacy: they ask the reader to be familiar with not just different types of food but also preparation methods, proper recipe composition, and other knowledge that could only be gained through experience—for example, the regulation of oven temperature referenced in “Nature’s Oven”: “By thinking much the Brain too Hot will grow, /And Burn them up, if Cold, Fancies are Dough.” 27 And by making analogies between the way to read a recipe collection and the way to read her book, Cavendish also invites a reciprocity and dialogue from her (female) readers, asking them to “test” her poems as they would verify a recipe.

Throughout her writing and especially in *Poems and Fancies*, Cavendish’s relationship to domesticity is complex and multifaceted. She deploys modesty tropes yet unabashedly declares her desire for abundant fame; she uses domestic metaphors to justify women’s writing ability yet paragraphs later declares that women waste too much time on “little Imployments, which makes our Thoughts run Wildly about”; and her stated distaste for household matters strikes a dissonant note with the familiarity she displays with kitchen matters. 28 Scott-Baumann argues that Cavendish’s use of domestic metaphors “is always self-conscious and often ironic,” as she crafts counter-blazons out of her kitchen fancies or deploys recipes alongside atomic theory to collapse distinctions between the two. 29 Additionally, Cavendish uses her facility with domestic pursuits alongside her corpus of scientific, natural, and philosophical knowledge in order to demonstrate her skill as a writer and thinker. In the prefatory materials, Cavendish states her desire for fame and renown, and as her text circulates, the subjects of her poems also gain recognition. By including domestic practices and recipes alongside the popular topics of science, Cavendish garners prominence for traditionally gendered—and thus often unnoticed—labor and knowledge. “The cult of the individual scientist,”

24 Pennell, 248.
25 Markham, 48, 88.
27 Cavendish, 158.
28 Cavendish, B2r.
29 Scott-Bauman, 88.
writes Scott-Baumann, “has obscured the heavy involvement of women. Servants, wives, and daughters repeated experiments in the kitchen to fulfill the Royal Society’s methodology of proof,” and Poems and Fan"cies records one such instance. Cavendish’s work gestures to women’s involvement in scientific experiments while also drawing these communities of women into the cult of the professional scientist, suggesting that they too possess the skills and knowledge necessary to advance scientific inquiry. As a genre placed alongside her other scientifically-minded poems, Cavendish’s kitchen fancies suggest that not only are women’s fancy-based thoughts suited to scientific knowledge production, but that the methods by which they work and the circles within which they circulate their knowledge also represent spaces of scientific exploration—important contributions to the speculation and experimentation of the Scientific Revolution.

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30 Scott-Bauman, 89.
31 I am grateful to Frances E. Dolan, Lee Emrich, Elizabeth Crachiolo, Dyani Johns Taff, Chris Wallace, Kenneth Connally, and the participants of the session “Labyrinths, Wit, and Mimetic Likenesses: An Exploration of Gender in the Works of Early Modern Women Authors” at the Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies 2015 Multidisciplinary Graduate Student Conference for providing helpful feedback on earlier drafts of this essay.
Crater-Pear-Vale: Earth-Moon Analogies in Robert Hooke’s Micrographia

By Nydia Pineda De Avila

The last plate of Micrographia, published in London in 1665 by the printers of the Royal Society, conveys an astronomical competition. The octagon outlined on the top left of the print represents the eyepiece through which Robert Hooke observed the moon during the month of October 1664. The image depicted inside the frame is the perfected representation of that lunar spot. The two small images beneath the telescopic eyepiece are copies of Johannes Hevelius and Giambatista Riccioli’s versions of the detail in Figure 1. Looking at these images in their original publications, Selenographia (Figures 2 and 3) and Almagestum Novum (Figure 4), the difference becomes notorious. These books do not have a single plate dedicated to separate lunar details. Instead, they present full maps of the Moon. Hevelius’s represents the feature in maps with differing styles. Riccioli depicts the image in a synthetic and diagrammatic chart. So what did Hooke intend to convey with his engraving of competing versions of the same lunar image? Was this just a promotion of his telescope? This competition displayed in Hooke’s composite astronomical print did partly serve to that effect. However, I would like to suggest that it also functioned as a pretext to illustrate the Earth-Moon analogy. The cosmic correspondence conveyed in the image was a gateway into geological ideas, a structuring theme in Micrographia, and a representative image of Hooke’s experimental philosophy.

Analogical reasoning in early modern natural philosophy is frequently associated with figures such as Pico della Mirandola and Paracelsus, with magical and alchemical writing. However, in the early modern period analogies were used widely in investigation of nature within a multiplicity of contexts and frameworks: they represented an essential aspect of a practical approach to the pursuit of knowledge. Arguments based on analogical reasoning allowed the philosopher to take successful outcomes from one field of inquiry into another and to hypothesize about connections between the visible and the invisible realm in order to create new possibilities for understanding the unknown.
Crater-Pear-Vale: Earth-Moon Analogies in Robert Hooke’s Micrographia

Figure 1: Observation of a lunar detail identified as a “vale” in Robert Hooke, *Micrographia*, 242-243. © The Royal Society; used by permission.
Figure 2. The feature is represented in a cartographic style in Johannes Hevelius, *Selenographia*, 226. © The Royal Society; used by permission.

Figure 3. The same feature is found in a map with shading and mathematical indications in Johannes Hevelius, *Selenographia*, 262. © The Royal Society; used by permission.
The Earth-Moon analogy illustrated by Hooke is more clearly understood in relation to the methodological approaches of the natural philosophers most frequently quoted in *Micrographia*: Francis Bacon, René Descartes, and Robert Boyle. Bacon defends the idea that the first steps in an inquiry of nature needed analogies as detonators of questions, although he clearly rejects the distortions of understanding that could be induced by a misguided simile. In the organization of empirically acquired knowledge, analogies also aid in establishing classifications. Finally, well-used analogies help to communicate obscure or abstract ideas to the reader.\(^4\) Descartes, whose *Dioptrics* informed Hooke’s understanding of light and his ideas on congruity, also gives a central place to analogies in his investigation. In his early work, comparison provides a way of bridging the visible and the invisible world. The philosopher recurs to apparent structures in order to imagine the aspect of those hidden from the senses. Imagination is an essential aspect of his philosophical pursuit. In his *Dioptrics*, a central work for Hooke, Descartes resorts to images such as a barrel of grapes, a cane moving an object, and stacks of falling balls in order to explain light.\(^5\) Boyle, Hooke’s patron, also argues for the importance of metaphor and analogy in the investigation of the physical world. In his *Occasional Reflections*, published the same year as

\(^4\) Jardine, 144-45.

\(^5\) Galison, 311-26.
Micrographia, he asserts that similes could be catalysts of error in philosophical inquiry. However, if the analogical image were similar or faithful to the studied object, it should not only be excused but also correctly exploited in the argument. Boyle resorts to a comparison to explain the possibilities of a well-used analogy: just as a bow could split if it was forced in extreme, so could it propel the arrow much further and pierce its target more effectively if it were adequately tightened.6

In Micrographia, Hooke manifests his reserve with regard to the use of analogies or similes as foundation of knowledge:

not having a full sensation of the object, we must be very lame and imperfect in our conceptions about it, and in all the propositions which we build upon it; hence we often take the shadow of things for the substance, small appearances for good similitudes, similitudes for definitions; and even many of those, which we think to be the most solid definitions, are rather expressions of our own misguided apprehensions then of the true nature of the things themselves.7

These rhetorical figures, he explains, are like shadows of truth; they can be the result of the distortions of memory and reason. However, throughout Micrographia, analogical or comparative reasoning is an essential part of Hooke’s methodology: the curator of experiments resorts to layers of simile to interpret and then explain his observations. In order to understand depth and planes he compares bright and darker areas. Throughout this process, Hooke associates brightness with elevation and smoothness of surfaces, and darkness with depressions and rugged surface. Every result is reconsidered in alternate positions and luminosities. Like a sculptor working with a rotating life model or a painter looking at his sitter at different times of the day, he construes the shape of each specimen through physical comparisons in diverse conditions. 8 Hooke explicates his method of observing and interpreting in his description of a piece of silk, but the same process occurs when studying the appearance of the Moon.9

Beyond the rhetorical and methodological framework discussed above, Hooke’s print of the lunar detail needs to be read in the light of the cosmological Earth-Moon debate. In the last observation in Micrographia, he conjurs up terrestrial images to explain the lunar. This linguistic construction is not merely a rhetorical strategy to explain the unknown in a familiar way: through this simile he is also participating in a philosophical discourse. Since the publication of Galileo’s Siderus Nuncius in 1610, the comparison between the Earth and the Moon had become a frequent theme in natural philosophy. This analogy was first conceived as a philosophical argument against the Aristotelian notion of the incorruptibility of the heavens.10 The argument

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6 Boyle, Occasional Reflections upon Several Subjects. Whereunto is permis’d A Discourse About such kind of Thoughts (London: Henry Herringman, 1665), A3.
7 Hooke, a2.
8 Hooke’s engravings have been compared to portrait prints of the mid-seventeenth century by Meghan C. Doherty, “Discovering the ‘True form’: Hooke’s Micrographia and the visual vocabulary of engraved portraits,” Notes and Records of the Royal Society 66, no. 3 (2012): 66, 211-34.
9 Hooke, 9-10.
was progressively used as a heuristic tool. Questions about the nature of the Earth were directed to its satellite. By the mid-seventeenth century, it was commonplace to say that the Moon, like the Earth, was solid, that it reflected light, and that it was composed of land and water. The argument behind this was that as solid and smooth surfaces reflected light, the whiter areas perceived through the telescope were land. Furthermore, since water refracted light, the darkest parts of the image corresponded to lunar seas. Liminal spaces, where areas of light faded into dark, were explained as rugged surfaces, which denoted the presence of elevated land formations such as mountains. Such ideas were fancifully illustrated in Johannes Kepler’s *Somnium*. In the English context they were collected and explained by natural philosophers such as John Wilkins in *Discovery of a World in the Moon*. From the 1640s, these optical considerations translated into a topographical key that provided parameters to explore and describe the satellite’s topography. Furthermore, the conventions of the terrestrial maps were used in topographic representations of the Moon printed from 1638.

Noteworthy examples of the controversies of this moon mapping project are found in the printed maps of Johannes Hevelius and Giambattista Riccioli, to which Hooke alludes in his astronomical plate. Eighteen years before the publication of Hooke’s book, Hevelius, a wealthy brewer and magistrate resident of Danzig, published a full treatise dedicated to lunar observations containing 110 engravings. He printed three full maps of the moon and forty plates of its changing phases, aiming to represent the image in time. The reader can almost flick through them as if playing with what we call now a picture book. Hevelius also provided templates for the measuring of lunar phenomena and a toponymy of its features. Three years after this publication, Riccioli, a Jesuit mathematician working in Bologna, published his *Almagestum Novum* in two heavy tomes. He intended to summarize the astronomical and mathematical knowledge of the Renaissance in the light of seventeenth-century debates. Riccioli collated the most successful printed maps of the Moon of the mid-seventeenth century with new observations in order to obtain a universal *selenographia*. He also revised the lunar toponymies of his time and presented a new one in his book.

Hevelius rehearses many kinds of Earth-Moon analogies in his *Selenographia*. His system for naming lunar features is notorious in this respect: it practically copies cartographical naming conventions of the Mediterranean. With this toponymy, he aimed to use a universal language of credibility in order to secure authority. On the other hand, Riccioli’s map exemplifies the way in which the planetary correspondence was silenced by natural philosophers that, for doctrinal reasons, were obliged to openly reject the idea of a fluid universe where the earth was a planet. The Jesuit avoids the Earth-Moon association as much as possible. He depicts seas and land on his map, but no other topographical denominations. His moon is bound to the theory of quintessence, according to which the satellite is made of the same incorruptible substance as the

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planets that revolve around the Earth. The lunar toponymy in *Almagestum Novum* implies that the Earth is not a planet. Riccioli’s approach was representative of the *Collegio Romano*, where the neo-Aristotelian model of the universe was promulgated.\(^\text{13}\)

In Hooke’s intellectual milieu, the Earth-Moon analogy carried strong theological implications, although not in the same sense as it did for Riccioli. In the English context, this correspondence between the Earth and its satellite was understood in the framework of a fluid universe with the Sun at the center, where the light of God touched upon every planet. John Wilkins, founding member of the Royal Society, dedicatee of *Micrographia* and Hooke’s principle mentor, argues that the Earth-Moon analogy was proof of divine providence, in his *Discovery of a World in the Moon*. Recurring to optical and mathematical arguments, he asserts that the light of God is reflected on the Earth and its satellite, giving them equal ontological status. That there is life on Earth indicates the strong possibility of there being life on the Moon.\(^\text{14}\) Wilkins opposes the bridging of the book of God and the book of nature. He repeatedly claims that biblical interpretation do not assist understanding of the physical world. Likewise, the interpretation of nature does not serve the reading of the Bible. Demonstrating the existence of the providential design is the ultimate goal of both natural philosophy and biblical studies, but these pursuits are by no means to be connected. For Wilkins, the study of the Moon is not isolated from the objective of proving the existence of Providence. I suggest that Hooke’s interest in the satellite is not, either.

Hooke had been Wilkins’s protégé since the mid-1650s, and from this time his philosophical inquiries, notably his experiments of flight, are inspired by Wilkins’s works.\(^\text{15}\) Most importantly, Hooke’s *Micrographia*, although extremely different from Wilkins’s work in terms of prose style, does not conjure up scripture to comment on nature in his early work. Rather, like Wilkins, divine providence is explained through mathematical and mechanical investigation. In the Preface to *Micrographia*, he clearly states that understanding the design of divine creation is central to his philosophical pursuit. The author ponders, as did Bacon, Wilkins, and many of their contemporaries, that the decay of the soul and the body after the biblical fall is an obstacle to the understanding of the world. The telescope is an essential part in his program for the “restoration of philosophy” because it provides a means to attain the invisible features in the sky.\(^\text{16}\) The refined eye, with the assistance of well-grinded lenses fitted into long tubes, would render visible, after a negotiation between the senses, memory, and reason, the “true form” celestial bodies. This would progressively lead to an understanding of the divine structure of the heavens:

\(^{13}\) Pantin, 103-20; for an introduction to the differences between Hevelius and Riccioli, see J. Vertesi, “Picturing the Moon: Hevelius’s and Riccioli’s visual debate,” *Studies for the History and Philosophy of Science* 38, no. 2 (2007): 401-21.

\(^{14}\) The second edition of this work, published in 1640 with the title *Discovery of a New World*, amplifies the Copernican and biblical commentary in order to reinforce this argument.

\(^{15}\) John Wilkins, *Mathematical Magick, or, The wonders that may by performed by mechanickal geometry: in two books* (London: Samuel Gellibrand, 1648).

\(^{16}\) “For Bacon, the smooth mirror of the human mind had been distorted by Adam’s fall. In this way man lost his God given ability to understand and control the natural world, substituting instead the dreams and hallucinations of imagination. The task Bacon set for himself was to restore man to his original state of power and knowledge. To accomplish this he had to ‘deliver and reduce’ the mind from the deceptions of imaginations”; Park, 290. This idea is also expressed in Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society* (London: John Martin and James Allestry, 1667), 349-50 cited in Scott Mandelbrote, “Early Modern Natural Theologies,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Natural Theology*, ed. Russell Re Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 75.
By this means the Heavens are open’d, and a vast number of Stars, and new Motions, and new Productions appear in them, to which all the antient Astronomers were utterly Strangers. By this the Earth it self, which lyes so neer us, under our feet, shews quite a new thing to us, and in every little particle of its matter, we now behold almost as great a variety of Creatures, as we were able before to reckon up in the whole Universe it self.\(^17\)

Hooke’s lunar observation cannot be fully understood without considering its deeper theological connotations. At the same time, this astronomical investigation had a practical and social end: the promotion of Hooke’s technological achievement in a wider European context, where Hevelius and Riccioli held an important reputation. After the publication of *Selenographia* and *Almagestum Novum*, the dialogue over lunar theories sustained by these astronomers was echoed throughout the European network of correspondence. A letter sent from Hevelius to Riccioli, copied in Henry Oldenburg’s hand and kept in the BL manuscript collection, provides proof of the attention given to these selenographers by members of the Royal Society.\(^18\) This letter would have been read in a meeting and commented on by the fellows. Furthermore, the year Hooke wrote *Micrographia*, Hevelius had been named fellow of this learned group, and his letters to Henry Oldenburg, the secretary of the institution, were read out in meetings and copied into the journal book. When *Micrographia* was in the process of being printed, Henry Oldenburg wrote to him about the lunar observation about to be published in that book.\(^19\) Riccioli was also a theme of conversation in the Royal Society. He is frequently mentioned in the journal books for his theories concerning the measurement of universal distances and ideas on falling bodies. His experiments in this field, reported in *Almagestum Novum*, most probably inspired the many trials that Hooke performed in the highest towers of London from 1662. In order to establish his reputation as an astronomer at a crucial time in his career (just when his Cutlerian lectures and his salary as curator of the Royal Society were being secured by John Wilkins), Hooke revived the competition that these selenographers had previously instigated with their publications. Hooke presents his lunar observation as a direct competition with them, claiming that the quality of his lenses allow him to perceive a feature on the surface of the satellite as it had never been seen before:

Having a pretty large corner of the Plate for the seven Starrs, void, for the filling it up, I have added one small *Specimen* of the appearance of the parts of the Moon by describing a small spot of it, which, though taken notice of, both by the Excellent Hevelius, and called *Mons Olympus* (though I think somewhat improperly, being rather a vale) and represented by the Figure X, of the 38. *scheme*, and also by the Learn’d Ricciolus, who calls it *Hipparcus*, and describes it by the Figure Y, yet how

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\(^{17}\) Hooke, a4.

\(^{18}\) BL Ad 24215 f.57; the letter was catalogued as autograph, probably by a nineteenth-century archivist.

\(^{19}\) Oldenburg had an important part in the promotion of *Micrographia*. Shortly after the publication of this work, he published an extended review of the book in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and this article was translated and republished in the *Journal des Savants very* shortly after. The circulation of the book led to an open quarrel between the French astronomer Adrian Auzout and Robert Hooke, which in the end worked out as another way of divulging Hooke’s work throughout circles of natural philosophy. Instances of the immediate reception of *Micrographia* are also found in Italy and the Low Countries.
far short both of them come to the truth, may be somewhat perceiv’d by the
draught, which I have here added of it, in the Figure Z (which I drew by a thirty
foot Glass, in October 1664, just before the Moon was half inlightened) but much
better by the Readers’s diligently observing it himself, at a convenient time, with a
glass of that length, and much better yet with one of threescore foot long; for
through these it appears a very spacious Vale, encompassed with a ridge of Hills,
not very high in comparison of many other in the Moon, nor yet very steep.\(^{20}\)

Here Hooke strictly emphasizes that the lunar spot named \textit{Mons Olympus} and \textit{Hipparcus} is a
“vale,” which did not solely have a poetic or bucolic connotation in his time. By doing so, he
may have considered the classification system stipulated in John Wilkins’s \textit{Universal Character and
Philosophical Language}, which was under preparation when \textit{Micrographia} was published (Hooke is
known to have been one of the few defenders of that naming system). However, by using a plain
signifier he is also stating the ontological status of the moon as a physical, topographic space,
analogous to the terrestrial. Why call this a vale and not a mountain or a crater?\(^{21}\)

Naming this topographical feature a vale or valley was not a novelty. In \textit{Sidereus Nuncius},
Galileo makes a comparison between a central spot of the moon and the valley of Bohemia. He
is interpreting depth and elevation through shade and light, and so this feature must have
appeared neither too depressed nor too elevated. Francesco Fontana, a less well-known author
of lunar observations (whose plates are listed in the auction catalogue for Hooke’s library), also
draws an analogy between valleys and lunar formations. He is cautious in explaining that this
comparison does not imply that the moon actually had valleys. Perhaps, like Riccioli a few years
later, he does not want his observations to be understood as refutations of the Aristotelian
theory of quintessence.\(^{21}\) By naming this space in the Moon a “vale,” Hooke is not arguing that
the existence of this topographical feature had never been noted.

Hooke’s insistence on naming the lunar spot “vale” was more likely motivated by an urge to
assert the Earth-Moon analogy and to correct a topographical survey. Riccioli’s \textit{Hipparchus}
is associated with a philosophy that denies the identification between the terrestrial and the lunar
relief. Hooke’s lunar “vale” implicitly contests this philosophical stance. Furthermore, Hooke
does not agree with Hevelius’ \textit{Mons Olympus} because that toponym refers to what was considered
one of the highest peaks in the world in the seventeenth century. Presumably Hooke estimates
that the lunar spot described is not a very elevated feature and thus should not bear the name of
such a high peak.

The rivalry with Hevelius and Riccioli is not taken further in Hooke’s description of his lunar
observation. Having framed his representation in a toponymical discussion and defined the lunar

\(^{20}\) Hooke, 242.

\(^{21}\) Francesco Fontana, \textit{Novae Coelestium, terrestrialiumque rerum observationes, et fortasse hactenus non vulgatae} (Naples:
Gaffaro, 1646), 31. “I say ‘what seem to be valleys’ and ‘like mountains’, because although protruding regions and
depressed areas may be observed on the lunar disc, and furthermore hollows, pits, clefts and small cracks may
appear to be found there, they are not however mountains and valleys like those found on Earth, as many people
Earthly Objects} by Francesco Fontana, with the Aid of Optical Instruments devised by him and brought to the highest state of
perfection (published by the translators at Cumbria and Reading: 2001).
macula as a vale, the author then uses the detailed spot to illustrate his geological theories. The description continues with a commentary on the shape of the valley: it is comparable to the outline of a pear. Hooke describes the fruit with the letters A B C D. This fruit analogy turned into a diagram may be considered explanatory and didactic. Pears are effective analogies for lively descriptions of spaces difficult to apprehend, such as planets seen from below or above. In A Man in the Moon, Francis Godwin uses the same simile to add a playful image after developing his narrator’s most explicit argument in favor of the Copernican world system. His gansas carries a picaresque Spaniard above the clouds, and from there he sees the Earth covered with spots: the Earth is perceived as the Moon. However, the shapes discerned on the terrestrial surface quickly disappear from the horizon because of the planet’s swift rotation. Godwin’s cosmic traveller explains the evanescence of the terrestrial macula by describing the changes in one of the largest spots of the globe: a landmass with the shape of a bitten pear (Africa) progressively disappears behind the outer limb of the planet. Godwin’s text, first published in 1638, translated into French in 1648, and reedited in London in 1657, was extremely well known in the mid-seventeenth century, although we have no concrete evidence that Hooke read it. Instead of arguing an instance of influence and intertextuality, I would like to suggest that Hooke’s analogies are not abstract ahistorical images. In search of clarity Godwin and Hooke fit a recognizable shape into a complex astronomical discourse. This shape is also culturally significant. In this period, pears were cultivated for perry production in England. In Hooke’s immediate context, they were frequently mentioned in meetings of the Royal Society. The fruit was also part of the gentlemanly garden culture: John Evelyn proudly planted forty-eight pears of twenty-nine varieties in Sayes Court so that they would bear fruit from July until winter. Hooke chooses an analogy that has implications of trade and leisure for his community. He makes his description of the Moon playful and appealing, as well as visually clear.

Hooke then lists other features of the moonscape. The natural philosopher begins with an analogy inspired by visual resemblance and proceeds to atomize it into an array of simile. By interpreting contrasts of light and shade, he concludes that the darker parts of the spot are covered with vegetable life, whilst the higher parts of the moon are arid. Multiplying the green images, he concludes that the pear-shaped vale “may have vegetables, analogous to our Grass, Shrubs, and Trees; and most of these encompassing Hills may be covered with so thin a vegetable Coat, as we may observe the Hills with us to be, such as the short steep pasture which

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22 “Againe, the Earth (which ever I held in mine eye) did as it were mask it selfe with a kind of brightness like another Moone; and even as in the Moone we discerned certaine spots or Clouds, as it were, so did I then in the earth. But whereas the forme of those spots in the Moone continue constantly one and the same; these little and little did change every hower. The reason thereof I conceive to be this, that whereas the Earth according to her naturall motion, (for that such a motion she hath, I am now constrained to joyne in opinion with Copernicus,) turneth round upon her owne Axe every 24 howers from the West unto the East: I should at the first see in the middle of the body of this new starre a spot like unto a Pear that had amorsell bitten out upon one side of him; after certain howers, I should see that spot slide away to the East side. This no doubt was the maine of Affrike.” Francis Godwin, The Man in the Moone: or a discourse of a voyage thither (London: John Norton, 1638), 56-57.


covers the Hills of Salisbury Plains.” What brings him to make this connection between England and the Moon?

Natural histories of the seventeenth century portray this place as desolate, dangerous, yet attractive and enigmatic. In his survey of England, Edward Leigh notes that these lands are “but rarely inhabited, and had in late time a bad name, for robberies there committed.” Inigo Jones gives a lengthy antiquarian discourse to Stonehenge, the “most notable antiquity of England,” located in this region. In the Britannia Baconica: or, the Natural rarities of England, Scotland, & Wales, Childrey alludes to the superstitions surrounding the origin of Stonehenge, which he believes a natural formation. His description of the county of Wiltshire also gives place to a lengthy discussion about the natural or supernatural formation of hill and springs near the Salisbury Plain. The seductive mystery of the region fits the moon very well! But did Hooke actually go there? It is well known that Galileo never actually travelled to the valley of Bohemia, to which he alluded in his description of the Moon, and that he possibly had a map of Europe in mind when making the analogy between that place and a lunar spot. Did Hooke think of a map of England when making his comparison? This passage inspires many questions regarding the sources of Hooke’s geographical imagination. Although evidence to reconstitute the origin of every analogy in Hooke’s description of the lunar macula is lacking, it is extremely tempting to claim that Hooke’s observation was informed by cultural associations. Investigating these analogies further would allow us to connect the experimental laboratory to a culture of belief generally considered extraneous to scientific writing.

Hooke represents the topographical characteristics of his observation with a familiar image, charged with superstition. However, the allusion to the fertility of the moon through the comparison with the English landscape also has theological implications. Hooke asserts that living beings have common structures designed by providence in observation XV of Micrographia. In this chapter, dedicated to the study of Kettering stone and the possibility of something historians of science have interpreted as “spontaneous generation,” Hooke comments on the common structures of living beings: “And so I guess the pores in wood and other vegetables, in bones, and other Animal substances, to be as so many channels provided by the great and wise Creator, for the conveyance of appropriate juices to particular parts. And therefore, that this may tend, or be pervious all towards one part, and may have impediments, as valves or the like, to any other.” In this passage Hooke conveys his belief in a system of divine correspondences, where essential structures of plants and animals are analogous. The description of greenery on the moon would also imply the presence of this providential design on the satellite.

After surmising about the color and the life of the moonscape, Hooke interrogates the nature of the eight circles that are prominent in the engraving of the lunar valley. To understand the origin of these figures, understood as depressions of the lunar surface and described as “discs”

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25 Hooke, 242-43.
26 Edward Leigh, England described: or the several Counties and shires thereof briefly handled (London, H. Marsh, 1659), 209.
28 Joshua Childrey, Britannia Baconica: Or, The Natural Rarities of England, Scotland, & Wales. According as they are to be found in every shire (London: Printed For the Author, 1660), 45-49.
29 Hooke, 95.
or “pits,” he presents a hypothesis of their origin through yet another analogy. These elevations within the larger valley are deemed hills formed by movements comparable to earthquakes:

These seem to me to have the effects of some motions within the body of the Moon, analogous to our Earthquakes, by the eruption of which, as it has thrown up a brim, or ridge, round about, higher then the Ambient surface of the Moon, so has it left a hole, or depression, in the middle, proportionally lower; divers places resembling some of these, I have observed here in England, on the tops of some Hills, which might have been caused by some Earthquake in the younger dayes of the world.

In the chapter of *Micrographia* dedicated to the description of charcoal, toward the middle of the book, Hooke had alluded to earthquakes as a factor in the formation of this substance. In the final observation of this work, the allusion to seismic activity is more substantially developed through a detailed reference to the experimental models made to recreate the rugged elevations seen in the lunar valley. These are not rhetorical but material analogies.

Firstly, Hooke mixed tobacco, clay, and water in a container and dropped a heavy object such as a small metal ball—a bullet—into the dense liquid. He then observed the protuberances produced by the impact and compared them to his drawing of the lunar spot. He concludes that the moon’s surface would not only be harder than the clay mix, but that the possibility of a heavy body falling into it is very unlikely. So he tried a second model: he boiled alabaster and water and set the mix aside to cool. Once this was done, he observed the depressions left by the bubbles that had burst and compared them to the lunar discs. He then studied his model in a room illuminated by a candle. By placing the flame in different positions, he recreated the changing appearance of the moon’s craters in relation to their position to the sun. This experiment, Hooke thought, grants proof to the idea that beneath the lunar crust there are vapors, analogous to those that cause the bubbles in the alabaster. The vapors inside the body of the satellite would have created passages toward the surface in order to release the pressure concentrated in its center. These are also analogous to the vapors moving through subterraneous channels. The same phenomena occasion earthquakes and volcanic activity in many regions of the Mediterranean, Iceland, Mexico, the Canary Islands, and the Moon.

Hooke’s idea about subterraneous winds as causes of rises and depressions of land represents an interpretation of Aristotle’s *Meteors*, not uncommon in his time. Topographical diversity was considered the effect of vapors caught in subterraneous channels. The necessary release of pressure caused by the accumulation of these internal currents occasion violent shifts of land. The contentious aspect of the debate is its historical timing. Three main theories explained when the Earth was shaped: the first of these contends that seas, islands, mountains, continental masses, etc., were formed the third day of the creation, as it was related in *Genesis*; the second approach advances the possibility of changes in this primordial shape after the Deluge; finally, it is considered that some of the world’s features were transformed after the Deluge, by winds, rains, and other environmental factors. The three versions do not necessarily exclude each other.

30 Hooke, 243.
31 Hooke, 243-44.
However, the acceptance of topographical accidents occurring after the seven days of the creation of the world is somewhat problematic because it implies denial of the perfection of God’s works. 32 Swan’s Speculum Mundi, a widely read geographical textbook in Oxford and Cambridge, explains that these changes are godly gestures intended to instil fear in mankind. 33 John Wilkins refutes this biblical interpretation. Other natural philosophers, such as Bernhardus Varenius in his Geographia Generalis, do likewise. Both these natural philosophers are cited in Micrographia, and it is in this framework that separates scriptures from nature that Hooke’s understanding of earthquakes should be considered.

Hooke’s notion of seismic activity is informed by multiple sources besides the ones mentioned above. These belong to a wide range of authors, genres, and periods. He draws from Ovid’s Metamorphoses, Pliny’s Natural History, Virgil’s Aeneid, Seneca’s Natural Questions, and from relations of earthquakes in England, Iceland, Italy, the Canary Islands, and the New World, re-edited throughout the seventeenth century. These were written by missionaries, poets, or merchants of different nationalities and confessional backgrounds. Furthermore, the Royal Society papers contain traveller’s reports from Iceland and the Canary Islands. As Curator of the Royal Society, Hooke was bound to have heard of these narratives. This is yet another telling instance of how the discourse of natural philosophy was inspired by descriptions ensuing from diverse cultural experiences and forms of knowledge. 34

Hooke begins this description by observing a pear-shaped lunar vale, and he makes a conceptual transit toward the powerful vapors inside the satellite through analogies. Through analogical reasoning, the study of the Moon provides an opportunity to dwell on theories about the origin of terrestrial land formation with a certain distance. Finally, in the last part of his description, he zooms out from the depths of the moon and contemplates the spherical shape of the satellite to present the idea that it had its proper gravitational force. He asserts that the outer boundaries of the moon are quasi-equidistant to its center, and that this is caused by a force of attraction keeping the satellite together. Here, Hooke projects his ideas of terrestrial gravitation onto the moon. In the description of this plate he introduces the theory that originates his famous dispute with Newton. 35 I cannot go into the details of that discussion in this venue; however, I wish to point out that this gravitational theory is also construed through a comparison with the terrestrial.


33 John Swan, Speculum Mundi (Cambridge] Printed by [Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel] the printers to the University of Cambridge,1635); Ito, 295-314.

34 The references to classical authors are explicitly made in Robert Hooke, Discourse on Earthquakes in Posthumous Works (London: Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford, 1705), 29; Thomas Gage, The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land: or a New Survey of the West-India’s (London: R. Cotes, 1648), 69; Sandys, A relation of a journey begun An. Dom. 1610: four bookes containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remotest parts of Italy and islands adjoining, (London: printed for W. Barrett, 1615); Royal Society, RBO/2i/26 “List of enquiries concerning Iceland by Mr. Hoskins the 24th of December 1662; Cl.P.19/1 “Enquiries of some things in Iceland by Mr. Hoskins”; Cl.P.7/i/1 “An exact relation of the Pico Tenariff, taken form Mr. Clapham who had very long resided in that Island”; Cl.P.7/i/4 “Some Particulars concerning Tenariff Island, from Dr. Pugh.”

Hitherto, I have discussed the terrestrial and lunar correspondence as a rhetorical figure that serves a methodology of inquiry. For Hooke, observing the moon was a way of understanding the world he stood on. The satellite is in itself a model onto which he projects his ideas about land formation and gravitational forces. The Earth and the Moon are not conceived as opposites; they are correspondent, and formulating analogies in his observations allows him to think about both worlds.

To conclude, I suggest that this correspondence also embodies a structuring metaphor. The image of the Earth-Moon analogy begin and the end Hooke’s book. In his very first observation, by studying the sharp point of a needle, the experimental philosopher comments on the variety of patterns found in minute and gigantic objects. The point of a needle is like a planet; the celestial bodies are also dots in the universe, he affirms. If he stands on the Moon gazing at the Earth through a lens fitted to diminish its size (looking through the other end of the telescope?), the world that seems so incommensurable from within would appear as an insignificant dot. The diversity of shapes found in a hierarchy of correspondences, from the smallest terrestrial objects to the celestial bodies, is contemplated by divine providence:

An evident Argument that he that was the Author of all these things, was no other then Omnipotent; being able to include as great a variety of parts and contrivances in the yet smallest Discernable Point, as in those vaster bodies (which comparatively are also Points) such as the Earth, Sun, or Planets. Nor need it seem strange that the Earth it self may be by an Analogy call’d a Physical Point: For as its body, though now so near us to fill our eyes and fancies with a sense of the vastness of it, may by a little Distance, and some convenient Diminishing Glasses, be made vanish into a scarce visible Speck, or Point (as I have often try’d on the Moon, and when not too bright in the Sun it self.) So, could a Mechanical contrivance successfully answer our Theory, we might see the least spot as big as the Earth it self; and Discover, as Des Cartes also conjectures, as great a variety of bodies in the Moon, or Planets, as in the Earth.36

The Earth-Moon analogy remains a continuous metaphor throughout Micrographia, linking beginning and end. More than two hundred pages after the description of the world within the point of a needle, the author claims: “could we look upon the Earth from the Moon, with a good Telescope, we might easily enough perceive its surface to be very much like that of the Moon.”37 Just as he had found a diversity of corresponding patterns in the sharp steel tool, he discovered connected layers of matter and life in the dark blotch perceived through the telescope. For Hooke, these connecting images are not just ornamental; they are also consistent with his image of the universe as a system of correspondences designed by the Creator. When he zooms into the moon, he discovers a green landscape that cannot be dissociated from the structures of living beings like those he studies through the microscope, with pores through which vital juices passed. The description of passages of air breaking through the lunar crust, as it does in England,

36 Hooke, 2.
37 Hooke, 245.
Tenerife, or Mexico, conveys the same idea of the mirroring providential structures of the cosmos. The long tube and the carefully ground lenses re-establish the connection between every divine world.

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The Voice of No-Body in Stefano Landi’s La morte d’Orfeo

By Daniel T. Rogers

Stefano Landi’s first opera La morte d’Orfeo is characterized by uncertainty. Little is known about the work’s genesis, audience, or patron, and it seems that the work invites more questions than it answers. A close examination of two curious aspects of Landi’s work, though, may reveal a few answers. First, in contrast to virtually every other contemporaneous version of the Orpheus myth, the opera focuses exclusively on Orpheus’s death. Second, the plot in Landi’s opera includes a number of mutations to the traditional myth that, at first, seem unexplainable. This is particularly true in an important scene in which Echo, characteristically disembodied and limited in speech, successfully persuades another female character to kill Orpheus. These two unusual elements seem to be part of a broader dialogue concerning contemporaneous social or cultural currents in northern Italy, such as the well-known publications debating the proper place of women in Venetian society and the dangers of unchecked female speech. When viewed in this light, Landi’s opera seems to forecast the type of opera that would later be produced in connection with the members of the powerful Accademia degli Incogniti on the stage of one of Venice’s several public opera houses.

The only extant source for Landi’s opera is a print publication produced in Venice by Bartolomeo Magni in 1619. Unlike virtually every other published opera score from this period, the title page makes no reference to any specific staging. Every other contemporaneous published opera score is at least partially commemorative, including at minimum a reference to a performance date and place, but often also including detailed descriptions of staging effects or the singers’ performances. Additionally, and only slightly less unusually, no independent libretto, published or otherwise, remains extant. In this early stage in the history of opera, the musical setting often plays a supporting role. The primary object of concern for creators of this innovative genre is the text, which often


enjoys a reception as a literary work independent from its musical setting. Thus, in its publication details, Landi’s opera appears to be something of an oddity.

Though the myth of Orpheus became a frequent subject in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, depictions, descriptions, or adaptations of the myth overwhelmingly focus on the demigod’s legendary musical powers to control and subdue the world around him, and generally avoid the account of his gruesome demise. Frequently these powers are displayed through his heroic recovery of his beloved from the Underworld; after all, Orpheus’s musical power enables him to charm the inhabitants of the Underworld and convince Pluto and Persephone to release Eurydice.

A number of fairly stable narrative typologies that take on the figura of Orpheus result from these frequent references. The moralizations of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, for example, make Orpheus the personification of reason and an analogue to Christ, via the shepherd David in the Bible. Thus Orpheus’s descent and rescue of his beloved is comparable to Christ’s descent into Limbo and later resurrection. Florentine humanists equated Orpheus with figures like Marsilio Ficino and by extension to the humanists’ attempt to recover a lost past. Referring to Ficino, for instance, Angelo Poliziano wrote “[Ficino’s] lyre…[is] far more successful than the lyre of the Thracian Orpheus, [he] has brought back from the Underworld what is, if I am not mistaken, the true Eurydice, that is Platonic wisdom with its broad judgment.” In the civic realm, Orpheus became associated with the successful diplomatic efforts of an aristocratic ruler. Through these efforts, analogized to Orpheus’s musical power to pacify and control, the early modern diplomat established and maintained political stability. It appears, in fact, that this is precisely the meaning suggested by Baccio Bandinelli’s statue of Orpheus that replaced Donatello’s David in the Medici palace in the mid-sixteenth century. Rather than an image of triumph through force, as the figure of David might portray, Orpheus, in

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7 Warden, *Orpheus*, 86. There are, of course, a large number of humanist or neo-platonic references to Orpheus; the figure of Orpheus and the orphic tradition occupies a significant place in that philosophy.
his subduing of Cerberus with music, promotes a revised conception of Medicean rule by suggesting victory without conflict.⁸

In view of these various narrative typologies, it is perhaps easier to understand why depictions of the death of Orpheus are relatively unusual. In each, the figura of Orpheus symbolically represents the success of traditional religious, cultural, and social paradigms. To depict Orpheus’s overthrow and death is to represent the upheaval of established religious, philosophical, cultural, social, or civic order. Indeed, when the women protest at the conclusion of the second book of Baldassare Castiglione’s The Courtier, the social imbalance is allegorized through Orpheus’s death. Two of the interlocutors, Gaspar and Bernardo, extensively discuss the courtier’s need for skills of diplomacy. At a certain point the topic turns to the proper treatment and place of women in society. They argue for and against their observations of some female behavior. Bernardo finally sidesteps the matter and states, “And since I see the ladies staying so quiet and bearing the wrongs you do them so patiently, from now on I shall hold for true a part of what signor Ottaviano said, namely, that they do not mind what other evil things are said of them as long as their chastity is not impugned.”⁹ At the conclusion of this statement, the ladies in the room are no longer silent. “At this, seeing the Duchess making a sign, a large number of the ladies present rose to their feet, and laughing, they all ran towards signor Gaspare as if to rain blows on him and treat him as the Bacchantes treated Orpheus.”¹⁰ Here Castiglione employs the image of Orpheus’s death to represent Gaspar’s failure to maintain diplomatic equilibrium, particularly with regard to women.

The superimposition of Orpheus as an early-modern diplomat, courtier, or aristocrat continued well into the seventeenth century. In this interpretation, Aurelio Aureli’s libretto for Claudio Sartorio’s opera L’Orfeo, which premiered at the S. Salvatore theater in Venice in 1673, leaves nothing to the imagination. In the libretto’s provided argomento, Aureli provides an interpretation of each of the characters to appear on stage, “to give you a succinct understanding of this drama.”¹¹ Orpheus, it states, is to be interpreted as a typical Venetian jealous but loving upper-class husband.¹²

In light of these prominent narrative typologies, then, the exclusive focus on the death of Orpheus in Landi’s opera is potentially far more significant that it might appear initially. Far from merely portraying the concluding portion of the Orpheus myth according to Ovid, or being yet another application of the Orpheus myth on the operatic stage, his work potentially encompasses a drama about the undoing of the scams that, however tenuously, hold the fabric of early-modern

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¹⁰ Castiglione, 200.


¹² Sartorio, biii, see also xxx-xxxi.
society together.\textsuperscript{13} It embodies a cathartic representation of the overthrow of the traditional, often patriarchal, values and organizations that the figura of Orpheus had come to represent. From this point of view, certain aspects of the opera, particularly the mutations made to the Orpheus myth, begin to invite explanation.

The story of Orpheus takes a disproportionately large number of lines in Ovid’s \textit{Metamorphoses}, the most widely distributed source for the myth in the early seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{14} Ovid’s telling of the myth is summarized in the left-most column of Table 1. After a bad omen at their wedding ceremony, tragedy befalls Orpheus and Eurydice; Eurydice is famously bitten by a poisonous snake and dies. Orpheus succeeds at regaining her from the god and goddess of the Underworld on the condition that he not look at her until they are back in the world of the living. As they draw near the threshold of the Upperworld, Orpheus’s desire to see his beloved overcomes him and he looks back, losing her forever.

They took the up-sloping path, through places of utter silence, a steep path, indistinct and clouded in pitchy darkness. And now they were nearing the margin of the upper earth, when he, afraid that she might fail him, eager for the sight of her, turned back his longing eyes; and instantly she slipped into the depths. He stretched out his arms, eager to catch her or to feel her clasp; but, unhappy one, he clasped nothing but the yielding air. And now, dying a second time, she made no complaint against her husband; for of what could she complain save that she was beloved? She spake one last “farewell” which scarcely reached her husband’s ears, and fell back again to the place whence she had come.\textsuperscript{15}

The tragic scene is full of the contrasts that artists, writers, and composers appreciated at the time: the Upper and the Underworld, embrace and separation, joy and bitterness, material and immaterial. Significantly, love is constant throughout this scene; Eurydice does not (cannot) blame Orpheus.

Orpheus attempts to return to the Underworld but fails. With no other option, Orpheus mourns his loss and shuns the love of women, antagonizing the frenzied Maenads, the followers of Bacchus. They come upon him and, in a furious rage, tear the demigod’s body to pieces. After this tragic


\textsuperscript{15} Ovid, 69.
encounter, the story concludes as Orpheus, now a shade destined for the Underworld, finally regains his beloved in a touching reunion. Ovid relates that, “seeking through the blessed fields, [he] found Eurydice and caught her in his eager arms. Here now side by side they walk; now Orpheus follows her as she precedes, now goes before her, now may in safety look back upon his Eurydice.”

Other classical sources for the myth make only slight variations to this basic storyline. The three other columns in Table 1 coordinate the events in Ovid’s account with the events in three well-known staged versions. Each of these three versions relies heavily on Ovid’s account and makes only minor departures from his sequence of events, though often Orpheus’s death and reunion with Eurydice is omitted. The most significant departure in Ottavio Rinuccini’s retelling, set to music by Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini, is the addition of a lieto fine, in which Orpheus and Eurydice successfully make the trip out of the Underworld and happily conclude their wedding festivities—a fitting conclusion for a work staged as part of the wedding celebration of King Henry IV and Maria de’ Medici. Alessandro Striggio’s libretto hints at the death of Orpheus in its inclusion of the Maenads and their frenzied chorus threatening Orpheus’s life, but the libretto ends before they attack him. In the version of this libretto that was included in the publication of Monteverdi’s musical setting, all references to Orpheus’s death are erased completely—the Maenads no longer appear—replaced by a spectacular display in which Apollo emerges and chides the demigod for his inability to control his emotions. Orpheus, finally exalted to the heavens, eternally gazes upon Eurydice in the stars.

Landi’s opera, on the other hand, contains significant deviations from this basic storyline. The plot of the opera is outlined in Table 2. Act 1 functions more or less like an opera prologue in which mythical deities converse with one another about the events that will shortly play out on stage; the real action of the opera begins in Act 2. The opera, as the title suggests, does not recount Orpheus’s attempts to reclaim his beloved, a series of events that is but rarely referenced, but begins after Orpheus’s solitary return to the world of the living. Rather than a mournful, pitiable figure, the audience encounters a joyous Orpheus, inviting all to his birthday celebration. All of the gods on Olympus but Bacchus receive the invitation and join in the festivities. Foreshadowing the events to come, Apollo expresses his concern for Orpheus’s safety and counsels him to distance himself from the pleasures of women, which Orpheus readily accepts.

In Act 3, Bacchus, enraged that Orpheus has not included him on the guest list, vows to destroy him, despite the pleadings of one of his female followers, named Nysa. Nysa pleads on behalf of the demigod but to no avail. Along with the other Maenads, she laments Orpheus’s impending death. As is typical of lamentation scenes, Echo punctuates her sorrow. By the end of the scene Nysa’s pity for Orpheus has turned to rage, and she and the other Maenads set out in deadly pursuit of Orpheus. Their anger is made into a frenzy as Bacchus releases Fury, who had been chained during the festivities, and commands him to inflame the Maenads’ hearts against Orpheus. Act 4 returns to Orpheus’s birthday celebration. The gods are all commanded to return to Olympus, and Orpheus

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16 Ovid, 125.
finds himself alone. He laments his solitude, and his thoughts turn to his lost Eurydice for the first time in the opera. As he concludes, the Maenads arrive and tear him to pieces, and the act concludes in lamentation over his death.

Act 5 begins, perhaps surprisingly, with a once-again joyful Orpheus, who is enthusiastic about his impending reunion with his beloved Eurydice in the Underworld—a scene that seems to be setting up Ovid’s happy ending. Instead, Charon, the ferryman of the underworld, refuses to take Orpheus across the river, as his body has not received a proper burial, and mocks the demigod, whom he recognizes from his previous journey into the Underworld. Finally, Mercury appears and entreats Orpheus to forget his beloved, for after drinking from the water of the Lethe she has forgotten him. Orpheus is unwilling to believe this news, to believe that his constancy in love is unrewarded. Mercury orders the ferryman to take Orpheus into the river and calls up the ghost of Eurydice. True to Mercury’s pronouncement, she has completely forgotten Orpheus and is indifferent to him; rather than remaining with him, she desires to return to the “blessed Elysium.”

As Eurydice slips out of Orpheus’s presence, Mercury invites Orpheus to drink deeply from the Lethe and forget the sorrows of love. Having no other option, Orpheus complies. Charon, a witness to these events, sings a raucous drinking song as Mercury and Orpheus ascend to heaven. In the opera’s final scene the gods offer a celebratory welcome to Orpheus, who “is dead no longer.”

Though the mutations to the traditional myth in Landi’s opera are curious (Orpheus’s birthday?!), many can be explained more or less sufficiently as an attempt at following the basic dramatic trajectory of the traditional Orpheus myth in general and the versions of the myth that appeared on stage in particular. The basic storyline of the traditional first half of the myth is fairly familiar: tragedy strikes at a celebration, and Orpheus unsuccessfully attempts to recover his beloved from the Underworld. In its essence, Landi’s opera follows the same general guidelines, particularly those in the setting of the myth that appears in Monteverdi’s publication. Of course, the celebration in Landi’s opera is Orpheus’s birthday rather than his wedding, and the tragedy is his own death rather than Eurydice’s. In addition to these modifications, the traditional double-death of Eurydice is recast for Orpheus. At the conclusion of the opera, at the loss of Eurydice, it is Orpheus who complains, “O cruel fate, you lift me as your horrible trophy, and give me death again after death!”

On a more detailed level, in a parallel scene to the dialogue between Pluto and Persephone (present in some form in all three of the staged versions of the myth and enclosed by dotted lines in Table 1), in which Persephone pleads on behalf of Orpheus to Pluto, in Act 2 of Landi’s opera Nysa pleads for Orpheus’s life to Bacchus in a similar dialogue. Thus, one may understand the presence of Nysa, an otherwise curious and seemingly unnecessary mutation, as an attempt to adapt this scene from the earlier staging; one may read Nysa as a counterpart to Persephone. In this way, one may account for nearly all of the mutations to the myth. All, that is, but one; there is no scene in the

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17 Landi, 98, xxxvi.
18 Landi, xxxvii.
19 Landi, xxxv.
earlier works to account for the subtle mutation of the dramatic turn in Nysa in Act 2. In earlier versions of the myth the Maenads, of which Nysa is an implied leader, turn against Orpheus simply because he has shunned all women; however, in Landi’s opera Nysa’s sympathy for Orpheus is subtly subverted and replaced with hatred by the intervention of a characteristically absent Echo.

Having failed to convince Bacchus to spare Orpheus, Nysa finds herself alone and begins to lament. Echo punctuates her sorrow, but the way Echo interacts with Nysa is far from typical. The text of this scene with some analytical annotations is included in Table 3. In their first interaction, Nysa’s word “disperiamo,” (“we . . . despair”) through a double echo, becomes Echo’s “speriamo” (“we hope”) and finally “amo” (“I love”). Echo’s truncated versions of Nysa’s own words become the substance of Nysa’s next statement “speriamo, se pur ami,” (“Let us hope, if he were to love”) which begins a stanza with a slightly shifted sentiment. What was a statement of lament is now an expression of regret that Orpheus will not “be enamored with [the Maenads’] sweetness.” Through these echoic exchanges regret becomes self-pity, then blame. This is followed by justified indifference, then revenge, and finally rage. In the end, the echoic cycle ends in the Maenads’ declaration, “die,” which, significantly, Echo repeats without alteration. Through this exchange, Echo subtly and carefully changes Nysa’s feelings toward Orpheus, using Nysa’s own words to do so. Where she once loved him, by end of the scene she now is determined to kill him. Thus it appears that Echo, despite the absence of her name in the dramatis personae—a non-character, a voice without a body—brings about a major dramatic turn in the opera, the turn that will ultimately result in Orpheus’s demise, the subject of the entire opera.

Landi’s musical setting of this scene seems to reinforce Echo’s subversive presence. The only use of versi sciolti in the opera, the text of this scene is divisible into seven unequal sections, delineated by each of Echo’s responses. In each of these sections the vocal line is intoned over a fairly static bass, outlining simple harmonic progressions. The first two sections proceed somewhat unremarkably, fitting comfortably inside of the same harmonic world, around a G tonic. The third section proceeds in the same way until in the second line of that section Nysa asks a question: “how can we live?” Providing an opportunity for Echo to respond and despite its appearance in the middle of a poetic line, Landi concludes Nysa’s question in whole notes in all parts, but this only enhances Echo’s agency and invisible presence. Echo offers no response to the question, apparently lacking the words she needs to transmit her message. The resulting silence makes Echo’s agency clear; her voice is not the involuntary physical phenomenon her name implies but the volitional voice of an unseen being. Nysa comprehends this reality as well; as she continues, she now addresses Echo directly, engaging this unseen character in dialogue.

This change in speech, from individual and private introspection to active dialogue is highlighted musically as well. Whereas the musical accompaniment for Nysa’s introspection remains close to its G-major harmony, Nysa’s dialogue with Echo continues with a more energized harmonic rhythm that moves toward A as a harmonic goal that will ultimately prepare the D-major harmony that concludes this scene. Not coincidentally, at this point as well Landi’s harmonic setting carefully
The Voice of No-Body in Stefano Landi’s La morte d’Orfeo

suggests Nysa’s submission to the persuasive and now undeniably present Echo. In most sections Nysa begins away from the harmonic area that concludes the previous statement, a subtle musical representation of her resistance to Echo’s enticements. In section five this changes; Nysa begins in the same harmonic area in which Echo had concluded, suggesting that their two wills have become one. At this point, Echo has succeeded in convincing Nysa to kill Orpheus, underlined by her response without a change in harmony. Musically, then, Landi enhances Echo’s participation in Nysa’s dramatic turn and in so doing highlights her volitional voice and subversive agency.

Echo’s manipulation of text is actually fairly common in literature, though her interaction with and manipulation of Nysa in this scene is unusually creative. In Ovid’s account of Echo’s interactions with Narcissus in Book 3 of his Metamorphoses, he cleverly employs the nymph’s restricted, yet still volitional, speech. In love with Narcissus, but unable to initiate a verbal interaction, Echo must “await the sounds to which she may give back as her own words.” As she secretly follows Narcissus, just such an opportunity arises. “The boy [Narcissus] from his companions parted, said; Is any nigh? I, Eccho answere made.” Ovid continues, “He stands still, deceived by the answering voice, and ‘Let us come together here,’ he cries. Echo, never to answer another sound more gladly, cries, ‘Let us come together.’”

Several early-modern commentaries of Ovid’s work discuss this passage in detail. The majority of them highlight Echo’s interesting manner of speech. Often what interests these writers, however, is not that Echo must repeat the words of others, but that she still seems to demonstrate the ability to communicate independently. For example, Raphael Regius’s widely circulated 1518 commentary on Ovid’s work discusses Echo’s use of a double entendre in the Latin word “coeamus,” translated as “let us come together” in the second citation above. Echo’s reply to Narcissus’s invitation relies on this word’s double meaning—either “to meet” or “to copulate.” Thus, while Narcissus calls his companions to gather, Echo intends the alternate meaning, and her intention is made certain by the lines that follow.

22 Ovid, 151.
23 Ovid’s Metamorphosis: Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in Figures by George Sandys, ed. Karl Hulley and Stanley Vanderrall (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 137. Sandys’s translation of this passage highlights just the kind of curious speech that Echo demonstrates in Landi’s opera. Ovid’s original reads, “Forte puer comitum seductus ab agmine fido dixerat: ‘ecquis adest ‘? et ‘adest’ responderat Echo.” Whereas the literal translation of the Latin passage might have made Echo responding with the word “here” (the word that Miller uses in his more literal translation), Sandys opts to depart from a literal translation. Instead, in his translation Echo responds with the same sound rather than the same word, making explicit the word play inherent in Ovid’s account.
The examples of Echo’s independent speech and individual agency are not limited to the *Metamorphoses*. Indeed, so common are echoes employed in early-modern poetic literature that the echo lament can be considered an independent literary genre.26 Perhaps the most influential poem employing the echoic trope, Poliziano’s famous lyric demonstrates Echo’s power of speech, particularly in the first and last line (see Table 4).27 In these lines, Echo repeats only a portion of the speaker’s original word or sound while still fulfilling the demands of her limited speech. As in Landi’s opera, Poliziano calls attention to Echo’s absent presence and her volitional speech through her clever repetition of sounds that have been invested with altered meaning.

What is to be understood by Echo’s role in the death of Orpheus, who is a symbol of harmony, peace, stability, and power—in a certain sense the personification of the traditional patriarchy? In addition to allegorizing the figure of Orpheus, many of the authors of the commentaries of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* offer an interpretation of Echo’s peculiar volitional voice. Frequently these moralizations find Echo’s speech dangerous. Petrus Berchorius’s influential commentary on the *Metamorphoses* from the early sixteenth century, for example, relates that, “we find such Echoes among quarrelsome and contentious women or among cantankerous servants, who always want to have the last word and have always got an answer to anything their husbands or their masters say; if they are rebuked by them they always mutter discontentedly.”28 Thomas Farnabius calls Echo’s language “typical of fair-weather friends and parasites” that manipulate their companions for their own gain.29 Thus, Echo’s type of volitional speech, which masks itself in the repetition of others—particularly those in a superior social position—is allegorized as an undesirable and potentially dangerous manipulation.

Not just her voice, but Echo’s very physical nature is cause for concern. Despite Echo’s powerful voice remaining disembodied (likely a troubling reality for the Aristotelians in the Veneto), the mere fact that it belongs to a female would have been alarming for some of the Venetian elite.30 Around the time of Landi’s publication, female agency and speech were hotly debated in many publications in Venice.31 Much of the polemic over female agency took place in several published, often misogynistic, catalogues of female *exempla* that established a model for female social and private

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26 See Sternfield, “Repetition and Echo in Renaissance Poetry and Music.”
28 Moss, 96.
29 Moss, 244.
30 Aristotle carefully outlines the physical characteristic (windpipe, lungs, etc.) necessary for a creature to have a voice in his *De Anima*. In addition, the ability to aurally transmit meaning (as opposed to merely making noise) was considered a characteristic unique to humans (see Bloom, “Localizing Disembodied Voice in Sandys’s Englished ‘Narcissus and Echo’.”). As a voice disembodied, Echo’s existence (even if imagined) challenged these positions, suggesting that a being, or perhaps a soul, could exist without a body. That this point was a matter of concern and contention for Aristotelians is demonstrated by the arraignment and questioning of the Paduan philosopher Cesare Cremonini by the Inquisition for allegedly teaching that the soul’s life ends with mortal life. See Charles Schmitt, *Cesare Cremonini: Un Aristotelico Al Tempo Di Galilei*, Centro Tedesco Di Studi Veneziani (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1980).
behavior. The goal of Giuseppe Passi’s controversial yet popular I donneschi difetti, for example, was to warn young men about the many faults of women (which he states are infinite), for they, in his view, are to be the ruin of society.32

The collective result of these publications is, as Wendy Heller describes it, a sort of imaginary theater of female types that ultimately is transported to the operatic stage in the mid-seventeenth century.33 The employment of these types in opera, particularly those that highlight female defects, is frequently connected with the Venetian Accademia degli Incogniti.34 Many members of this powerful academy, many of whom participated in the debate over female propriety, were involved with various operatic productions. These productions often ambivalently depict the results of female ambition while highlighting Venetian patriotism.35 For example, Giovanni Francesco Busenello, a member of the academy, provided the libretto for Francesco Cavalli’s Didone, which premiered in Venice in 1641. An adaptation of the account from Virgil’s Aeneid, it tells the story of the widowed Queen of Carthage who falls in love with Aeneas, who has escaped the destruction of Troy. Several of the queen’s implied faults are on display: her passion for Aeneas, her ambition to rule without a husband, and her chastity in widowhood. Aeneas, on the other hand, must overcome his love for the adoring queen in order to found Rome, which is an analogy for Venice. Despite his love for her, Aeneas abandons her while she sleeps to fulfill his noble destiny. In this opera, the queen is put on display in a similar way to those in the catalogues of women. Her defects are made clear, implicitly depicting the dangers of female ambition, rule, and speech.36 Similarly, Aeneas’s triumph over his feelings for the queen—feelings that are understood in this light as a weakness—celebrates the establishment and maintenance of the predominant social and cultural makeup of Venice. Had Aeneas succumbed, he would have forfeited his glorious future and that of Venice.

To return to Landi’s opera, it seems that Echo encompasses a similar position in the plot as the queen of Carthage; she is the figure to be interpreted and allegorized. In the midst of a public argument over the proper place of women in Venetian society, especially with regard to the propriety of their unregulated speech, Echo plays a pivotal role in Landi’s opera. Through her unusual ability to speak without a body, and to persuade while her speech is under strict control, she brings about the overthrow of the powerful Orpheus, a symbol of traditional patriarchy. Though this is, of course, a hypothesis, some features of the publication may support this interpretation. Francesco Pona, the heralded humanist and later a member of the Accademia degli Incogniti, penned the dedicatory poems included in Landi’s publication. Only a few years after the opera’s publication,

32 Giuseppe Passi, I donneschi difetti (Venice: Vincenzo Somascho, 1598). Passi’s publication was printed no fewer than four times between 1599 and 1618.
33 Heller develops this line of thinking in Heller, Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice.
34 For a broader view of the interrelationship between the Accademia degli Incogniti and opera, see Ellen Rosand, Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 110-25.
Pona would publish his *La galleria delle donne celebri*, a catalogue of twelve women divided into categories of saintly, chaste, and lascivious. In the last category, Pona’s association of female “intelligence and resourcefulness . . . with promiscuity and the suppression of the men” is typical of powerful women on the operatic stage. A discussion of female virtue characterizes his later and better known work, *La Messalina*, as well. Pona includes alongside the erotic description of Messalina’s behavior a moral charge to women against inappropriate physical desire and a warning to men to beware of female nature.

But, of course, Echo’s behavior does not annihilate Orpheus; he continues as a shade in the Underworld. Once there, like Aeneas he must rise above his love for Eurydice to achieve his destiny and glory. Indeed, in this way the plot in Landi’s opera is quite similar to Busenello’s libretto to *Didone* and many of the other operas connected with members of the *Accademia degli Incogniti* in their various displays of the faults of women. Due to this similarity, it is possible to view Landi’s opera as part of this group, though it predates these operas by nearly two decades. It may be possible to consider Landi’s opera an early contribution to the body of politically and socially charged operas that later appeared on the Venetian operatic stage with support from members of the Academy. Certainly members of the Academy were invested in the genre of opera as a medium through which their particular social and political views might be distributed. In 1640 the members of the Academy acted as a group to construct the *Teatro Novissimo*, a stage designed specifically for operatic performances. There they staged productions with just the kind of political and social messages evident in this interpretation of Landi’s opera.

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38 Heller, “Queen as King,” 99.


40 Rosand, 88-110.
Table 1. A comparison of the accounts of the Orpheus myth

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scene I</td>
<td>The wedding under a bad omen. 10, 1-8</td>
<td>Events leading up to Eurydice’s death.</td>
<td>Eurydice rejoices with the shepherds</td>
<td>Depiction of the wedding ceremony.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scene III</td>
<td>Details of Eurydice’s death. 10, 8-10</td>
<td>Messenger delivers the news of Eurydice’s death.</td>
<td>Messenger delivers the news of Eurydice’s death.</td>
<td>Messenger delivers the news of Eurydice’s death.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scene IV</td>
<td>Orpheus laments and enters the underworld. 10, 11-12</td>
<td>Orpheus laments and determines to enter into the underworld.</td>
<td>Orpheus laments and descends into the Underworld</td>
<td>Orpheus laments and descends into the Underworld accompanied by Hope.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scene VI</td>
<td>An account of the reaction of the inhabitants of the Underworld to Orpheus’s singing.</td>
<td>Eurydice is summoned and the conditions of her return are stated. 10, 53-55</td>
<td>Orpheus regains Eurydice and rejoices as he journeys to the upper-world.</td>
<td>Pluto gives the conditions of Eurydice’s return.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scene VII</td>
<td>Orpheus doubts Eurydice is behind him and looks back. 10, 56-63</td>
<td>Orpheus and Eurydice successfully return to the Upperworld</td>
<td>Doubtful Eurydice is following and concerned for her safety, Orpheus looks back.</td>
<td>Doubtful Eurydice is following and concerned for her safety, Orpheus looks back.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scene VIII</td>
<td>Eurydice forgives him, stretches out her arms. 10, 64-66</td>
<td>Eurydice is taken back to the Underworld.</td>
<td>Orpheus and Eurydice is forced into the upper-world.</td>
<td>Orpheus and Eurydice is forced into the upper-world.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus returns to the Underworld but is refused by Charon passage and mourns for 7 days on the shore.</td>
<td>10, 67-80</td>
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<td>Orpheus mourns the loss of Eurydice.</td>
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<td>Orpheus shuns women.</td>
<td>10, 81-89</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus shuns women.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus mourns and interacts with Echo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus shuns women.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus mourns and tells other myths.</td>
<td>10, 162-846</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus encounters the Bacchantes (Striggio’s libretto).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus is discovered by Thracian women. The details of his initial invulnerability to their attacks and his eventual death at their hands.</td>
<td>11, 1-43</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Bacchantes recount Orpheus’s dismemberment at their hands as part of a Bacchian ritual.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scene of drunken Bacchantes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nature mourns for Orpheus.</td>
<td>11, 44-49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus’s head floats down the river.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A snake attacks the head but it is protected by Apollo.</td>
<td>11, 60-64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus regains Eurydice in the Underworld in a happy ending.</td>
<td>65-71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus encounters the Bacchantes (Striggio’s libretto).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orpheus is taken to heaven by Apollo. (Monteverdi/Striggio musical publication)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Act V</td>
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Table 2. A summary of the plot in Stefano Landi’s *La morte d’Orfeo* (1619)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act 1</th>
<th>Prologue: Teti and Fate discuss the upcoming drama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Act 2 | Orpheus invites all to his birthday celebration but Bacchus  
       | Apollo encourages Orpheus to shun women |
| Act 3 | Bacchus is enraged that he has not been invited to Orpheus’s celebration and determines to kill him.  
       | Nysa pleads in vain for Orpheus’s life to Bacchus.  
       | Nysa laments Orpheus’s dismissal of women, punctuated by Echo.  
       | Nysa sets out with the other maenads to kill Orpheus. |
| Act 4 | The Gods are recalled to Olympus, leaving Orpheus alone.  
       | Orpheus laments his solitude.  
       | The Maenads find and kills Orpheus. |
| Act 5 | Orpheus, now a shade, anticipates his reunion with Eurydice.  
       | Caron mocks Orpheus and refuses to help him.  
       | Mercury appears and invites Orpheus to heaven. Orpheus refuses, insisting on remaining with Eurydice.  
       | Eurydice does not remember Orpheus.  
       | Orpheus drinks from the Lethe and forgets Eurydice.  
       | Orpheus is exalted into heaven. |
Table 3. Stefano Landi, *La morte d’Orfeo* (Venice, 1619) Act 3, scene 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Original Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Harmony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>NISA: Dunque Orfeo ci abbandona? Or dove irem dolenti? Amate selve, Deh, rispondete voi, voi ne guidate, Che noi gia disperiamo. ECO: Speriamo—amo.</td>
<td>NYSA: Then Orfeo abandons us? Now where will we go in our sorrows? Beloved forests, alas, respond to us, guide us, Since we already despair. ECHO: We hope—I love.</td>
<td>D minor</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>G major</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>NISA: Speriamo, se pur ami, E se fia mai che Orfeo Delle nostre dolcezze s’innamore. ECO: Amore—more.</td>
<td>NYSA: Let us hope, if he were to love, and if it ever happens, that Orfeo will be enamored of our sweetness. ECHO: Love—dies.</td>
<td>C major</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A minor</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>NISA: Se more amore in lui, Come viverem noi? Deh, gentil Eco, A quel crudel il nostro mal racconta. ECO: Conta—onta.</td>
<td>NYSA: If love dies in him, how can we live? Alas, gentle Echo, tell that cruel man [of] our suffering. ECHO: Tell—shame.</td>
<td>C major</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NISA: Conta l’onta d’Orfeo. Ma che faranno Inferme donne e imbelli? Dunque di novo l’alma si dispera: ECO: Pera—era.</td>
<td>NYSA: Tell of the shame of Orfeo. But what will the weak and faint hearted women do? Then once more the soul despairs: ECHO: Let him perish—he was.</td>
<td>A major</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NISA: Era amante, ora pere: Niuno gema più, ne più sospire. ECO: Spire—ire.</td>
<td>NYSA: He was a lover, now he perishes: Let no one weep or sigh for him anymore. ECHO: Breathe—go.</td>
<td>A minor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>G major</td>
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<td>F major</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>NISA: Le rie Furie d’Averno Venghino prima ad incitare il core, Poscia l’anciderem senza dimora. DUE MENADI: Mora—mora. ECO: Mera—Mora.</td>
<td>NYSA: The wicked furies of hell come first to incite the heart, then let us kill him right away. TWO MAENADI: Die—die. ECHO: Die—die.</td>
<td>C major</td>
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<td>D major</td>
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Table 4. Angelo Poliziano’s Echo lyric, Stanze

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Che fai tu, Eco, ment’io ti chiamo? Amo.</td>
<td>What are you doing, Echo, while I call you? I love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ami tu due, o pur un solo? Un solo.</td>
<td>Do you love two, or only one? Only one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed io te solo, e non altri amo. Altri amo.</td>
<td>And to you only, and not to others I love. Others I love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunque non ami tu un solo? Un solo.</td>
<td>Therefore do you not love only one? Only one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest’è un dirmi io non t’amo. Io non t’amo.</td>
<td>This is to say that I do not love you. I do not love you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quel che tu ami, amil’ tu solo? Solo.</td>
<td>The one that you love, to you love him only? Only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi t’ha levato dal mio amore? Amore.</td>
<td>Who has removed you from my love? Love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che fa quello a chi porti amore? Ah more.</td>
<td>What is he doing to whom you offer love? Ah, he dies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The Political Theology of the Truce of Altmark

By Edward J. Gray

Signed on September 25, 1629, the Truce of Altmark brought an end to the war between the Kingdom of Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Hoping to free the Swedish armies for an invasion of German and to counter advances made by the Imperial armies, delegates from both France and England mediated the peace. Cardinal Richelieu, Louis XIII’s minister-favorite and chief foreign policy adviser, sent Hercule de Charnacé as France’s plenipotentiary. His English counterpart, Sir Thomas Roe, one of the strongest supporters of Sweden at Whitehall, was able to convince the otherwise disinterested Charles I to send him to the peace talks. Through these mediators, we will see two ways of examining early modern diplomacy: at the state level with Richelieu, and on the level of the individual diplomat with Roe. We also will see two visions for Europe: Richelieu’s desire to protect the liberties of Christendom and Roe’s push for a united Protestant front to oppose Catholic aggression on the continent. A close reading of the political theologies of Richelieu and Roe demonstrate that diplomats in the seventeenth century held religiously-charged, if different, conceptions of a pan-European community, or Christendom. This analysis yields a better understanding of the process of early modern diplomacy, conceptions of pan-European identity, and the enduring importance of religion in the seventeenth century.

France and Richelieu’s diplomacy present a paradox for contemporaries and even historians today. How could a cardinal, a prince of the Catholic Church, possibly ally with a Lutheran kingdom such as Sweden against the Catholic Habsburgs? The resolution to this apparent contradiction lies in Richelieu’s view of Christendom. Richelieu developed a consistent political theology relating to a divinely ordained, hierarchical Europe, in which all polities had their prescribed place. This principle guided his foreign policy concerning the Habsburg's bid to establish a universal monarchy across Europe. For Richelieu, this bid tramples not only on the individual “liberties” of the princes of the Empire, but more importantly, on the entire hierarchical concept of the liberties of Christendom as well. In short, these liberties reflect, in a sense, a right of self-determination among the princes of Europe. They represent the link that ties Richelieu’s religion to his foreign policy. Richelieu believes that to secure peace for all of Europe, Habsburg aggression must be turned back. More than peace is involved in Richelieu’s thought, as the cardinal frames this threat to peace as a greater threat to the liberties of Christendom, which must be squashed. Only then will the God-ordained liberties of Christendom be guaranteed against the hegemonic ambitions of the Habsburgs. These ambitions, then, do not simply offend Richelieu because of a dynastic rivalry; they threaten the God-ordained
ordering of Christendom. When Richelieu fights against the Habsburgs, he is fighting against both the enemy of France and the enemy of Christendom.

Richelieu’s writings both before and after the time around the negotiations at Altmark reflect this way of thinking. In his *L’Instruction du Chrestien*, published in 1619, Richelieu states, “those who do not obey the ordinances and constitutions of the Church; who do not revere Kings and Magistrates who have their power from God, and do not keep the laws who they make for the good of the kingdom” violate the fourth commandment.\(^1\) This passage establishes that Richelieu views authorities as divinely appointed for the benefit of their charges, and that their laws must be obeyed, lest one rebel against both God and the secular authority. Furthermore, Richelieu emphasizes that magistrates as well as subjects bear obligations. Earthly leaders have an obligation to punish those who disobey them, and not to punish those sinners is itself a sin.\(^2\) Richelieu concludes that “all those that have authority over others, and are not well suited to treat them charitably as is their duty, and do not correct them when they have need of it, transgress the will of God given by this commandment.”\(^3\) Even though obedience is required, those in a position of authority are expected to be benevolent, while simultaneously correcting those in error. Thus, when taken together, we see that early on Richelieu conceives of the universe as divinely ordered, with all obliged to submit to this order. Without adherence to this order, godless chaos reigns and society becomes impossible to maintain. However, those in a position of authority are under obligations as well: to be kind and benevolent, but also to correct those who are in error.

Richelieu’s thinking about the liberties of Christendom builds upon this foundation, for just as peasants in a kingdom are expected to obey the divinely sanctioned order which placed the king as their sovereign, the states of Europe are expected to observe the order instituted by God for Christendom. To affront that order is to affront the liberties of Christendom and offend God himself.\(^4\) Importantly, secular authorities must treat their charges “charitably,” an ideal the perceived tyranny of the Habsburg dynasty flouts with impunity, thus committing grievous and punishable sin. For Richelieu the Habsburgs have violated their sacred charges to rule their subjects benevolently and to respect the liberties of Christendom, in their attempts to achieve universal monarchy. Louis

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2 Richelieu, *L’Instruction*, 162. “Les Magistrats qui ne reprennent & ne punissent pas ceux qui commettent des delits, mais au contraire negligencez leurs charges, leur donnent occasion de licenc, manquent à ce à quey ils sont obligez par ce prcepte.”

3 Richelieu, *L’Instruction*, 164. “En fin si tous ceux qui ayant autorité sur d’autres, ne les ouvrent pas charitably a ce qui est de leur devoir, et ne les reprennent pas, quand ils y manquent, transgressent la volonté de Dieu portée par ce commandement: beaucoup plus encore, s’ils ne leur permettent pas de satisfaire a ce a quey il sont obligez, ou les portent en quelque façon que ce puisse estre, a choses contraires a leur devoir.”

4 Richelieu remarks in *L’Instruction du Chrestien* when he begins to explain the Apostles Creed that both the “petits” and the “grands” of the world must obey the precepts of God. While in this specific instance he is referring only to the necessity of belief to salvation, one sees throughout *L’Instruction du Chrestien* that obedience is required of all parties. “A première chose que ce premier article nous apprend, est que la foy est le premier fondement de salut necessaire aux petits & aux grands. Sans la foy, dit l’Apostre, il est impossible de plaire à Dieu,” 10.
XIII, in pursuing Richelieu’s foreign policy against the Habsburgs, simply fulfills his duty to correct Spanish error.

Richelieu continued to demonstrate his opposition to the Habsburgs almost two decades later in the Testament Politique. The Testament Politique, a book of maxims and observations meant to instruct Louis XIII should Richelieu die before him, was written in the mid- to late 1630s. The first part of the book, from which the following passages are extracted, provides a general history of the reign of Louis XIII. Richelieu, in recounting the Siege of La Rochelle in 1627-28, accuses the Spanish of working “religiously” to aid the rebellious Huguenots. Richelieu’s charged language is significant. In working “religiously” for so irreligious a cause, the Spanish reveal the deep nature of their sin. Indeed, Richelieu wonders if the Spanish, in such a religious framework, are even true believers. Richelieu continues, describing his great triumph over the Huguenots:

“In a glorious action you absolutely ruined that party [the Huguenots], who the King of Spain tried to raise and strengthen more than ever.” The Spanish king gave aid “to form a body of rebels against God and Your Majesty all together” (emphasis mine). The stipend given to the Duke of Rohan, coming from Spain’s New World colonies, “renders the Indies tributaries to Hell.” Here Richelieu explicitly connects the domination of the Habsburgs to sinfulness. In his political theology, to oppose the sacred order of the universe is to gravely sin. The Spanish act against God himself, and in their actions they make their subjects (in this case, the native peoples of the New World) tributaries to Hell itself. Louis must censure the Habsburgs and end their threat to the liberties of Christendom, because of their evil intentions.

We see the elucidation of Richelieu’s political theology in L’Instruction du Chrestien, and its application in the Testament Politique. These two texts reflect the continuity of Richelieu’s thought, showing time and again that religion, and by extension the liberties of Christendom, inhabit central places in Richelieu’s political theology. The universe, and thus Europe, is ordered in a hierarchy ordained by God. By trampling on the liberties of smaller states, the Habsburgs betray a hierarchy that must be obeyed and respected lest chaos and evil fill the world. In Richelieu’s eyes, France is fighting for the hierarchy of God, and the Habsburgs against it.

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6 Richelieu, Testament Politique, 60. “Le cardinal de La Cueva leur promit à ces fins en termes exprès que son maître n’enverrait aucun secours à Votre Majesté que lors qu’Elle n’en aurait plus de besoin, et qu’il se retirerait auparavant qu’il leur pût nuire; ce qui fut si religieusement accompli que Dom Frédéric, amiral d’Espagne, qui était parti de la cour avec quatorze vaisseaux, après avoir su la défaite des Anglais en Ré, ne voulut jamais demeurer à La Rochelle un seul jour, su le bruit qui courait qu’il venait une nouvelle flotte secourir cette place.”

7 Richelieu, Testament Politique, 62. “Ce qui est plus grande considération en une action si glorieuse est que son maître n’enverrait aucun secours à Votre Majesté que lors qu’Elle n’en aurait plus de besoin, et qu’il se retirerait auparavant qu’il leur pût nuire; ce qui fut si religieusement accompli que Dom Frédéric, amiral d’Espagne, qui était parti de la cour avec quatorze vaisseaux, après avoir su la défaite des Anglais en Ré, ne voulut jamais demeurer à La Rochelle un seul jour, su le bruit qui courait qu’il venait une nouvelle flotte secourir cette place.”
Sir Thomas Roe presents a different case altogether. Whereas Richelieu sees Europe as an ordered hierarchy of states, Roe believes that Protestants across Europe must bind together to resist the advances of Catholicism. Roe was sent to the peace conference by a reluctant and vacillating King Charles I. During the 1620s and 1630s, one of the primary foreign policy objectives for the English Crown was the restoration of the Palatinate to Frederick V and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart, Charles’s sister. Roe became the architect of England’s pro-Swedish foreign policy. The official instructions sent with Roe during his mission of 1629-30 were nearly identical to the ones he had proposed to Charles I earlier in 1629. In that earlier meeting, Roe suggested that King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Prince Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania should be compelled to enter the war in a pincer move to attack the Empire from both north and south. Freeing Sweden would require a negotiated settlement between Poland and Sweden to bring an end to their war, which would come to fruition at Altmark. As well, Roe called for the Protestant countries of Europe, Denmark, the United Provinces, and England to aid both Sweden and Transylvania. What motivated Roe to undertake these initiatives?

The answer lies in Roe’s political theology and its cosmopolitanism. Sir Thomas Roe was a devoted believer of what scholars call today the “Protestant International.” The Protestant International can best be understood through the interpretive lens of cosmopolitanism. Although the definition of cosmopolitanism has been the subject of some debate, Daniel Riches has written extensively on the subject and includes characteristics such as “high levels of mobility, worldliness, multiple and complex layers of personal identity, curiosity in and openness towards certain forms of difference, and perhaps, above all, an ability to think beyond the bounds of the nation-state.”

“Protestant cosmopolitanism,” as advanced by Riches, is similar to cosmopolitanism in that these individuals inhabited “multiple, intersecting layers of identity and allegiance,” and further coupled these multiple layers of identity with a desire to work “earnestly on behalf of a broader worldview of Protestant cooperation across lines of political and denominational difference.” Roe was certainly mobile, having served throughout his life in various capacities at the Mughal court in India, the Ottoman Porte, the Bohemian court-in-exile in The Hague, Poland, the negotiations at Altmark, and the Ratisbonne conference in Germany. Roe also remained open to religious differences, provided that one was Protestant. Later in life, Roe became closely aligned with ecumenical Protestant thinkers who advocated Protestant unity, such as John Dury. Dury’s philosophy sought to consolidate Protestants into one body and allow them to work against the advances made by Catholicism during the 1620s and 1630s. Roe, like Dury, feared that a divided Protestantism would

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never be able to counter the Catholic threat. “There is no hope of keeping Germany in balance against the common enemy,” wrote Roe in a letter to Elizabeth Stuart, except “by taking away the schism” and coming together as a united Protestant front.\textsuperscript{11} This support of a broader Protestantism and rejection of Catholicism makes Roe a Protestant cosmopolitan, rather than simply cosmopolitan. Although English (and, indeed, a later royalist), he formed close bonds with Scottish, Swedish, and German Protestant thinkers. He viewed himself as a member of a broader Protestant community, a “Protestant International.” I will suggest that Sir Thomas Roe viewed himself as working not only for King Charles I and his interests, but for the interests of this cosmopolitan “Protestant International.”

Demonstrating his Protestant cosmopolitanism, Roe evidenced his distrust of Catholicism and advocacy for Swedish involvement even before his mission to Gustavus Adolphus in 1629. In 1628, \textit{A Discourse Upon the Reasons of the Resolution taken in the Valteline against the tyranny of the Grisons and Heretiques, to the most Mighty Catholique King of Spaine, D. Philip the Third} appeared in English presses.\textsuperscript{12} Supposedly a translation of the original Italian text, “by the Author of The Councell of Trent,” whether Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), the heterodox Venetian prelate, was the true author remains unclear.\textsuperscript{13} Roe translated the Discourse, adding a prefatory letter in the form of a speech seemingly to be read before Parliament (though in reality no such speech was ever given). Throughout this letter we see Roe’s decidedly Protestant vision of European diplomacy. This political theology revolves around three themes: the Spanish desire for universal monarchy, the collusion between Spain and the Papacy, and the danger the two present to Protestantism. According to Roe, Spanish might was bolstered by its close alliance with the Papacy. The Pope gave his weight to the Spanish in their conflict with France over the Valteline, “because the Spirituall Father could never deliver his Children (behold another title) to the subjection and will of Heretiques.”\textsuperscript{14} Roe’s rejection of Catholicism and participation in polemic is evident from his parenthetical criticism of the father/children analogy for the Pope. Roe continues, “the Spirituall and temporall serve one another, and take turns, and shift interests, for mutuall advantage.” These spiritual and temporal monarchies, Rome and Spain, “have such mutuall interest and affinitie, and are so woven one within the other,” that “when necessitie exacteth a resolution, the effence and mystery of the Papaecie will prevaile: It must forsake father and mother, and cleave to this double supremacie, for Rome and Spaine must stand and fall together.”\textsuperscript{15} This collusion between Spain and the Papacy makes perfect sense in Roe’s worldview, as Catholicism is the great enemy. It is only natural, in this paradigm, that the greatest Catholic power, Spain, and the head of the Church would be united. United, that is, against the threat of Protestantism. Roe argues

\textsuperscript{11} Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda. 1625-1649, 534. Letter dated 21 February 1633 from Roe to Elizabeth Stuart.
\textsuperscript{13} This doubt comes from the note included with the book at the Newberry Library, “‘Discorso’ which was pub. anonymously is certainly not by Sarpi. Cf. Br. mus. Cat.” That same note indicates that Roe is the translator.
\textsuperscript{14} A Discourse upon the Reasons, 20.
\textsuperscript{15} A Discourse upon the Reasons, 21.
that the Spanish will stop at nothing to achieve their hegemonic designs, stating “it may be concluded, that _ambition of universall Monarchy, is onely able to extinguish all obligations both of Religion and blood._”

Roe dedicated his work to the House of Commons in order to chastise them to end their quarrel with the Charles I and allow the king to pursue this foreign policy. “You know, Monies are the sinews of warre” he reminds the Commons, warning, “if you now restraine your liberall hand, you expose your Prince to dishonor, and your Country to Consumption.” Roe’s _Discourse_ reveals his own conviction that the Spanish storm is coming, and by delaying the inevitable battle, the cost will be greater still. While Roe concedes that money must not be spent wantonly, “it will be time to be thrifty in the members and particulars, when the Head and the whole _State_ is safe.” Roe, as a former and future Member of Parliament, clearly understands the battle over finances, divine right, and ultimately the constitutional roles of the king and Parliament. However, for Roe that battle pales in importance to the threat which now faces England and Protestantism in general.

Simply put, the needs of the broader community of International Protestantism were greater than those of England, which was duty-bound to support its co-religionists. Recall the definition of cosmopolitanism as multiple layers of identity. Roe views his identity as English as subservient to his identity as a Protestant. This umbrella of Protestantism does not necessarily contradict his English identity; indeed it reinforces his Englishness. In Roe’s political theology, the interests of Protestantism and of England coincide. If England lets Protestantism fail on the continent, it will be the next nation to bear the brunt of Catholic belligerence. For him, the conflict between Parliament and the King is shortsighted and dangerous.

Roe, conceiving of Europe’s Protestants as locked in an existential battle with Catholicism, does not expect England to be the only combatant in this holy war against Habsburg aggression. Roe’s goals are to free Northern Germany from the threat of Imperial control and unite Gustavus Adolphus and the Transylvanian Prince Bethlen Gabor in a military alliance to provide pressure on the Empire from both the north and the south. This method requires peace between Sweden and Poland-Lithuania, so Sweden is free to invade the Empire. As well, a coalition of Protestant powers (England, the United Provinces, and Denmark) would pay Gabor 40,000 imperial _reichsthalers_ a month in exchange for 25,000 horses. This last proviso reinforces my view of Roe as a Protestant cosmopolitan, working for the good of all Protestants and encouraging Protestant cooperation across dynastic boundaries. His is a battle of “Greater Protestantism” against the evils of Catholic supremacy.

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16 _A Discourse upon the Reasons_, 13.
17 _A Discourse upon the Reasons_, 28.
18 _A Discourse upon the Reasons_, 28-29. “It is Time onely that will macerate _England_, when without traffique and exchange, and that especially of _Germany_, our owne treasure must be exported to pay _forraine Armies._”
19 _A Discourse upon the Reasons_, 29.
What can one garner from these analyses of Richelieu and Roe? First, Richelieu and Roe advocated for two competing visions of European community. Richelieu sees a hierarchy of states, though even the lowest state does retain some rights. His views on the liberties of Christendom could even be described as sovereignty, though sovereignty is usually seen as a post-1648 Westphalian development. With Roe, we see an approach that embraces all Protestant denominations in a rejection of Catholicism, a blending of tolerance and intolerance. However, they both share a fear of Habsburg hegemony and a desire to see Spain’s power diminished. As mentioned above, this paper represents two ways of examining early modern diplomatic history. In looking at Richelieu and his grand strategy, one sees more traditional, state-level diplomacy. No less grand, however, are Roe’s ideas, influenced by Protestant cosmopolitanism. An examination of Roe demonstrates diplomacy on the level of the individual statesman. This way of looking at matters is perhaps more intriguing, as the diplomat can react much more quickly than his nominal master hundreds of miles away in Paris or London. It epitomizes diplomacy in practice, rather than in theory. Increased scholarly attention to the political theologies of diplomatic representatives will yield valuable insight into the process of early modern diplomacy.

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The Political Theology of the Truce of Altmark
Silent Songs, Royal Orgies: Listening to the Political Pornography of the French Revolution

By Jenna Harmon

Pamphlets played an important role in the circulation of political beliefs and modes of feeling during the French Revolution, and politically motivated pornographic pamphlets became a wildly popular form of critique for royalists and revolutionaries alike. The overwhelming message these documents imparted was that sexual deviancy was intimately connected with social disorder, and that those in positions of power were just as likely to be accused of sexual crimes as of corruption. The rise in pornographic pamphlet literature also coincided with the growing popularity of vaudevilles, which similarly engaged in satirical commentary on current events. These two genres, the pornographic political pamphlet and the vaudeville, combine in Le Branle des capucins, ou Le 1001e tour de Marie Antoinette (The Dance/Affair of the Monks, or Marie Antoinette’s 1001st Trick), 1791, and L’Autrichienne en goguette, ou L’Orgie royale (The Austrian Woman Goes Wild, or the Royal Orgy), 1789. Subtitled “Small aristocratical-comical-ridiculous opera in two acts,” Branle takes the format of a comédie en vaudevilles, alternating spoken dialogue with satirical sung musical numbers that retext well-known popular tunes of the day, known as vaudevilles. Each of these vaudeville portions begins with the first line of text from the borrowed tune, known as a timbre, in order to jog the reader’s memory, but no musical notation is included. The plot for Branle draws heavily on the earlier pamphlet, L’Autrichienne en goguette, which also announces itself as an “opéra” (in this case, a “parable opera”) even as it, too, takes the form of a vaudeville. Both pamphlets dramatize the supposed sexual exploits of Marie Antoinette with the king’s youngest brother, the Comte d’Artois, and her favorite, the Comtesse de Polignac, placing these documents firmly in a tradition of pornographic political satire. While more scholars are attending to the role of pornography in the French

2 Anonymous, Le Branle des capucins, ou Le 1001e tour de Marie Antoinette (Saint-Cloud, France: L’Imprimerie des Clairvoyants, 1791); and [François-Marie Mayeur de Saint-Paul], L’Autrichienne en goguette, ou L’Orgie royale (Publisher unknown, 1789).
4 This is in contrast to the comédie en ariette, where the tunes are newly composed. For more on satirical song during the Revolution, see Marianne Lambelet, “Opera Parody, a Prism of Parisian Opera and Theater Cultures, 1770-1789” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2012).
Revolution, little critical attention has been given to the musical dimensions of these works. By considering the invocation of music, we can arrive at a richer understanding of political propaganda during this period, gain insight into the shared musical archive of Parisians across class divisions, and witness how these pamphlets may function as an intersection for the Revolution’s theatrical, political, and popular cultures. Music played an integral role in making political critique intelligible to citizens regardless of their ability to read.

Before diving into the content of the pamphlets, a brief sketch of the political context in which they were created is necessary. The year in which *Branle des capucins* was printed, 1791, was a pivotal year for the French monarchy. After the taking of the Bastille in July of 1789, the royal family was forced to abandon Versailles and take up residence in the Tuileries Palace, living essentially under house arrest. In April of 1791, the king announced his desire to spend Easter at his residence in St. Cloud. This created a furor in the revolutionary papers, which believed that he wanted to leave the city in order to celebrate the holiday with recusant priests who had refused to sign pledges of loyalty to the revolution. On April 19, 1791, the king and his family began to pile into carriages ready to depart for St. Cloud when a massive crowd, stirred up primarily by the Jacobinist Jean-Paul Marat, swarmed the carriages, preventing the family from leaving. Completely immobilized, the family retreated back into the Tuileries. This became the catalyst for plotting an escape plan, orchestrated primarily by the queen’s lover, Axel von Fersen. Disguised as merchants, the family was to escape in the dark of night; however, the family’s insistence that they all ride in the same enormous, ostentatious carriage led to their recognition and eventual capture in Varenne. Escorted back to Paris by furious mobs, the family was now kept under near-constant surveillance within the Tuileries Palace. In August of 1792, the family was moved from the Tuileries to the Temple prison, and just over a year later, both the king and queen were executed.

Anxiety surrounding the king’s desire to celebrate Easter at Saint Cloud seems to be a motivating factor for the printing of *Branle des capucins*, and this suggests it was likely printed sometime between the April announcement of the family’s ill-fated escape in June of 1791. Both its supposed location of printing and the opera’s setting fixate on St. Cloud, and d’Artois and Polignac’s costuming as monks seems to play off of beliefs that corrupt priests were waiting for the king at the residence. The general plot of *Branle* follows Marie Antoinette and her supposed lovers, the Comte d’Artois and the Comtesse de Polignac. D’Artois has conspired to disguise both himself and Polignac in monk’s habits (hence the title “des capucins) in order to enter the queen’s room. The queen decides to introduce them to the king as monks of a particularly eminent order whom she wishes to stay by her side in order to keep her pious. She then suggests tricking the king into drinking so much wine that he falls asleep, allowing the three to join hands and dance the branle, an old, French rustic circle

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dance, around him while singing “Let us dance the monk’s dance, etc., etc.” Polignac then raises the stakes by suggesting that they both dance and do “le branle” at the same time, presumably drawing on *branle*'s relation to “se branler,” or “to masturbate.” After agreeing, the queen warns that she is being intently spied on by General La Fayette, and if they were discovered, he could hang them. When the three exit to begin executing their plans, La Fayette emerges, having overhead everything. However, he decides against informing Louis of the plot, in order to protect the king’s honor.

The second act opens with the three plotters at table with the king. Disguising his voice, d’Artois begins to praise wine as the greatest gift from heaven, the timbre indicating that this is sung to the tune of the Magnificat, a canticle to the Virgin Mary typically sung during the Vespers service of the Divine Offices. The king happily concedes this point, and begins to sing of his love of smithing and drinking (Louis XVI was avidly interested in locks, and often studied and made locks in a small workshop – the potential for double entendre here would likely not have been lost on readers). Before long, the king falls asleep, allowing the queen, d’Artois, and Polignac to begin their dance; but they’re soon caught by La Fayette. This is no huge disappointment to d’Artois, who, while the women express surprise and dismay at La Fayette’s appearance, announces that “he’s finished . . . he’s perfectly happy.” La Fayette begins to wake the king, telling him he’s been tricked. The three dismiss La Fayette’s accusations, claiming that it doesn’t matter, the king “is already a cuckold once more.” The king, unable to decide who to believe, momentarily breaks the fourth wall in order to bring them all to the concluding vaudeville.

*Branle*’s plot is essentially a sanitized version of an earlier pamphlet from 1789, *L’Autrichienne en goguette, ou l’orgie royale*. Calling itself a “Proverb Opera,” the title page attributes the text to a soldier and the composed music to the Queen herself: “The Queen, a pupil of the late [Italian composer Antonio] Sacchini, protector of all those composers from beyond the Alps, is firmly persuaded that she is a good musician because she mangles some sonatas out of her keyboard and because she can sing out of tune in the concerts she gives in private, where she takes care only to admit vile syncophants.” The sung portions of *L’Autrichienne* are indicated in italics, but no timbres are given. At the top of the title page are the rather authoritative words “Veni, vidi” – “I came, I saw.” The general outline of the story is recognizable from *Branle*, the Comte d’Artois and the Comtesse de Polignac join the Queen in her private chambers (sans monk habits), the king becomes drunk (now at the insistence of the queen), and falls asleep with his head on the table, allowing the three to engage in illicit activities. In *Branle*, this is symbolized by dancing around the drunken monarch; in *L’Autrichienne*, the actions are much more explicit. The initial sexual encounter is itself sung, and the queen’s frequent “ahs” lend themselves easily to a musical setting. A second, orgiastic scene in which all three engage sexually with one another literally on top of the king’s sleeping body follows and is

8 “J’ai tout fini, j’ai tout fait, je suis content” (*Branle des capucins*, 19).
9 “Il est encore une fois cecu” (*Branle des capucins*, 20).
10 “La Reine, élève de feu Sacchini, et protectrice de tout ce qui est compositeur ultramontain, a la ferme persuasion qu’elle est bonne musicienne, parce qu’elle estrupie quelques sonates sur son clavessin, et qu’elle chante faux dans les concerts qu’elle donne in petto et ou elle a soin de ne laisser entrer que de vils adulateurs” (*L’Autrichienne en goguette*, 1).
L’Autrichienne’s parting image. Most likely this is the scene to which Branle is alluding when the three central characters join hands and dance around the king.

While L’Autrichienne was likely never staged and never was intended to be, it is more difficult to know with Branle. The decree of January 13, 1791 abolished state censorship of theaters, and assuming the Branle pamphlet was printed sometime between April and June of that same year, there would have been no restrictions on representing members of the royal family on stage. The significantly cleaner ending of Branle replaces L’Autrichienne’s concluding ménage à trois, and while still suggestive, this scene could actually have taken place on a stage. The abolition of repertory monopolies would also have permitted any theater in which Le Branle was staged to perform the vaudevilles, something that would have technically been illegal prior to the January 13 decree. However, it seems important to note that the vast majority of the other plays contained in the collected volumes in which I found Branle have detailed performance information, including the premier date and theater. Branle is one of the few works in this collection to not have this information, and while this is by no means conclusive evidence, it does make it difficult to say definitively one way or the other if Branle was performed.

In writing on the proliferation of political pornography in France in the years following 1789, Lynn Hunt has noted a general transition from a more “aural” tradition of pornography to one in which “the public ‘sees’ degeneracy in action rather than ‘hearing’ court rumors.” This comes from what she describes as a topos in pornographic texts of the ancien régime where a courtier relates a tale of impropriety (usually about other courtiers) to the author. In this instance, the reader of the text is, in a sense, overhearing gossip between two speakers. Engravings, either alone or accompanying text, became more common after the freeing of the press, especially because of the difficulty faced by the newly formed government in suppressing such illicit materials. These images were often highly composed, with the subjects centered in the frame and often surrounded by the drapes or curtains of a four-poster bed, suggesting a stage on which the various sexual acts are taking place and to which the viewer is spectator.

Though lacking engravings, the stage directions in L’Autrichienne are more than clear enough to give the reader a vivid sense of what would be occurring on stage. At the time of L’Autrichienne’s publication in 1789, theaters were still tightly run on a monopoly system, in which specific theaters were given privileges to only perform certain types of theater (comedy, tragedy, opera, Italian opera, etc.), and works were still subject to censorship by the Crown. Given the graphic nature of The Austrian and its main characters, it is unlikely that the pamphlet was ever intended for the stage. This makes the inclusion of music, or at least the suggestion that music was meant to be included, all the more intriguing. Even if meant in jest, the imaginary, newly composed music by Marie Antoinette would re-categorize the sung portions as ariettes, new text set to new music, as opposed to Branle’s vaudevilles, in which the tune is taken from pre-existing songs. Obviously, the music for this work never actually existed (that is, Marie Antoinette did not compose music to go along with this text),

but it is still integral to each character’s mode of expression. The reader is left to imagine what this music would have sounded like, guided by the author’s less than flattering account of the queen’s own compositional abilities. The jab at Sacchini is also revelatory of the author’s familiarity with matters of nationalism around the Royal Academy of Music from several years back. The queen initially met Sacchini through her brother, Austrian emperor Joseph II, and was a fervent supporter of the composer until late 1785, when her seeming preference for foreign composers came under attack from Parisian musicians, who perceived it as a snub. The pamphlet’s footnote testifies, however, that her significant financial support of the composer was not forgotten, even years later.

It is also possible that opera is operating in both works to enhance the queen’s believed licentious nature. Not only does she cuckold her royal husband with his own brother, not only is she a štribade, not only is she capable of dissimulation and deliberately misleading her husband, she is also a woman who undertakes the masculine act of musical creation, stepping outside of the acceptable, prescribed feminine domestic realm in order to force this (allegedly terrible) music upon others. Further, a perceived precedent established by her willingness to perform on stage, albeit in private, closed performances, at her residence in the Petet Trianon, and the presentational mode of opera compounds the availability of her body, both on the actual stage at Trianon and on the virtual stage of these pamphlets. Hunt writes that “pornography about the queen also had a democratic or leveling effect. . . . Pornography about her behavior therefore not only degraded royalty, it elevated the common man.”

Her body is understood as public property not just through her sexual engagement with others besides her husband, but the ostensibly staged format of these encounters, reinforced by musical numbers. Such degradation/elevation is also at work with regards to the genre of opera as a social concept. Opera was long understood in France as an aristocratic practice supported by the monarchy, and to co-opt opera, even in name if not in actual practice, as a vehicle for pornography is to both bring opera down to the level of boulevard entertainment and to elevate the pamphlets’ consumers to the position of opera attendees.

While much has been written on the importance of pamphlets to the French Revolution, and increasingly more scholarly work is being done on pornography as a particular mode of critique, the musical dimensions of these texts have been generally overlooked. As a result, the full play of satirical possibility contained in these texts has not been considered. By reclaiming their musical dimensions, we not only reclaim a musical space, but also situate them more securely in their cultural contexts, which often had musical aspects. Though the songs themselves may be silent now, we can still feel the vibrations of their echoes in these pages.

Jenna Harmon is a PhD student in musicology at Northwestern University. Amanda Taylor, a PhD student in English at the University of Minnesota, edited this paper.

Silent Songs, Royal Orgies: Listening to the Political Pornography of the French Revolution
Making Mountains from Molehills:  
Mystery Staging and Conversion in Henry VI, Part 3  
by Sheila Coursey

Shakespeare’s third installment of the Henry VI tetralogy continues the dynastic tug-of-war between Yorkists and Lancastrians, condensing a violently turbulent period of English history that his Richard III later famously terms “the winter of our discontent.” This paper considers conversion in Henry VI, Part 3, in a number of religious and non-religious contexts: the conversion of kingship, the conversion of political sympathy, and the multiple conversions of state religion that England underwent in the period between Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Shakespeare commandeers the staging of English mystery cycles as an affective lens for political conversions, casting his “secular” history play in the religious language, and staging, of salvation history. In this paper, I explore two scenes in Henry VI, Part 3, that draw on the audience’s memory of two of the most famous cycle pageants, specifically the Fall of Lucifer in Act 1, Scene 1 and the Passion Sequence in Act 1, Scene 4, scenes that illogically cast the Duke of York first as Lucifer, ascending the throne of God, and then as the suffering Christ.

Several scholars have already approached these scenes as medieval parallels: John Cox refers to the “archaic analogues” of the cycle plays as a driving force in creating ambiguity in this play without heroes, secularizing the archetypes of mystery theater into a more nuanced political narrative.\(^1\) More recently, in Shakespeare and the Medieval World, Helen Cooper writes of the entire Henry VI tetralogy as a staging of the felix culpa, rewriting the divine arc of fall in redemption that ends with Henry Tudor at the end of Richard III, ushering England into a kind of “apocalyptic institution of a New Jerusalem in England.”\(^2\) Cooper and Cox thus offer opposite interpretations of the dynamics of secular politics and salvation history; where Cox sees the secularization of salvation history, Cooper argues for the sacralization of English history. I argue that in these scenes, the political is not glossing the religious, nor the religious glossing the political—they are inextricably intertwined, and it is this fusing of the secular and the sacred that produces such surprising and inexplicable reactions from spectating characters, reactions that read scenes of political trauma in a religious content, and respond in a way that engages with the dynamics of religious conversion. The Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Northumberland, who are otherwise marginal supporters of Henry VI, thus become the main foci of my paper, as their surprising and illogical conversions open a dialogue about the fluidity of

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2 Helen Cooper, Shakespeare and the Medieval World (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010), 98.
conversion in a nation (or a play) in which the turbulent years of succession after Henry VIII fused together the crisis of throne and church, and England’s religious polity underwent five reformations in twenty-five years.³

The staging of the Corpus Christi pageants varied from cycle to cycle; the York, Chester, and Coventry cycles were played on moveable pageant wagons, “custom-built theatrical machines” that provided a host of different scales, settings, tones, and modes for each self-contained until of salvation history.⁴ With this restricted space, Meg Twycross notes, no space permits “naturalistic” movement, as we think of it—all movements remain deliberate and significant, though actors could also move into the audience on the street.⁵ Other mystery cycles were staged in stationary acting places, where actors could ascend scaffold structures or descend to ground level to speak on the “place” or platea. Both ways of playing, however, might be understood as capitalizing on a distinction between the platea, the place or platform-like acting arena, and a locus, a scaffold, which would define a more particular time and space location, often a throne, a domus, or a kingdom. This spatial differentiation differs sharply from a unified idea of the stage, as the locus could designate not only a place, but also a time. It could also resonate with the audience, as those characters in locus would be closer to the higher-class members of the audience on neighboring scaffolds of their own, while devilish or base characters often moved from the platea into the standing audience, the medieval groundlings.

The “Sturdy Rebel” and the Fall of Lucifer

Henry VI, Part 3, opens in the royal parliament chamber of England, as the Duke of York and his followers enter from the Battle of Northampton and encounter a suggestively empty throne. This symbolic prop, the empty throne, produces both the political anxiety and dramatic memory that ties this first scene to the Fall of Lucifer pageants of medieval mystery theater. The Fall of Lucifer consistently stood as the first play of the cycle, often portrayed together with the creation of the universe. While each pageant creates a unique vision of Lucifer’s fall to hell, the structural center of all of these plays remains the movement of Lucifer to sit on the throne of God, an act of heretical mimesis that almost instantaneously causes his fall. The text of each play explicitly refers to a throne as a literal chair of heavenly state, situated onstage. In their attempts to envision a staging for the York Fall of Lucifer, Clifford Davidson and Nona Mason hypothesize that God’s throne was likely placed in the back corner of the pageant cart on a raised platform with pillars and a canopy overhead, in order to allow the other angels to walk around in front of the throne without restricting the stage.⁶ In the York cycle, Lucifer decides that “Ther sall I set myselfe full semely to seyghte/To ressayue my reuerence thoroue righte o renowne/I sall be lyke vnto hym that es hyeste on height”

³ For a full description of the precise dates and shifts of England’s national religious polity, see Brian Cummings, Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 8.
⁵ Twycross, 37-38.
In the Wakefield pageant, Lucifer first addresses the throne as an object of conquest to his fellow angels: “How that me semys to sit in trone/as kyng of blis/I am so semely, blode & bone/my sete shall be ther as was his” (Wakefield, 100-103). In the Chester Cycle, God even tells Lucifer explicitly, “Touche not my throne by non assente” (Chester, 91), making Lucifer’s later ascension a direct disobedience. The N-Town makes the action most explicit, with Lucifer saying, “I wyl go syttyn in Goddys se/Above sunne, and mone, and sterrys on sky” (N-Town, 56-57), and then underscores his action by affirming “I am now set, as 3e may se” (N-Town, 58).

Yet this ascension and seating, this beginning of the dramatic world-picture, must also begin with an empty throne, with God inexplicably out of the scene of dramatic action. While, as R. W. Hanning notes, it is illogically impossible for God to be simply not present, the spectator must accept his absence in order to make the pageant space a *dramatic space*, where agon, irony, suspense, and *peripeteia* become possible. The empty throne necessarily creates a space of doubt, of meaningful conflict, that sets into motion the dramatic arc of all of salvation history. Lucifer’s ascension to the throne and fall to hell is the catalyst of the tripartite stage, creating the division between the upraised throne, the mouth of hell, and the wooden *platea* that becomes the moral crossroads of both for the duration of the cycle. Davidson and Mason refer to Lucifer’s fall as the “most kinetic moment in the play” and theorize that the actors playing the fallen angels would have utilized gymnastic talents to execute a “series of pratfalls, flips, and forward rolls” from the wagon. In the N-Town Fall of Lucifer, God commands, “At my commandment anoon down þu slyde,” and Lucifer tumbled on an actual slide from the throne to the hellmouth (N-Town, 70-71) which had not yet existed as a dramatic space.

*Henry VI, Part 3*, begins with a throne ascension staged exactly to cater to the dramatic expectation of a former mystery audience: an absent king, a host of “bad angels,” and a moment of dangerous imitation. As York enters with his followers Warwick and Northumberland, they take in the empty castle and note that the king has “slyly stole away” (1.1.8). As the men recount their victorious exploits in battle, Warwick first draws attention to the regal throne present in the hall:

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7 Line from Clifford Davidson, *The York Corpus Christi Plays* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011).
12 Davidson and Mason, 171.
Victorious Prince of York,
Before I see thee seated in that throne
Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,
I vow by heaven these eyes shall never close.
This is the palace of the fearful king,
And this the regal seat: possess it, York;
For this is thine and not King Henry’s heirs’ (1.1.22-27)

Warwick’s address of both the “throne” of sovereign authority and the literal “regal seat” demonstrates that Warwick is urging York to enact the same rebellion of mimesis as Lucifer; sitting in the chair of state becomes a necessary ritual to seize the position of sovereign. The stage directions instruct that “They go up,” most likely meaning that they ascend the upraised throne dais.¹³

When Henry and his followers enter, Henry and York do not immediately interact; indeed, York seems completely unaware of Henry’s arrival until Henry directly addresses him twenty-four lines later. The stage, during these twenty-four lines, is thus both horizontally and vertically divided; Henry and his followers remain on the main platea of the stage, while York and his followers occupy the upraised locus of the throne. Henry calls upon his followers to “look where the sturdy rebel sits/Even in the chair of state! Belike he means, backed by the power of Warwick, that false peer/to aspire unto the crown and reign as king” (1.1.50-53). Henry’s epithet of “sturdy rebel” reveals much of his sovereign anxiety that he later betrays in his shocking aside “I know not what to say; my title’s weak” (1.1.141). The gloss of “sturdy” in the Norton Shakespeare reads “cruel,” and the Oxford English Dictionary does provide one such definition: “recklessly violent, furious, ruthless, cruel.” However, given York’s subsequent distinct lack of fall, “sturdy” also suggests another contemporary definition: “Hard to manage, intractable.”¹⁴ York’s immovability creates a stunning subversion of dramatic expectation that would disorient an audience, who, only twenty-two years earlier was likely engaged with and immersed in the tradition of medieval pageant theater that necessarily began with Lucifer’s fall. Instead, Henry attempts a war of “words and frowns,” a series of demands and pleas that only underscores York’s sturdiness. While Henry first demands York to “descend my throne/and kneel for grace and mercy at my feet” (1.1.74-5), he quickly dissolves into exasperated rhetorical questions: “And shall I stand, and thou sit in my throne?” (84). In her examination of the staging of this scene, Janette Dillon notes that both Henry and his followers become obsessed with the “vertical axis,” the language of ascent and descent, and I argue that this focus on the vertical axis also engages the rise and fall of angels that inaugurate the drama of salvation history.¹⁵

¹³ In her examination of the vertical axis of staging in Henry VI, Part 3, Janette Dillon notes that the sovereign chairs of state on the Elizabethan stage were positioned on a “halpace” or low dais; thus, the term “ascend” was routinely used to take possession of the throne, applied quite literally; Janette Dillon, Shakespeare and the Staging of English History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 40.
¹⁵ Dillon, Shakespeare and the Staging of English History, 40-42.
The Duke of Exeter, more than any other of Henry’s followers, invests in this language of ascent and descent; he speaks in the very paradigms of mystery staging. When Exeter calls to Lucifer, he specifically invokes Henry as his quasi-creator, crying “Come down, he made you Duke of York!” blurring political creation (the award of a title) and the kind of “shaping” with which God wields his power as “maker unmade.” However, when York does not fall, or acknowledge his creator, Exeter intervenes and excuses himself to Henry, saying “His is the right, and therefore pardon me” (1.1.149). Exeter’s instantaneous conversion is both surprising and illogical. Exeter excuses his sudden change, saying “My conscience tells me he is lawful king” (1.1.151). York’s enthronement does not appeal to any sort of moral or legal consciousness; one does not legitimate kingship by sitting, and staying, on a throne, but his “sturdiness” attaches to a theatrical image that has serious impact on Exeter’s emotional response. Since the stage no longer splits to accommodate these changing loci of authority, Exeter seems to “reorient” his own conscience, in order to preserve and make sense of his dramatic expectations. Exeter cannot disentangle the narratives of salvation history and political turbulence occurring before him, and thus serves as a potential model for reading the fusion of the religious and the political staged around a dual throne. Exeter’s political conversion also anticipates another disoriented onlooker later in Act 1: Northumberland, whose pity and piety become confusingly intermingled at the buffeting and murder of his sworn enemy.

“His Passion Moves Me So:” York’s Molehill

York’s ceremonial crowning and scourging at the hands of Queen Margaret and her army in Act 1, Scene 4, stands as the most obvious mystery cycle invocation in Henry VI, Part 3, and the parallels have been drawn for diverse reasons. The most frequent arguments concern whether or not Shakespeare vindicates York through this scourging and parallel to Christ, and whether York can possibly take on the role of Christ after “playing” Lucifer in 1.1.16 Cooper and Cox both note that this scene falls short of the affective power of the cycle plays, because York is so bad at playing Christ. Cox argues, “York would be more convincingly Christlike if he patiently kept quiet throughout his torture; but our engagements with his suffering is qualified by our detachment from his vindictiveness, bitterness, and disappointed ambition.”17 Cooper notes that Shakespeare, at this stage, still relies on the power of rhetoric, and it is not until later in plays like King Lear that he appropriates the stunning power of silence from the Passion Sequence. I argue that this power of silence is instead displaced onto Northumberland, who like Exeter before him has an uncontrollable religious reaction to a secular, political conflict. Northumberland’s weeping, silent gaze becomes a visual gateway into a religious reading of York’s final passion.

16 Both Cox and Dillon study the parallels of this scene to the medieval mystery plays, such as the “juxtaposition of extraordinary brutality with an elaborately pretended game on the part of the soldiers who abuse Christ,” or the repeated use of the molehill as a “pointed irony” of vertical ascension in both York’s execution and Henry’s later contemplation at the battle of Towton in 2.5. See also, Michael O’Connell, “Blood Begetting Blood: Shakespeare and the Mysteries,” in Medieval Shakespeare, ed. Helen Cooper and Ruth Morse (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 183-85; Emrys Jones, The Origins of Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 54. John Dover Wilson mentions the parallel to the Passion but not the mystery plays in his introduction to The Third Part of King Henry VI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), xxviii.

17 Cox, 53-54.
Whether or not he ultimately acts the part correctly, York is unmistakably forced into the *space of Christ*—Margaret orders her followers to “make him stand upon this molehill here,” (1.1.68) mocking his previously “outstretched arms” (69) of conquest, which is often taken as a stage direction that York is made to spread his arms in imitation of Christ on the Cross. York is thus raised (if only slightly) again above the *platea*, crowned with a crown of paper, as Margaret calls upon her soldiers to “bow low to him” (1.4.95). Paul Strohm’s reading of York’s mock crown, in both Holinshed’s chronicle of the historical Duke of York and in Shakespeare, frames this episode as a play within a play, as Margaret implicates her followers as “beholders and participators” in an “altered and augmented playlet” that slips out of her control, giving York access to the Christological imagery of sacrifice and martyrdom. Referencing the York mystery cycle, Strohm notes that “Christ’s torturers become, by ironic inversion, his unwitting prophets,” and the same thing happens to these “secular torturers.”

Northumberland is one such torturer who, like Exeter before him, is converted to York’s cause, seemingly against his will. “Beshrew me,” he says, “but his passion moves me so/That hardly can I cheque my eyes from tears” (1.4.151-2). The “passion” Northumberland describes refers to York’s moving final words, but also unmistakably characterizes what is happening before him as a passion play, and he responds accordingly. York previously had killed Northumberland’s father, and Northumberland had vowed retribution upon York and his family and friends. Yet now he responds, “Had he been slaughter-man to all my kin/ I should not for my life but weep with him/To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul” (1.4.170-3). Northumberland’s response to the sorrow of York’s soul, and the presentation of his passion, make available the scene as not merely a piteous event producing compassion, but a spectacle producing affective piety.

Northumberland is not heard from for the rest of the scene, and almost certainly does not participate in the stabbing of York, so he most likely stays as a silent spectator. The audience thus suddenly has the option of watching Northumberland watch Margaret’s “play.” Northumberland’s tears put emphasis on his own visual interpretation of the scene; Margaret scornfully calls them “melting tears” (2.1.175), as if they are blurring his perception of events, as if his tears are phenomenological tools to viewing, as well as evidence of his own compassion. Northumberland’s conversion becomes one methodology for witnessing York’s passion play. Strohm poses York’s improvisational grab for the imagery of Christological martyrdom as a solo venture, yet Northumberland says that he cries “with” York, not at him or for him, and so together in their tears they form a curious kind of counter-public. York also imagines a future conversional power for his story, and the creation of an interpretive community, through tears, saying “go boast of this/And if thou tell’st the heavy story right/Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears/Yea even my foes will shed fast-falling tears” (1.4.160-4). Northumberland’s own tears become caught up in the Yorkist legend; later, in *Richard III*, Buckingham notes that “Northumberland, then present, wept to see it”

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19 Strohm, 81.
Northumberland’s weeping, and the future weeping that York predicts, represents a powerful force for forming community.

Strohm characterizes York’s death as a “secular event, conceived within the tradition of mock-crownings,” but Northumberland’s reaction, I argue, merges the secular and sacred narratives of this event. York has admittedly “repeatedly and promiscuously sought the trappings of kingship,” but the staging of his coronation once again blurs the boundary between the throne of God and the throne of man. Indeed, York’s death lives on as Yorkist legend in Richard III, but Northumberland demonstrates the powerful spatial force of seeing, rather than hearing, what Helen Cooper calls in the mystery plays the “incarnational aesthetic” of religious drama. If, as Janette Dillon hypothesizes, the stage-prop that works as York’s molehill is the same that stood as the throne dais in Act I Scene I, this elision of heavenly and earthly kingship collapses into a single object. Dillon notes that this broad and quite short prop would provide a sense of “vertical shrinking” to both of York’s ascents, and Strohm agrees, noting that a molehill is no mount Calvary. Yet Northumberland’s conversion provides a visual gateway, allowing the audience to make a mountain from a molehill.

Margaret seems to explicitly play on that colloquialism in her own line “make him stand upon this molehill here/That raught at mountains with outstretched arms” (1.4.68-9). The phrase is recorded in John Foxe’s Actes and Monuments, in the account he gives of Thomas Cromwell, while writing upon his persecution and execution under Henry VIII, comparing his arraignment to “much amplifying thinges y’be but small, makyng mountaines of Molehils.” This timely occurrence not only suggests that Shakespeare and his audience were familiar with the play between mountains and molehills, but also places the resonances of these scenes within the era of Henry VIII and the theological roller-coaster of the English Reformation.

Northumberland and Exeter’s startling fluidity of conversion speaks to the variable religious and political climate, where authors like John Foxe sought to enact the same kinds of conversions in his reading audience by framing history as a series of such spectacular moments. Northumberland and Exeter demonstrate the process of attempting to reorient poles of unassailable dramatic logic, and I argue that their mental revolutions in these plays reflects on the similar “mental revolutions” of the sixteenth-century English public, as they attempted to orient themselves within constantly switching poles of unassailable theology. The staggeringly disorienting duality of York as the dramatic incarnation of both Lucifer and Christ might be understood perfectly in a society where the Pope was either praised as God’s representative on earth or condemned as the antichrist, depending on the current ruler.

20 Strohm, 87.
22 Dillon, 43.
23 Strohm, 89.
The stakes of medieval staging in this play are grounded in Shakespeare’s discussion of sacred kingship and in the relevance of pageant theater when divine rule and secular rule merge. Northumberland and Exeter witness the theater of war mapped onto salvation theater, the throne of God and the throne of man doubled onstage, decades before Henry VIII unified those thrones in the Act of Supremacy. The strangely ubiquitous molehill appears once more in *Henry VI, Part 3*, in 2.5, as the tired King Henry seats himself on it, having been banished from battle, and sighs “To whom God will, there be the victory!” (2.5.15). Henry’s blasé self-divorce from all regal responsibility while sitting on the same molehill on which York was murdered, on which his throne might have rested, is a silent reminder of the entanglement of God’s will and the king’s will. Cox ultimately argues that *Henry VI, Part 3*, alludes to the sacred narrative of pageant theater to demonstrate its inability to communicate more nuanced secular history. Yet, although Shakespeare fractures the sacred narrative of pageant theater in order to fit it within his history play, the fracture is not a sign of theatrical deficiency, but a way to mirror back to the audience the experience of their own fracture.

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25 Cox, 53.
Marriage as Spiritual Partnership in Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg: The Case of Lienhard and Ursula Jost

By Christina Moss

In 1525, Lienhard and Ursula Jost, a married peasant couple, stood before a crowd of worshippers in the Strasbourg Minster and sang a song they called “The Song of the Prophets.” The words of the song announced to the residents of Strasbourg that God had revealed great wonders to the Josts, which they were in turn called to share with the city’s residents and magistrates. Together, they urged the residents of Strasbourg to take up “the banner of godly righteousness” and to serve as an example to other imperial cities. This event and others are detailed in the prophetic writings of the Josts, published by the Anabaptist leader Melchior Hoffman in 1530 and 1532. The Josts’ writings offer glimpses of how one early modern Christian couple approached their marriage. In many ways their marriage was entirely typical; Ursula bore Lienhard children—at least eight, according to the foreword to the 1532 edition of her visions—and he in turn provided financially for his family’s physical well-being through his labor as a woodcutter. The Josts’ marriage also served as a mutually supportive spiritual partnership. Both husband and wife experienced visions and divine revelations, and they both found a measure of success and a wider audience for their prophetic endeavors through the support of Melchior Hoffman. Throughout their attempts to live out their perceived prophetic callings, the Josts supported each other through prayer and counsel. Their prophetic writings provide a useful account of one generally ordinary, albeit spiritually extraordinary, couple’s ideology and experience of marriage in the midst of the religious upheaval of the Reformation.

One of the recurring themes in early Protestant and late medieval anticlerical propaganda was the tyranny of enforced celibacy for monks, nuns, and clerics, and the importance of marriage for the Christian believer. Protestant Reformers urged priests to take wives, and monks and nuns to leave their cloisters and seek spouses. Even Martin Luther’s own wife, Katharina van Bora, an erstwhile nun, was moved by these injunctions. After reading texts by reformers, she and several of her fellow nuns became convinced of the ungodliness of forced celibacy and the rightness of the reformers’ cause. Famously, the nuns arranged to escape their convent by striking a deal with the man who delivered fish to them and convincing him to smuggle them out in empty herring jars.

1 Lienhard Jost, Ein Wurhaftige Hohe und Feste Prophecy des Linhart Josten van Strößburg, ed. Melchior Hoffman (Deventer: Albert Paffraet, 1532), fols. E2r-E3r.
barrels. After Katharina’s successful escape she moved to Wittenberg and, in 1525, married the famous reformer and former Augustinian monk Martin Luther. The Luthers signified their religious transition through their marriage. Medieval Catholic theology had emphasized chastity as the ideal sexual state for both men and women. Holy men and women lived out their vows of chastity in the cloister as monks and nuns and in the world as priests, mendicants, and beguines. Even those married men and women who achieved saintly status frequently vowed to remain chaste within their marriages. Luther, Katharina, and their Protestant contemporaries, however, no longer sought to conform to this medieval ideal of sexual holiness. Instead they embodied a new, Protestant ideal of virtue—one that viewed marriage and procreation as a far higher spiritual calling than celibacy.

For women, the consequences of this renewed emphasis on marriage were mixed; on the one hand the role of wives and mothers became an important, if somewhat circumscribed, spiritual calling for women. On the other hand celibate spiritual callings, which had characterized the lives of so many medieval female saints, were seen in Protestant circles as highly suspect. Steven Ozment, in his 1983 monograph *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe*, paints the Protestant teachings on marriage and celibacy as a positive development for women, especially when contrasted with what he views as the “antifeminism” of the medieval emphasis on celibacy. In order to delineate the shape of family life in the Reformation-era Holy Roman Empire, Ozment studied housefather manuals, estate management guides, tracts on marriage, and other resources intended to assist early modern people in governing their Christian households. He argues that these documents demonstrated a concern for companionship in marriage and that the role of the wife, while distinct from that of the husband, was not undervalued. Far from it, Ozment concludes, the position of mother of the house (hausmutter) was “a position of high authority and equal respect” to that of her counterpart, the father of the house (hausvatter). He also highlights the egalitarian aspects of the reformers’ view of marriage, which emphasized the importance of fidelity for both the husband and the wife.

Lyndal Roper, by contrast, emphasizes the limitations the Reformation introduced to the lives of the women of Augsburg in her 1989 monograph *The Holy Household: Women, Religion, and Morals in Reformation Augsburg*. She argues that “the moral ethic of the urban Reformation, both as a religious credo and a social movement, must be understood as a theology of gender” and that “the institutionalized Reformation was most successful when it insisted on a vision of women’s incorporation within the household under the leadership of their husbands.” The early urban Reformation in Augsburg allied itself with the city’s guilds and promoted a family structure modelled on the hierarchical ideals of family life held by master craftsmen, who ruled over households comprising their wife, children, servants, and journeymen. The increasingly

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5 Ozment, 55.
6 Ozment, 54.
7 Ozment, 55.
paternalistic attitude of the city council also led them to establish moral ordinances governing marriage and sexual behavior, which in turn reinforced the subordination of women to their husbands. Contrary to Ozment’s claim that hausmütter enjoyed a significant amount of respect and authority, Roper argues that, at least in Augsburg, women’s opportunities to exercise the authority afforded to them as mothers were outweighed by the limitations placed upon them as their husbands’ subordinates. Even the protections the city council offered women—against wife-beating, for instance—depended on their submissiveness as wives.

Even a cursory survey of the writings of the major Protestant reformers supports Roper’s contention that Reformation ideals of marriage were fundamentally non-egalitarian. For instance, Martin Luther elaborated on what he believed to be the natural state of relationships between men and women in his commentary on Genesis. While he concedes that Eve was once “wholly free and in no sense inferior to the man, and was an equal partaker of all the endowments bestowed by God on him,” he emphasized that women now lived in a cursed state and were punished for Eve’s sin not only through pain in childbirth, but also through subordination to their husbands. Therefore, Luther concludes, “the rule and government of all things remain in the power of the husband whom the wife according to the command of God is bound to obey. The husband rules the house, governs the state politic, conducts wars, defends his own property, cultivates the earth, builds, plants, etc. The woman on the other hand as a nail driven into the wall sits at home.” The French reformer John Calvin also emphasized the subordination of women, arguing in his commentary on 1 Timothy that woman was “by nature formed to obey.” Calvin justifies women’s subjection with a reference to the order of creation. “The woman,” he explains, “was created [after the man] in order that she might be a kind of appendage to the man. . . she was joined to the man on the express condition, that she should be at hand to render obedience to him. . . God did not create two chiefs of equal power, but added to the man an inferior aid.”

In emphasizing the subordination of women to men in marriage, the Protestant reformers showed remarkable continuity with their medieval Catholic predecessors. Luther and Calvin drew their views on gender and hierarchy largely from the Pauline interpretation of the creation account in 1 Corinthians and 1 Timothy, which argue for men’s authority over women on the basis of the order of creation (the man was created before the woman) and deception (the woman sinned before the man). The patristic author John Chrysostom had used the same source material to make similar arguments over a millennium earlier. In his Homilies on Timothy, he argues that the Apostle Paul (and indeed God himself) “[wished] the man to have the

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9 Roper, 203.
11 Luther, 311.
13 1 Cor. 11:9 *New Revised Standard Version of the Bible* (Washington DC: National Council of the Churches of Christ, 1989) (hereafter NRSV) “Neither was man created for the sake of woman, but woman for the sake of man.” 1 Timothy 2:12-14 (NRSV) “I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor.”
preeminence in every way,” both because the man was formed before the woman and because “the woman taught the man once, and made him guilty of disobedience, and wrought our ruin.”¹⁴ The thirteenth-century scholastic theologian Thomas Aquinas also argued for women’s subjection to men on the basis of the Genesis creation account.¹⁵ With the exception of a few short-lived sects, this Pauline view was largely normative among medieval and early modern Christians of all denominations.

The Radical Reformers, too, though they departed from both Protestants and Catholics in their ecclesiology, held similar views of marriage as a hierarchal relationship in which the husband held authority over his wife. Some Anabaptist groups made allowances for the wives of unbelieving husbands by permitting divorce in the case of such spiritual incompatibility. These women, however, would typically remarry, this time to a man within the Anabaptist community, and became subject to his authority.¹⁶ The Dutch Anabaptist leader Menno Simons instructs women to “be obedient to your husbands in all reasonable things, so that those who do not believe may be gained by your upright, pious conversation without the word, as Peter says.”¹⁷ Hutterite women were not even permitted to choose whether to accept or reject a marriage proposal. Instead, each Hutterite community’s spiritual leaders (known as the Servants of the Word) arranged the marriages of the community’s inhabitants.¹⁸ Nowhere, however, was the principle of marital submission and patriarchal control enforced more fully than in the Anabaptist kingdom of Munster. In 1534, King Jan van Leyden mandated polygyny and ordered every woman over the age of twelve to marry, ensuring that every woman in the city would be under the authority of a man.¹⁹ This may have been inspired in part by the Munsterite Hille Feicken’s failed attempt to follow in the footsteps of the biblical Judith and eliminate the prince-bishop of Munster, who was laying siege to the city.²⁰ When one of King Jan’s own wives, Elisabeth Wandscheer, publicly criticized his treatment of his subjects, he responded by ordering her execution.²¹

The ubiquity of patriarchal ideals of marriage in the early modern period and the near-unanimity of Reformation-era theologians on the necessity of a woman’s subordination to her husband, however, obfuscates the variety of early modern marriages in practice. Didactic

¹⁹ Sigrun Haude, In the Shadow of Savage Wolves: Anabaptist Münster and the German Reformation during the 1530’s (Boston: Humanities Press, 2000), 14.
²¹ Anthony Arthur, The Tailor-King: The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 1999), 158-59. Elisabeth Wandscheer was publicly beheaded, and King Jan and his remaining wives were reported to have danced around her corpse. Since this claim survives only in anti-Anabaptist propaganda, its veracity is difficult to determine.
treatises and works of theology were intended to describe aspirational ideals rather than strict reality. An examination of other sources that document individuals’ lived experiences offers a more varied picture of the realities of marriage for men and women in the early modern period. Some of these sources, such as marriage court records, self-select for dysfunctional marriages and can highlight the prevalence of behaviours such as infidelity and wife-beating, which persisted despite being highly frowned upon by early modern theologians and marriage counselors. On the other hand, personal sources such as correspondence and autobiographical accounts can also reveal cases where individuals behaved in more egalitarian, mutually supportive ways toward their partners than a strictly literal interpretation of their theology would suggest.

The relationship between Martin Luther and his wife Katharina von Bora once again provides a prime example of this dichotomy. Despite Luther’s patriarchal theories of marriage, his surviving correspondence with his wife and the testimony of the couples’ friends and acquaintances suggest that the Luthers actually enjoyed a relatively egalitarian, mutually supportive relationship. Luther refers to Katharina playfully, but with genuine admiration, as his Morningstar of Wittenberg, as his “most holy lady doctor,” and even as “my lord Käte,” and to himself as “your holiness’ most willing servant.” He also nicknamed Galatians, his favourite book of the Bible, his “Katie von Bora,” a designation that speaks as much to his admiration for his wife as his appreciation for the Pauline epistle. Due to Luther’s lack of administrative gifts, Katharina took charge of the Luther family household and finances. Luther acquiesced to her decision-making, describing himself as ruled by Katharina on household matters and by the Holy Spirit on spiritual matters. Even on spiritual matters, however, Katharina still showed a willingness to challenge her husband on occasion, disagreeing with some of the assertions he made in his table talk.

The Strasbourg reformer Mathis Zell and his wife Katharina Schutz offer another example of a Reformation-era couple with a mutually supportive and functionally egalitarian relationship. Zell served as preacher in the Strasbourg minster and, together with his colleagues Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Capito, and Kaspar Hedio, led the city’s transition from Catholic to Protestant worship and church life. In 1523, in defiance of Strasbourg’s Catholic bishop, he married the young Katharina Schutz. The Zells’ marriage provoked criticism from more traditional clergy in the city of Strasbourg and beyond, to which Katharina responded by publishing a lengthy pamphlet in defense of her husband and of clerical marriage more generally. Throughout her husband’s life and ministry, Katharina took an active role in Strasbourg’s Protestant community, publishing pastoral pamphlets and organizing welfare initiatives within the city. Katharina Schutz Zell conceived of her role as that of a “Church Mother,” an endeavor in which she was

23 Stjerna, 57.
24 Stjerna, 57.
25 Stjerna, 63.
26 For an English translation of this pamphlet, see *Church Mother: The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Elsie Anne McKee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 62-81. The pamphlet probably did not circulate widely, as it was confiscated by the Strasbourg city council shortly after its publication.
supported by her husband, who referred to her as his assistant minister. Katharina’s correspondence and autobiographical writings detail the nature of their mutually supportive marriage and shared ministry, and Mathis’ colleagues also noted the high esteem in which Mathis held his wife. The Zells’ relationship at times alarmed Martin Bucer, who considered Katharina too talkative and Mathis too easily influenced by her. Convinced of her calling and buoyed by her husband’s support, however, Katharina continued to search for opportunities to minister to the people of Strasbourg even after his death.

While some couples left letters and autobiographical materials that have enabled historians to learn more about their marriages, gauging the experiences of the mostly-illiterate members of the lower classes can be difficult, especially if these couples managed to avoid appearing in marriage courts. The lives of Ursula and Lienhard Jost of Strasbourg, therefore, present a unique opportunity to learn about the marriage of a peasant couple. Lienhard Jost, a woodcutter who lived in Strasbourg in the early sixteenth century, began in 1522 to experience a series of visionary episodes and hear a series of messages, which he felt compelled to relay to the city’s magistrates. The magistrates initially allowed Lienhard to communicate his prophetic messages to the town scribe, but they quickly became wary of his message and methods. Their suspicions intensified when Lienhard was found walking naked around Strasbourg in response to what he believed was a calling from God. The magistrates ordered that he be confined for a brief period to a mental hospital in Strasbourg. There he continued to experience visionary episodes. These episodes ceased after his release in 1523, resumed in 1525, and continued intermittently until at least 1531. Lienhard’s wife Ursula was a visionary in her own right. She began to experience her visions in late 1524, and like her husband continued to experience them intermittently until at least 1532.

The Josts themselves were illiterate, and thus could not commit their visions to paper on their own, but they had some luck in finding help from others to record their visions. If the claims in Lienhard’s autobiography are accurate, not only Strasbourg’s city scribes but also some of its preachers—including, most notably, Mathis Zell, whom Lienhard frequently attempted to enlist as an ally—recorded fragments of Lienhard’s visions and prophecies. However, the support the Josts received from Strasbourg’s preachers and magistrates was ambivalent at best. Instead, the couple found their most enthusiastic champion in the radical lay preacher Melchior Hoffman, who arrived in the city in 1529.

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28 Herman J. Selderhuis, Marriage and Divorce in the Thought of Martin Bucer (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999), 232 fn. 394.
29 For Lienhard’s account of these events, see Jost, Wôrhaftigë Hôhe und Feste Propheçy.
30 For Ursula’s visions, see Ursula Jost, Prophetische Gesicht unn Offenbarung der Göttlichen Würckung zu diser Letsten Zeit, ed. Melchior Hoffman (Strasbourg: Balthasar Beck, 1530); Jost, Wôr Prophettin.
31 Jost, Wôrhaftigë Hôhe und Feste Propheçy.
Figure 1. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 4109#Beibd.6. Used by permission. The title page of Melchior Hoffman’s first edition of Ursula’s visions features several well-known apocalyptic images from the book of Revelation, including Jesus coming on the clouds in judgment, the two witnesses Enoch and Elijah, the seven-headed beast, the whore of Babylon, and the false prophet (in full papal regalia).
Hoffman was preoccupied with prophecy—both biblical and contemporary—but did not possess a prophetic gift of his own. In Lienhard and Ursula Jost, Hoffman saw true prophets of God, and he set about publishing their visions and prophecies in order to make them more easily accessible. In so doing, he boosted his own spiritual authority in a fashion similar to such medieval hagiographers as Jacques de Vitry or Raymond of Capua, who promoted the cults of Marie of Oignies and Catherine of Siena respectively.32 In 1530, Hoffman printed Ursula’s visions—though he withheld her name, perhaps for her protection—in a booklet he titled Prophetic Visions and Revelation of the Divine Purpose in this Last of Times.33 He used the press of the Strasbourg printer Balthasar Beck, who had a history of publishing radical religious materials.34

Hoffman left Strasbourg shortly after the publication of Ursula’s visions to travel throughout the Low Countries and to found the Anabaptist movement there. In 1532, however, Hoffman revisited the Josts’ prophecies. Using the press of Albert Paffraet in Deventer, Hoffman published a collection of Lienhard’s prophecies and visions, which he interspersed with an autobiographical narrative, under the title A True, Exalted, and Firm Prophecy by Lienhard Jost of Strasbourg.35 To this document Hoffman appended a second, expanded edition of Ursula’s visions—this time bearing her name—which he titled A True Prophetess in These Last Days.36 These copies of the Josts’ visions and prophecies circulated widely among Hoffman’s followers in the Netherlands. Hoffman’s associate Cornelis Poldermann, in a 1533 letter to the Strasbourg Rat, wrote that the Netherlands were full of the Jost’s books.37 Poldermann’s claim, despite its hyperbolic nature, speaks to the Josts’ popularity among early Dutch Anabaptists. Hoffman’s followers were drawn to the Josts’ visions because they believed themselves to be living in the last days before the return of Christ and viewed the proliferation of prophecies as evidence of this claim.

The Josts’ collected visions and prophecies were not written as treatises on marriage like those of the reformers discussed above, but they nevertheless offer insight both into Lienhard and Ursula’s views and experience of marriage. The thirteenth chapter of Lienhard’s prophecy, for example, demonstrates that he shared the Protestant reformers’ rejection of celibacy and wholehearted affirmation of the institution of marriage. He clarified his views on the subject in the most biting terms, referring to cloisters as “houses of abomination.”38 Whoever chooses to live a life of chastity, Lienhard argues, “does violence to Christ the Lord,” lives without God’s
grace, and is destined for damnation.\(^{39}\) By contrast, he held that those who entered into the institution of marriage would receive “the grace and blessing of God” and “the crown of everlasting life.”\(^{40}\)

As to the Josts’ own marriage, evidence from both Lienhard and Ursula’s prophetic texts indicates that both partners were devoted to their own spiritual calling, while at the same time wholeheartedly supporting one another. Lienhard found his spiritual calling first and excitedly took up the mantle of prophet, but he looked to Ursula as a sounding board for his vocation. This was particularly the case when he received controversial orders from God. In the third chapter of his prophecies, Lienhard reported feeling compelled by God to walk around the city of Strasbourg naked as a prophetic act, behavior that, as we have seen, resulted in his confinement in a mental institution.\(^ {41}\) Furthermore, Ursula became an even more crucial part of Lienhard’s prophetic ministry after his release. In the twentieth chapter of his prophecies Lienhard recounted an event from 1525, in which the Spirit of God compelled him to go to the Strasbourg Minster and to sing a prophetic song for the congregation and share with them the messages he had received from God. Lienhard wanted to obey, but felt inadequate to the task due to his difficulty with memorizing and singing songs. When he explained his dilemma to his wife, she assisted him in setting his prophecy to music and spent the night practicing the song with him. Over the next few days, she accompanied him first to the minster and then to other churches in the city, and they sang the prophetic song together.\(^ {42}\)

Ursula’s own prophetic ministry began after Lienhard’s release from the mental hospital. In her brief preface to her own visions, Ursula details how she began to seek after visionary experiences of her own when she found herself unsatisfied with hearing about Lienhard’s connection to the divine. Lienhard supported his wife’s spiritual endeavor, and Ursula describes how the two of them prayed diligently that she too would begin to experience prophetic revelations.\(^ {43}\)

Lienhard’s influence on Ursula’s prophetic career is unmistakable. Both Lienhard and Ursula used the same unique expression to refer to the Holy Spirit, calling him “the glory of the Lord.”\(^ {44}\) They also report experiencing the Holy Spirit as a physical and at times almost tangible presence,


\(^{44}\) Jost, *Prophectische Gisicht*, passim; Jost, *Wôr Prophettin*, passim; Jost, *Wurohaftige Hohe und Feste Prophecey*, passim. They frequently used the German phrase “der schein des Herren.”
often accompanied by bright light or clouds. In addition, a handful of the images from Lienhard’s earlier visionary episodes recur in Ursula’s visions. Most notably, in the eighth chapter of his prophecies Lienhard had described how he saw the glory of the Lord transform into a beautiful wreath, which appeared to be made out of roses.\textsuperscript{45} In her very first vision, Ursula describes a markedly similar sight. She narrates: “I saw the glory of the Lord come over me and open up to me. It appeared in such translucent brilliance that I could not discern the figure for brightness in the glory of the Lord. Afterward that same brilliance of the Lord became a beautiful wreath above me.”\textsuperscript{46}

In general, however, Ursula’s and Lienhard’s prophetic texts show a distinctive style that reveals different experiences of divine revelation and different approaches to their prophetic careers. These differences may well have their roots in gender, as Lienhard’s attempt to build an active ministry for himself and Ursula’s more contemplative experience of divine revelation mirror common gendered differences in late medieval and early modern patterns of sanctity.\textsuperscript{47} Lienhard’s ecstatic experiences, while they included a few visions, consisted primarily of receiving verbal messages directly from God. Some of these were for his own benefit, while he was instructed to convey others to a particular audience; usually the Strasbourg magistrates, the city preachers, or his fellow patients at the Strasbourg mental hospital. Some of these messages included orders for Lienhard to exhibit certain behaviors in public—from walking around naked to serving communion to his fellow mental patients—as a prophetic act, which he was then to interpret for his audience. Lienhard sought a large and politically powerful audience for his prophecies from the very beginning, enlisting the support of prominent magistrates and churchmen in the city of Strasbourg. Though his ministry was never as successful as he had hoped, Lienhard had already begun the work of publicizing his visions before Melchior Hoffman arrived on the scene.

By contrast, Ursula’s visions consist almost entirely of images, with only a limited amount of interpretation or theological commentary. She described the many and varied sights she saw during her ecstatic experiences—from soldiers at war to budding green trees to fire and brimstone raining from heaven—and relied on her audience to determine the spiritual meaning of the images. Moreover, unlike Lienhard, there is no evidence that Ursula made attempts to publicize her visions widely on her own. Instead, they were disseminated by Hoffman through his publication of Ursula’s prophecies. The detailed imagery and chronology found in Ursula’s visions from 1525, four years before she even met Hoffman, suggest that she had probably

\textsuperscript{45} Jost, Worrhaftige Hohe und Feste Prophecey, fols. C4v-D1r. “da gab mir die gnad des herren in mein hertzs/ich moste singen yhm munster alle botschaft und handling/die mir van yhm wer angegeben/das mit das folck solch sachen vortunten und grundlich vernemen kunden. Da sagt ich zu meiner hausfrau: Es dringet mich die gnad des herren/ich sal die ding singen/unn ich kans nitt singen/kann auch kein weis/und wir wurden gebult mit stim und weis/das wirs zu morgens heye kunden singen/und wir gingen heye bin/unn singes des selben tags zu morgens ym munster offentlich for allen folck/unn anm neebten tag darnach haben wirs beyden zu Sanct Steffan auch gesungen for allem folck/und nachmals aber eins tags haben wir es beyde mit ein nander mer yhm munster gesungen for allem folck/keines gesang lanther als man nie nach horen mag.”


found someone to act as her scribe for some of her visions, perhaps one of the men who performed the same service for Lienhard. However, it does not appear that she sought to gather a significant audience within Strasbourg itself the way her husband did. Nevertheless, she did eventually find a larger audience through the medium of the printed word, in a part of Europe that she likely never even visited.

When historians attempt to study the intersection between theology and social life, looking for sources that go beyond theory and prescriptive ideas of a topic and instead begin to elucidate the lived realities of it can be instructive. The example of marriage is no different. In all of the major Christian theologies of marriage in early modern Europe, wedlock was in theory a strictly hierarchal relationship, in which the wife was expected to serve her husband, meet his needs, and submit to his authority, in accordance with Pauline injunctions on godly marriage. Despite the dominance of this theology, however, the realities of marriage for early modern European Christians proved more complex and diverse than the theology underpinning them. The marriage of Ursula and Lienhard Jost, as described in their prophetic writings, complicates the traditional picture of early modern marriage as a strict hierarchy. As unusual as the Josts were in their spiritual vocation and ecstatic experiences, their mutually supportive approach to their marriage and their spiritual callings may well have been more common among early modern European Christians than a simple reading of commentaries, sermons, and treatises on marriage would suggest.

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Hidden Pilgrimages: Considerations on a Religious Wandering in Miguel de Cervantes’ “The Illustrious Kitchen Maid”

by José Estrada

The inn, as a space of rest and pause during travel, represents a strategic place in many of Cervantes’ literary texts. For instance, in Don Quixote (1605), the inns are eclectic places of interaction and dialogue among people of all backgrounds. With the publication of his Novelas ejemplares (1613), Cervantes continues elaborating the characterization of the inn. In the novella “Rinconete y Cortadillo,” for example, the inn serves as a propitious space where the two young boys become friends and decide to embark on their picaresque journey through the streets of Seville. This study, however, analyzes a new variant to the way the inns are characterized. It focuses on the Sevillano Inn at Toledo where most of Cervantes’ novella “The Illustrious Kitchen Maid” takes place and how it serves as the final destination of a pilgrimage. This can be deduced by examining the material practices a secondary character, known as the pilgrim-woman, exercises at the inn. In addition, the study will look at her relationship with the element of water as a way of supporting the idea that her daughter Costanza, the protagonist of the novella, is an object of admiration. Considering the inn as the final destination of a pilgrimage adds a new dimension to the representation of this type of space in Cervantes’ literary corpus.

Before moving to the textual analysis, a summary of the plot of the novella will help to contextualize my arguments. Two young noble friends from Burgos, named Carriazo and Avendaño, embark on a journey of adventures through Spain, under the guise that they would go to Salamanca to study. Carriazo has some experience in picaresque travel; however, Avendaño is new to this lifestyle. After ridding themselves of the butler their parents had sent, and robbing him of four hundred gold escudos, they journey toward the city of Toledo. As they arrive they overhear a conversation between two mule drivers, one heading to Seville and the other arriving from there. The one leaving Seville suggests that the other stay at the Sevillano Inn, making reference to the most beautiful young woman who works at the establishment as a kitchen maid. Intrigued, Carriazo and Avendaño decide to go to the inn and meet this damsel. Avendaño falls in love with the illustrious kitchen maid, whose name is Costanza, and this prolongs their stay in Toledo. He starts working for the innkeeper to stay close to the young woman; Carriazo grows impatient with his friend, but remains with him nonetheless. Toward the end of the narrative, Costanza’s background
story is told. The innkeeper explains how fifteen years ago, a middle-aged woman, described as a rich pilgrim, arrived asking for lodging. Her servants told the innkeeper she suffered from dropsy, also known as water retention, and was on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Guadalupe. On the third day of her stay, the pilgrim woman, who remains anonymous, revealed to the innkeeper that she was in fact pregnant and escaping her town in order to go to Our Lady. However, she gave birth to Costanza at the inn in Toledo. The father’s identity remained a mystery until fifteen years later, when Carriazo and Avendaño’s parents arrive at the inn. Don Diego de Carriazo, Carriazo’s father, confesses to raping Costanza’s mother. The story ends with Don Diego de Carriazo claiming his previously unknown daughter at the inn. In this way, the pilgrim-woman, Carriazo, Avendaño, and their parents all made the pilgrimage to the inn, with Costanza being the main reason for their travels.

My concern in the narrative is the retelling of Costanza’s story because it involves her mother’s first appearance at the inn. Once the pilgrim-woman arrives at the lodge, her behavior and demands start to modify the inn into a center of pilgrimage. Three practices introduced by Constanza’s mother help to support this statement: first, the way the inn is rearranged at the moment of Constanzas’s birth; second, the monetary reward given by the pilgrim-woman to the innkeeper; and finally the creation of the parchment that unravels Costanza’s identity.

The doctor who assisted the pilgrim-woman demanded changes to the spatial rearrangement of the inn at the moment of birth. He “ordered her bed to be moved to some other part of the inn where she would not be disturbed by any noise,” so she was moved to a private room upstairs.¹ The text stresses, “None of the male servants entered their mistress’s room and she was served only by the two companions and a young girl”.² What we have here is a separation of space: the pilgrim-woman is moved to a room upstairs, with more luxuries, where no men enter. This is strikingly similar to the description of the Hospital del Obispo: a hospice built on the pilgrimage path to Our Lady of Guadalupe in Cáceres, meant to aid and lodge pilgrims in need of assistance. In his transcription and analysis of references that mention this Hospital, Arturo Álvarez recounts how the solitary pilgrimage to Our Lady incited robberies and other such felonies. This initiated the construction of the Hospital in order to provide lodging and aid to pilgrims, who were ever-increasing in numbers. Ordinances by the bishop Diego de Muros in 1504 decreed that the first floor should have eleven beds for poor people searching for lodging, and the space upstairs should have eight beds for visitors of more honorable positions or nobility.³ In addition, Diego de Muros ordered that any woman in search of lodging should be received separately, away from the poorer people or the men.⁴ The division of space in this manner reflects a similar hierarchy as is described

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⁴ Álvarez, 751.
in the plot of the novella. The treatment and service the pilgrim-woman receives in the Sevillano Inn is, in custom, similar to what the Hospital would offer to pilgrims.

Relating to the second practice, the exchange of money and gold, shortly before giving birth at the inn the pilgrim-woman asks the innkeepers for a favor:

> It now rests with you to help and attend me, with the secrecy you owe to someone who places her honour in your hands. If the reward for the favour you do me, for that is what I wish to call it, does not correspond with the great benefit I expect, it will at least be an indication of my profound gratitude. I wish to begin to show my gratitude by giving you two hundred gold escudos which are contained in this purse.\(^5\)

The pilgrim-woman offers money in exchange for both the secrecy and the graceful help she has received from the innkeepers. After she gives birth, she departs to complete her journey to Our Lady and promises to come back. In the meantime, the innkeeper baptizes the girl as Costanza, and sends her away to a village as his niece, exactly as the pilgrim-woman ordered.\(^6\) On her return, twenty days later, the pilgrim-woman gives the innkeeper a gold chain, from which she has removed six fragments. The pilgrim-woman explained “that whoever returned for the child would bring the missing links with him.”\(^7\) Before departing she also gave the innkeeper another four hundred gold escudos. The chain, along with the money, are not only payments in gratitude, but they could also be read as pignores, thereby inserting this practice into a pilgrimage tradition. The act of pignorar refers to the pilgrimage practice of pawning an object in exchange for a vow to be completed as part of the pilgrimage. In this sense, the chain and the gold escudos can be interpreted as a type of offering that the pilgrim-woman makes at the inn in exchange for a vow: raising her daughter, Costanza. The act of offering a chain already resembles the acts of pilgrims who have been freed from their servitude. Miguel de Cervantes himself took his chains to Our Lady of Guadalupe once he was freed from Algeria in 1580. Furthermore, the pilgrim-woman leaves the chain and gold at the inn, as if it were the center of her pilgrimage.

Finally, regarding the third practice, the production of the parchment that reveals Constanza’s identity, the pilgrim-woman also leaves half of the said document at the inn and plans on handing the other half to whoever would come back and claim Costanza. The text describes the pilgrim-woman’s actions as she:

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\(^5\) Cervantes, Exemplary, 225. The original text in Spanish reads: “a vosotros está ahora el remediarne y acudirme, con el secreto que merece la que su honra pone en vuestras manos. La paga de la merced que me hicieredes, que así quiero llamarla, si no respondiere al gran beneficio que espero, responderá, a lo menos, dar muestra de una voluntad muy agradeida; y quiero que comiencen a dar muestras de mi voluntad doscientos escudos de oro que van en este bolsillo.”


\(^6\) Cervantes, Exemplary, 227.

\(^7\) Cervantes, Exemplary, 227.
cut a sheet of white parchment in a zigzag pattern, in the same way and for the same purpose that you put your hands together and write something on your fingers which can be read while the fingers are interlaced, but after the hands are separated the logic is broken because the letters become disconnected. If you put your hands together again the letters join up and correspond with one another so that the whole thing can be read in a normal way. In other words, the one half of the parchment serves as the soul of the other; fitted together they will make sense, but separated it is impossible to make sense of them without guessing the contents of the other half.  

This parchment is significant for two main reasons: the analogy of the position of the fingers makes reference to prayer; and it also reunites Carriazo with her unknown daughter Costanza as complementary souls at the inn. Christina H. Lee also sees the position of the fingers as prayer: “the process that reveals the identity of Costanza mimics the specific way in which the fingers have to be interlaced as in a prayer of confession.” The parchment, then, serves as a religious symbol that brings together a father and his unknown daughter. The fact that the father has the other piece of the parchment with the encrypted letters fulfills this purpose, since when the two pieces are put together they read: “THIS IS THE TRUE SIGN.” Afterward they compare the missing links of the chain, which are an exact match. This leads to the reunion of Don Diego de Carriazo with his daughter, precisely at the inn. In this sense, Don Diego de Carriazo’s pilgrimage is fulfilled once he reaches the Sevillano Inn and reunifies with his daughter Costanza.

These pilgrimage practices are framed by the pilgrim-woman’s relationship with the element of water. This correlation establishes the inn as a center of pilgrimage because it provides the necessary conditions to characterize Costanza as a devotional and heroic figure through her mother. Although at first sight the relationship with water might be overlooked, several indicators strengthen a connection between the pilgrim-woman and the liquid. On one hand, her movement to Our Lady of Guadalupe, which takes its name from a river, already characterizes her as a fluvial character. On the other hand, in order to hide her pregnancy, the pilgrim-woman feigned an illness: dropsy, or hidropesía. The Tesoro de la lengua castellana española (1611) defines hidropesía as a misbalance in the phlegmatic humor. This definition makes reference to the ancient Greek medicine notion that the human body works with four humors (yellow bile, black bile, blood and phlegm). Each humor was
associated with an element; water was associated with phlegm. Therefore, the pilgrim-woman’s alleged phlegmatic misbalance establishes a concrete connection with water. Since her illness is feigned, her dropsy comes to symbolize the element of water “stored” within her. Nevertheless, the reader knows that the water she carries is in fact a baby girl: Constanza. In this way the pilgrim-woman transmits her close relationship with the aquatic fluid to her daughter. Costanza herself is described as a body of crystalline water. Such allusion takes place in the romance that an anonymous musician sings to Costanza: “Crystal reaches of the heavens,/Where in waters clear and undefiled,/The ardent flames of love are chilled/And then redoubled and refined.”13 Characterizing Costanza as a source of “clear and undefiled waters” is a symbolic inheritance from the stored water that her mother seemed to somaticize when she arrived at the inn.

Consequently, water is associated with Constanza’s origin and the transformation of the inn as a center of pilgrimage. Water has been long associated with notions of origin. In the Tesoro de la lengua, the entry for “water” alludes to its superiority over the other basic elements and characterizes water as the first matter out of which everything was created.14 As an element of origin, water stands as a symbol of beginning and birth. In the heroic tradition, for example, Otto Rank states: “Nearly all authors who have hitherto been engaged in the interpretation of birth myths of heroes find in them a personification of the process of nature . . . The newborn hero is the young sun rising from the waters.”15 Drawing from a psychoanalytic approach, Rank also writes: “The utilization of the same material in the dreams of healthy persons and neurotics indicates that the exposure in the water signifies no more and no less than the symbolic expression of birth. The children come out of the water.”16 Such literary tradition is reflected in the heroic stories of Sargon, Moses, and Karna among others, where the heroes flow through water before being rescued. Following this line of thinking, Costanza also seems to resemble heroic traits. Not only did she come from “stored” water, but she also shares a peculiar birth worthy of recognition within the heroic tales. When the pilgrim-woman delivered her, “the mother made no complaint . . . and the child did not come into the world crying. Everyone was affected by a wonderful calm and silence, which befitted the secrecy of such an extraordinary event.”17 The establishment of Constanza as a heroine, and by default a character who deserves admiration, coincides with the idea of her as a devotional figure, placing her as the center of the pilgrimages headed towards the inn.

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13 Cervantes, Exemplary, 210; “lugar cristalino/donde transparentes aguas puras/enfrían de amor las llamas,/las acrecientan y apuran” Cervantes, Novelas ejemplares, 84.
14 “Thales Milesio tuvo por cierto ser el agua la primera materia, de que fueron criadas todas las cosas, y a esto aludió Virgilio . . . Parece tener imperio sobre las demás porque el agua se traga la tierra, apaga el fuego, sube al aire, y le altera, y lo que más es, que está sobre los mismos cielos”. Covarrubias, 51.
16 Rank, 63.
17 Cervantes, Exemplary, 226.
According to Julia D’Onofrio, water in the Spanish Golden Age also symbolized divine grace or doctrine. This divine grace is also transferred from the pilgrim-woman to Constanza. The former shows divine grace not only in her devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, but also in her way of life. As a widow, she “had retired to live in a village on one of her country estates and there, with her servants and vassals, led a peaceful and quiet existence.” This kind of life matches with the “proper” lifestyle of a Christian widow at the time. Juan Luis Vives, for example, writes that widows “must be an example of chastity, frugality, and modesty.” It is apparent that the pilgrim-woman worried about her honor as well as her reputation, keeping her name a secret at all times. This would cause her daughter to inherit certain moral traits as well. For example, it is said about Constanza that: “[h]er hair was . . . so lustrous, immaculate, and well groomed that nothing else, not even strands of pure gold could compare with it. . . . When she emerged from the room she made the sign of the cross and in a calm and devout manner genuflected deeply before an image of Our Lady.” As in her appearance she is described as a donna angelicata, her actions, like her mother’s, have a saintly character that attracts admiration and awe from others.

Saintly descriptions of Constanza classify her as a symbol deserving admiration and devotion, thereby attracting the interest of those who have been fortunate enough to hear about her fame and beauty. This is strikingly similar to the practice of pilgrimages to a holy place, insofar as the character of Constanza incites people to visit the inn. The innkeeper reiterates the depiction of Constanza as the center of travels, and thereby the inn as the end of many pilgrimages, saying: “Many gentlemen, and titled ones at that, have lodged at this inn, and have deliberately delayed their departure for many days in order to feast their eyes on [Constanza].” This quote suggests the possibility that the recurring visits to the inn are fueled by a sense of lust. However, it seems that Our Lady of Guadalupe herself predestined the inn as the end of pilgrimages and Constanza as the center of such travels. On her first arrival to the inn, the pilgrim-woman tells the innkeeper: “In order to escape the malicious eyes of my own province and so that this critical hour should not come upon me there, I pledged to go to Our Lady of Guadalupe; it must have been her desire that I should enter my confinement at your inn.” Though she intended the birth to take place in Extremadura, the pilgrim-woman mentions that it must have been the Virgin’s plan for her to give birth in Toledo. In this sense, the Sevillano Inn was divinely selected as a stop for many travels.

Close examination of the pilgrim-woman’s secondary plot in Cervantes’ “The Illustrious Kitchen Maid” brings to light a new characterization of the Sevillano Inn. While the journey of the pilgrim-woman includes reaching Our Lady of Guadalupe in Extremadura, the truth is that many popular

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19 Cervantes, Exemplary, 232.
21 Cervantes, Exemplary, 197.
22 Cervantes, Exemplary, 228.
23 Cervantes, Exemplary, 225.
aspects and practices common to a pilgrimage happen at the inn of Toledo, where Costanza is found. This establishes the Sevillano Inn as the final destination of a pilgrimage, providing a new dimension that allows us to explore these locations as places of pause and with well-defined cultural features where people of all backgrounds gather. Carriazo, Avendaño, their parents, and the pilgrim-woman are characters that make a pilgrimage to the inn. These pilgrimages are comparable to what is seen in other representations of pilgrimages and journeys in Cervantes’ literature. It seems that in order to reach a spiritual gain, most characters have to undergo all kinds of sacrifices and difficulties, while others arbitrarily might attain this sense of spirituality without necessarily searching for it.24 The diverse experiences and complexities involved in a pilgrimage and travels indicate that there is still much to be studied about the inns and their significance in Cervantes’ texts.

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24 Stanislav Zimic, De esto y aquello en las obras de Cervantes (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010), 120.
Hidden Pilgrimages: Considerations on a Religious Wandering in Cervantes’ “The Illustrious Kitchen Maid”
"An untimely ague": The Body Politic as Joban Figure in Shakespeare’s King Henry VIII

by Lise Mae Schlosser

The work of Julia Reinhard Lupton and Hannibal Hamlin offer insight into how Shakespeare incorporated references to the book of Job in The Merchant of Venice, Othello, Timon of Athens, and, of course, King Lear. Scholars have not yet turned this same lens to Shakespeare’s The History of King Henry VIII, which, in addition to the Joban references, shares thematic points with King Lear. Both texts explore the story of a king who abdicates authority. Lear does so explicitly and publicly. Henry has done so by allowing Cardinal Wolsey nearly unchecked power. For Lear, the decision to divide his kingdom is disastrous. For Henry, allowing Wolsey too much authority threatens order in the kingdom. But where Lear’s story ends tragically, Henry’s does not. Henry’s journey to (re)claim his royal prerogative is the story of this underappreciated play. The Joban figures—Buckingham, Katherine, Wolsey, and Cranmer—provide a gauge for Henry’s progressive assertion of authority. In the story of Job, only when God reasserts control are Job’s health and wealth restored. Likewise, when Henry removes Wolsey and reclaims the power of his kingship, England returns to health and the promised reward of Elizabeth’s bountiful reign. In this way, England itself becomes a Joban figure that suffers but is ultimately rewarded. The four Joban characters in the play exist on a continuum of least Job-like Buckingham to most Job-like Cranmer. The progression corresponds with Henry’s journey to fully claiming his royal power. Initially performed when the Stuart succession is upset by the death of the Prince of Wales, Henry Fredrick, The History of King Henry VIII offers an argument for strong royal leadership and patient suffering on the part of the people.

The play exhibits a distinct rising-and-falling pattern, which critics have variously described. Paul Dean calls it “wavelike.” C. K. Pooler originally identified the wavelike structure as fitting the decasibus pattern. More recently, Howard Felperin and Matthew Woodcock number among the critics who have refined Pooler’s reading. Edward Barry agrees, but suggests that the play “invokes

decasibus conventions only to redefine them.”⁵ Chris Kyle argues that the decasibus tradition does not sufficiently explain the text, and the tradition is indeed an inadequate analog to the play’s pattern of falls from fortune.⁶ Reading the play alongside the story of Job exposes dimensions of the pattern that have gone unreconciled, revealing the differences in the falls as well as the design behind them.

The rising and falling pattern is set up in the opening moments of the play when the Prologue asks the audience to “Think ye see/The very persons of our noble story/As they were living; think you see them great,/ . . .; then, in a moment, see/How soon ‘tis mightiness meets misery.”⁷ The play develops this pattern in overlapping successive instances. Anne and Cranmer begin the play in modest circumstances but find themselves elevated and honored. Others, like Buckingham, Wolsey, and Queen Katherine begin with office and prosperity, but fall spectacularly. Reading each of these falls with the story of Job in mind not only reinforces the similarities between their trajectories but also reveals the King’s journey from passivity to assertion of authority, from ignorance to self-knowledge.

Each of the falling characters’ alignment with Job creates a consequent alignment of the King with God. The characterization of King Henry as a godlike figure has not escaped the notice of earlier critics like Amy Appleford, Lee Bliss, and R. A. Foakes.⁸ While the King-as-God trope is a familiar one in the Renaissance, the particular alignment with Job’s God gives new insight into Henry’s actions. Like Job’s God, Henry is initially distant. Moreover, as Job’s God moved from passive to active, Henry moves from allowing another to act for him to become the self-assertive king visible at the end of the play. The audience witnesses Henry’s development from remote king to a king in control of his realm, in the way that he participates in and responds to each of the falls.

Despite the length of the book of Job, God’s direct intervention only occurs at the beginning and end. The majority of the text relates Job’s disputations with his friends. In the beginning, God boasts to the angels and Satan about his faithful servant Job. When challenged, God allows Satan to try Job’s steadfastness by first removing all of his worldly possessions and killing his family, and then by causing horrible physical ailments. It is not God’s direct action that causes Job’s suffering, but his allowing Satan to act. Not until the last four chapters of the book does God again play an active role in the text by answering Job’s challenges and finally rewarding Job’s trials. Henry experiences a remarkably similar path. He begins the play having ceded power to a proxy; only when he has asserted himself properly as king can order be restored.

Buckingham is the first to suffer a tragic fall. Almost immediately, the audience learns that an illness kept him from the recent Field of Cloth of Gold in France. As Norfolk relates the pageantry to Buckingham, the first instances of the rising-and-falling pattern appear. Buckingham, who was ill, is now well. He and Norfolk discuss the impoverishment of the nobles who funded the excessive display. And the pageantry that Norfolk describes as “the view of earthly glory” not only has ended but also has failed; he explains that France has already broken the costly treaty. Even the mood of the scene falls as it proceeds. The general conviviality of the beginning yields to scorn when Norfolk explains that Wolsey was behind the expensive—and ultimately fruitless—spectacle.

These general falls—of the nobles’ estates, of the treaty, and of the scene’s mood—prepare the audience for the first Joban fall. In the same scene, Buckingham is arrested for high treason. The Sergeant’s addressing him by his titles as “My lord the Duke of Buckingham, and Earl/Of Hereford, Stafford and Northampton” emphasizes the height from which he falls. Buckingham’s response, “The net has fallen upon me” links him to Job. Job complains to his companions that “God hath overthrown me, and hath compassed me with his net.” Buckingham’s echo of Job’s speech aligns the two characters and underscores the severity of Buckingham’s situation.

The king decides to send Buckingham’s case to trial at the end of the scene where we first meet Henry who, according to the stage directions, enters “leaning on the Cardinal’s shoulder.” In this scene, like Job’s God, Henry is passive and allows a deputy to act in his stead. Job’s God allows Satan to try Job’s faith, and even to make him ill, but prohibits taking Job’s life. Likewise Henry does set limits when he prohibits Wolsey from executing Buckingham without a trial. Henry’s delegation of authority in this life-or-death matter aligns him with Job’s God.

When Buckingham addresses the crowd before his execution, he highlights the extent of his fallen state: “When I came hither I was Lord High Constable/And Duke of Buckingham; now, poor Edward Bohun.” Like Job, he has lost his worldly possessions; additionally, he has lost his freedom, his titles, and shortly will lose his life. Buckingham’s connection to the book of Job underscores the sense of Buckingham’s suffering as unnecessary and arbitrary.

As important as Buckingham’s similarities to Job are his differences. Unlike Job, Buckingham receives no restoration of his fortune or position. As the first of the four characters who fall during the play, Buckingham is the least Job-like. Buckingham cannot have a Joban restoration because King Henry allows the cardinal to act nearly unchecked. Buckingham’s arrest is the result of the cardinal’s machinations. The King does not recognize Wolsey’s manipulations or ulterior motives and allows the trial to move forward. The King’s failure to assert his authority and to question Wolsey effectively aborts Buckingham’s Joban narrative.

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The second fall in the play is Queen Katherine, who is a more Job-like figure than Buckingham. While the Duke’s guilt remains in question despite his conviction, the audience is given no reason to question Katherine’s steadfast devotion to her God or to her husband. She is frequently extolled and even called “so good a lady that no tongue could ever/Pronounce dishonour of.”15 The repeated and effusive praise of Katherine connects her to the pious and upright Job. Katherine’s fall is more tragic than Buckingham’s, and the audience’s experience of it is more thorough. With Katherine’s fall, the audience sees signs of the cardinal’s initial separation from the king’s affections and consequently the king’s increased self-determination.

Katherine’s court scene shares several parallels with Job’s trials. Job’s three friends—Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar—insist that Job’s punishment is just and urge him to seek God’s forgiveness. Likewise, at her trial, Katherine faces a trio of men—the king, Wolsey, and Cardinal Campeius—who profess their friendship but urge her to capitulate to a decision that will render her marriage invalid and her surviving daughter a bastard, and vacate her title of queen. Both Job and Katherine resist their so-called friends’ advice, believing that justice will prevail. It does for Job but not for Katherine.

The Queen’s speech at the trial is very Joban. Katherine, like Job, wonders at her treatment. She questions the king as Job questions God. Katherine asks Henry, “In what have I offended you? What cause/Hath my behavior given to your displeasure/That thus you should proceed to put me off/And take your good grace from me?”16 Katherine’s words evoke the occasions Job petitions God for an explanation. While Job is often portrayed as patient, he vocally reproaches God for the misfortunes he suffers. For instance, he asks “why hast thou set me as a mark against thee, so that I am a burden to myself?”17 Both Katherine and Job accept the authority of the one above them, but neither of them suffers passively; both question the justice of their treatment. Ultimately, Henry’s failure to intervene aborts Katherine’s Joban narrative. She is a patient sufferer who shares several characteristics with her biblical predecessor; however, since the king has not yet reclaimed all of the power he vested in Wolsey, Katherine’s restoration must remain the promise of a heavenly reward.

The third fall, Wolsey’s, is the fulcrum upon which the play shifts; once the king removes the cardinal from any literal or metaphoric power, Henry is able to assume his proper authority. As with Buckingham and Katherine, the height from which Wolsey falls emphasizes his descent. History and the play’s pattern demand Wolsey’s ruin. The book of Job helps us understand Wolsey’s fall in the larger context of the play, and the king’s struggle to claim and assert his power. Wolsey’s abuses are revealed when an inventory of the riches he has amassed along with a letter to the Pope come to the king’s attention. Henry does not directly confront Wolsey with the evidence but rather hands him the packet before departing. As he does, the king instructs the cardinal to read “and then to breakfast with what appetite you have.”18 The king’s words echo two passages in Job. The first is

15Shakespeare, Henry VIII, II.iii.3-4.
16Shakespeare, Henry VIII, II.iv.17-20.
17Job 7:20
18Shakespeare, Henry VIII, III.ii.203-4.
spoken by Job, “For my sighing cometh before I eat.”\textsuperscript{19} The second is in the voice of Zophar’s, who explains that the wicked “shall be about to fill his belly, but god shall send upon him his fierce wrath.”\textsuperscript{20} This connection to the book of Job emphasizes the king’s god-like position as well as Wolsey’s rapid fall. Wolsey, like Job, goes from having everything one day to nothing the next.

Wolsey, alone on stage, begins to reconcile himself to his changed circumstances. When Cromwell arrives, Wolsey’s final words to him, and thus to the audience, cement his Joban alignment. Wolsey underscores his destitution, telling Cromwell that “my robe/And my integrity to heaven is all/I dare now call my own,” which evokes Job’s contestation that “till I die, I will not remove mine integrity from me.”\textsuperscript{21} The loss of everything forces both Job and the cardinal to reconsider their views of the world and of themselves. After losing wealth and station, both assert their integrity. Like Job’s friends do of him, the audience may be forgiven for questioning the cardinal’s integrity. Nevertheless, the cardinal’s line ties him to Job and further reinforces the play’s Joban pattern.

Each fall—Buckingham’s, Katherine’s and then Wolsey’s—presents an imperfect but progressively better-aligned version of the Job story. The failure of each of these Joban trajectories signals to the audience that the King has not yet properly assumed his authority. Once he has, we meet a final Joban character, Cranmer. And Cranmer is able to experience not only the fall but also the reward at the hands of his King/God.

Cranmer’s audience with the king establishes his place in the Joban pattern. The king charges Cranmer to “patience,” a watchword associated with Job and each of the previous characters’ falls.\textsuperscript{22} Like Job, Cranmer welcomes his correction, asserting he is “right glad to catch this good occasion/Most thoroughly to be winnowed.”\textsuperscript{23} Also, like Job, Cranmer has confidence in his “truth and honesty” to defend against his accusers.\textsuperscript{24} Cranmer pleads for “God and your majesty/protect mine innocence, or I fall into/The trap is laid for me,” which may remind the audience of Buckingham’s exclamation that the net had fallen upon him and echoes Bildad’s assertion that for the wicked “the snare is laid for him in the ground, and a trap for him in the way.”\textsuperscript{25} The Joban references in the scene encourage the audience to expect that Cranmer, too, will follow the pattern of falls. However, because the King has now fully assumed his godlike authority, Cranmer’s fate will be different.

When the king later disrupts the interrogation of Cranmer by entering the council room, he dismisses Gardiner’s obsequious speech much as God does the speeches of Job’s companions. And as Job is rewarded at the end of his story, Cranmer is rewarded with the king’s invitation to be

\textsuperscript{19}Job 3:24
\textsuperscript{20}Job 20:23
\textsuperscript{21}Shakespeare, \textit{Henry VIII}, III.ii.452-4; Job 27:5.
\textsuperscript{22}Shakespeare, \textit{Henry VIII}, V.i.105.
\textsuperscript{23}Shakespeare, \textit{Henry VIII}, V.i.109-110.
\textsuperscript{24}Shakespeare, \textit{Henry VIII}, V.i.122.
\textsuperscript{25}Shakespeare, \textit{Henry VIII}, V.i.140 and I.i.203; Job 18:10.
godfather to the Princess Elizabeth. Just as when God appears out of the whirlwind at the end of the book of Job, alone justifying his power, here, at the end of the play, it is clear that Henry has assumed the mantle of authority that his position requires. Not only does he need no advisor to replace Wolsey, but he also actively overrules the will of his council in dealing with Cranmer.

At Elizabeth’s christening in the play’s final scene, Cranmer realizes the reward for his honesty and integrity. While Cranmer’s Joban restoration happens within the play, England is still suffering from the hunger and discord he prophesizes Elizabeth’s reign will resolve. The country’s suffering is communicated in the play through the rhetoric of disease. While critics, among them R. A. Foakes and Lee Bliss, point out the ways illness becomes a theme in Henry VIII, they have not recognized how this imagery becomes a thematic link to the book of Job.

The audience is immediately exposed to the theme of illness in the opening scene. Along with the rhetoric of disease, both Buckingham and Norfolk use language evoking the body politic, the metaphor equating the state to a human-like system. Referring to the events in France, Buckingham asks, “who set the body and the limbs/Of this great sport together.” Norfolk’s answer reveals the disease from which the body politic is suffering: Wolsey, who ordered the display. The discussion turns from the macrocosm of the body politic to the microcosm of Buckingham’s “private difference” with the cardinal. While the scale differs, the malady remains Wolsey. When Buckingham rages against the cardinal, Norfolk counsels him to temperance, which his “disease requires.” After which, Buckingham thanks Norfolk for his “prescription.” Wolsey epitomizes a germ that infects the health of both the state and individuals.

Through the concept of the king’s two bodies—the physical and the political—the way the king’s development precipitates the recovery of the body politic becomes apparent. The play’s beginning presents a king who had literally and metaphorically leaned on the cardinal for support. The king is dependent, and the body politic is diseased. As the play progresses, the king breaks the cardinal’s hold over him and thus begins to cure the body politic. The body politic is promised reward for having endured the sickness, much as Job did.

In this way the body politic becomes the most important Joban figure of the play. Having endured the trials of poor leadership, the country is rewarded with a strong king and the glowing prophecy of Elizabeth’s reign. While the original first-performance date of the play is unknown, it was being performed by June of 1613. Only months before, Henry Frederick, the Prince of Wales, suddenly took ill and died. This altered the Stuart succession by leaving his much-younger and less-well-known brother, Charles, as heir apparent. Henry’s death dashed hopes for a strong Protestant leader to succeed his father; disappointment and sorrow prevailed after his death. In addition to

26Shakespeare, Henry VIII, I.i.46-7.
27Shakespeare, Henry VIII, I.i.101.
28Shakespeare, Henry VIII, I.i.124.
29Shakespeare, Henry VIII, I.i.151. The Oxford English Dictionary dates the use of this term is association with medicine to the mid-sixteenth century, so while the historical Buckingham may not have used the term referring to disease, Shakespeare’s Buckingham could.
crafting an argument for strong royal leadership, the play offers hope to a mourning English people. If they remain steadfast, they will receive their reward. The people who suffered through the tumultuous reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I were rewarded with the glorious reign of Elizabeth I. Perhaps the reward could be the same for Shakespeare’s original audiences. But not even Shakespeare could have known that the future King Charles I would only bring more tribulation to the English people.

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