

# Ritual and Ceremony

## Late-Medieval Europe to Early America

A Summer 2010 NEH Institute, Directed by Claire Sponsler



## Welcome

### A word on this web project

*Ritual and Ceremony* is a collaborative production of the college teacher-participants in a 2010 NEH summer humanities institute. Over the course of five weeks, and with the guidance of [faculty experts](#), the institute reexamined local and national traditions as they evolved over several centuries from a common liturgical conceptual framework. Our goal was to look beyond narrowly defined disciplinary and national boundaries to reconstruct the social roles of rituals and ceremonies, asking, among other questions, what it meant to participate in public or domestic performances of this sort, even as a spectator.

We benefited from the rich comparisons of analytical approaches and case studies explored in the institute. Above all, we benefited from the generosity of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and its dedication to the professional development of graduate students and faculty in the humanities. Our NEH summer scholars returned to their classrooms with a greatly enhanced understanding of the varied roles and contexts of ritual and ceremony, and, with their students, they will revise the cultural, social, and literary histories that speak to our growing understanding of how local, national, and global forces intersect.

We hope you enjoy and learn from a sample of the summer institute's work. Our postings include an [introduction](#) by Claire Sponsler, the institute's director, and a complete [syllabus](#) and [primary](#) and [secondary](#) bibliographies. We also gather individual [commentaries](#) by our program participants, each featuring selected images, mostly drawn from the Folger's collections. Each one is a rich case study in its own right. Collectively, they provide exciting new materials for undergraduate teaching and scholarly research.

Kathleen Lynch  
Executive Director  
The Folger Institute

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## Introduction

Claire Sponsler

A fertility charm, a triumphal arch, a royal entry, a papal conclave, the feast of the Eucharist: at first glance, these objects and events would appear to have little in common. Yet all play a role in the rituals and ceremonies that are important features of human life and that give memorial structure and meaning to occasions as personal as childbirth and as public as the marriage alliances of monarchs.

In the last few decades, scholars of performance have extended their attention beyond the professional theatre, which has been the traditional focus of early theatre scholarship. As a result, ritual and ceremony have moved to the center of attention as key cultural moments for the display of and resistance to power, the establishment of social identities and normative behaviors, and the working through of conflicts and anxieties in everyday life.

Typically, rituals and ceremonies have been examined in isolation, within specific national traditions and historical moments. A comparative approach, in contrast, provides a way of moving inquiry beyond those limits. Examining rituals and ceremonies in local, national, and transatlantic contexts from 1300 to 1700, as this NEH institute has done, helps explain how local pressures create unique patterns, while also generating elements that are widely shared across national borders and temporal boundaries. To track rituals and ceremonies from a shared liturgical context to various developments in individual national traditions and, finally, their reconstitutions in early cultural encounters in the Americas is to witness complex processes of hybridity and assimilation at work.

Because many rituals and ceremonies are unscripted and ephemeral, they pose a special challenge for historical investigation. To come to know those past performances, we have to assemble the surviving material evidence that offers traces of their existence. Fortunately, there is a surprisingly large if often untapped number of visual and verbal—and even tactile—resources that allow us to imagine what early rituals and performances were like and what meanings they had for their original participants and spectators. As this NEH institute has made amply clear, an examination of such surviving evidence as ritual objects, engravings, missionary reports, and architectural designs makes it possible to piece together an understanding of these quintessentially occasional events.

Because ritual and ceremony incorporate a variety of cultural forms and practices, they are best studied from a perspective that encompasses the disparate disciplines of art history, music, religion, social history, and literary and performance studies. The essays on this website draw on the expertise of historians and art historians, as well as scholars of literature, performance, and religion. Individually, each essay on this website maps a specific moment in the history of ritual and ceremony. Together, the work of the participants in this institute builds a rich picture of the overlapping, yet shifting nature of early rituals and ceremonies.

Whether exploring rituals and ceremonies associated with the life cycle (and such events as birth, marriage, and death) or the liturgy of the church (from its medieval origins to its later transformations), whether looking at rituals and ceremonies of diplomacy or colonial encounters, the essays on the following pages tease out a remarkable depth of meaning

from the texts and artifacts in which early rituals and ceremonies survive. All of the essays are marked by close attention to the surviving evidence combined with theoretical sophistication and informed historical inquiry. The result is a group of essays that point to the complex ways in which rituals and ceremonies could be used and the multifaceted meanings that they developed.

This institute brought to light the circumstantial pressures that created growth and change in rituals and ceremonies. It demonstrated the value of a transnational and multidisciplinary perspective, and it underscored the advantages of bringing a variety of analytical approaches to bear on specific case studies. Further, the institute revealed how much more there is to know about early rituals and ceremonies. Many of the questions we asked in this institute remain ripe for further study: how were rituals and ceremonies transformed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? What role did rituals and ceremonies play in colonial contexts, including as tools of assimilation, conquest, and hybridity? How do the non-verbal features of ritual and ceremony, such as the use of music, costume, stage properties and other technologies of display, help fashion the performance experience? What are the conditioning effects of the places of performance? What impact did print have on the survival and dissemination of what are by nature ephemeral, occasional ceremonies and events? The essays on the following pages offer intriguing interventions into this rich and diverse field, but they also point the way to future inquiries. In their pervasiveness and complexity—not to mention their centrality to culture—rituals and ceremonies continue to hold our attention and spur us to further research.

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# Liturgy

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## St. Stephen's Day: The Liturgy of a Medieval Feast

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### Introduction to Medieval Liturgy

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the medieval liturgy. It was the backbone of the Medieval Church's daily ceremony; any specific ritual, be it the funeral of a poor beggar or an archbishop's celebration of Easter, was structured by the Divine Office

(now called the Liturgy of the Hours) and the Mass. In basic terms, the Divine Office is simply the chanting of psalms at eight

different times throughout the day, so that

one might complete the entire Psalter in one week. This structure provided an infinitely variable frame for the production of texts, music, performance, and visual art, and for creativity far beyond the bounds of the choir, or even the churchyard.



The liturgy was a constant part of medieval culture. All members of the clergy, who constituted between two and four per cent of the medieval population of Europe, were required to chant the Divine Office daily and either attend or say Mass; for monastics especially, the liturgy would have constituted a major part (if not a majority) of their daily verbal activity. In fact, almost everyone in Europe, from the most powerful king to the poorest peasant, would have had some regular contact with liturgical forms, for they not only structured the days and lives of every man, woman (and child) in orders, but were also an integral part of the days and lives of the laity. Baptisms, marriages, and burials were all organized liturgically, as were the many holidays and festivals throughout the year.

Holidays, which are of course etymologically related to the "holy days" when normal work was suspended, marked important moments in the religious, civic and agricultural calendars important to all levels of medieval society. Moreover, there is significant evidence that lay people participated extensively in the Divine Office, privately, with household priests, or in monastic settings. The late fourteenth-century poem *Gawain and the Green Knight* shows both main characters regularly attending household services, and the large number of Books of Hours which survive from private households testify to regular lay involvement (at least among the wealthy) in liturgical practice. Liturgical service books make up a large percentage of the texts that have survived from the Middle Ages, and medieval book-lists suggest that we have lost a disproportionate number of them; liturgical music constitutes the vast majority of surviving medieval music.

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## The Liturgical Calendar



The liturgical calendar was divided in terms of the relative importance of feasts and memorials. Solemn feasts (such as Christmas and Easter) had the greatest liturgical embellishment.

The place of St. Stephen's feast in the liturgical calendar directly after Christmas also led to its association with the festive (and ludic) spirit of Christmas. Christmas, in the Middle Ages as well as today, was not only a religious feast but a celebration of pleasure. The "Feast of Fools" was celebrated in many parts of Europe during the Christmas season. During this time, the hierarchy of the Church was inverted, and children or young men temporarily "took over" the highest positions in the

cathedral, church, or monastery. Thus the "boy bishop" or "boy abbot" would direct mock services, which varied from amusing to scurrilous. The thirteenth-century commentator Durandus reports that the antiphon to St. Stephen was sung with "dancing" by deacons, and that the entire season was ripe for clerical misbehavior, since St. Stephen (26 December) was the patron saint of deacons, St. John the Evangelist (27 December) was a patron of priests, and the Holy Innocents (28 December) of choirboys. Even nuns were reported to have engaged in "*jocositate et scurrilibus cantibus*" (tomfoolery and scurrilous songs) during the feasts of Stephen, John, and the Holy Innocents. Among this "tomfoolery" was interpolating vernacular text (of various degrees of jocosity) into the liturgical words and music. In general this interpolating is called troping, but the special term "farsing" is used when such interpolations are incorporated into the lessons of the Office. For instance, there are a number of French farsed lessons from the Mass of St. Stephen's Day. *Acts 6:8* (*Stephanus plenus gratie*) is chanted in Latin by a deacon, while another deacon would chant a French life of St. Stephen. Such elaborations would provide opportunities for extended celebration of the saint's life, and the introduction of more complicated singing.

The influence of liturgy spread into every aspect of medieval artistic production: literary, musical, visual, or dramatic. It was a part of everyday life, constantly repeated and constantly modified. However, that very repetition and modularity are no longer accessible to most students of the Middle Ages.

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## The Feast of St. Stephen and its Liturgy

The liturgy of St. Stephen, of which Folger manuscript Z.e.4 represents only a small part, is particularly apt for exploring the cultural importance of medieval liturgy in general. In addition to the discussion of this manuscript, this page provides musical, visual, and poetic resources intimately related to St. Stephen's liturgy, as well as a [glossary of medieval terms](#).

Folger Library MS Z.e.4 is a single page of a medieval antiphony, the book containing all the sung elements of the [Divine Office](#). It provides a [responsory](#) for the first and second [lessons](#) of the nocturn (a part of [matins](#)) of the feast of St. Stephen, 26 December. This feast, a [double](#) following directly upon the celebration of Christmas and still within the Christmas season, had a fairly extensive office, and contained three nocturns. A nocturn is a part of the first canonical hour, matins. Originally known as "vigils" (*vigilia*), matins took place at midnight in the early days (or nights) of the Church, but was almost universally moved to the early morning in the early medieval period. [Lauds](#) is usually celebrated immediately afterwards, without pause between them. Each nocturn contains several psalms and antiphons, followed by three lessons. Each matin, in turn, contains one to three nocturns, depending upon the importance of the day. These matins would thus fall immediately after the feast of Christmas. Christmas was one of the great feast days of the medieval calendar, and the season of celebration would continue until Epiphany (6 January) or even Candlemas (2 February), and thus included the Feast of St. Stephen.

Nonetheless, St. Stephen's feast was important in its own right; St. Stephen was celebrated as Christianity's first martyr, and his feast was ranked a "[double](#)", putting it on the same level as the Circumcision of the Lord (1 January), the Annunciation (25 March), the feasts of Sts. Peter and Paul (29 June), and the Exultation of the Holy Cross (14 September). All but the most necessary work was forbidden, and everyone was required to attend Mass, matins, and vespers that day; there were over fifty such days in England at the dawn of the Protestant Reformation. Therefore, not only the [canons](#) or [monks](#) at the church would hear the words and music contained in this manuscript, but all the parishioners as well.

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### Folger MS Z.e.4

The manuscript is written on vellum in a legible Gothic *textualis* script; it measures 58.5 cm x 35.5 cm. The death of St. Stephen is illustrated in great detail on the *recto* in a large capital "S" from the beginning of the responsory, and the responsory itself is taken almost directly from *Acts of the Apostles* 6. The text is as follows:



IN DEI S. STEPH.

*In [matuti]ne S[an]c[t]i Steph[ani] an[tiponus] Stephanus autem. magna est gloria eius. Regem martirium. Invitatorium. In nocturnis an[tiphona]e, v[ersiculi], ps[almi], c[ir]c[um] om[n]ia in co[m]muni sic[ut] unius m[a]r[t]yris.*

*R[esponsus] 1. Stephanus autem plenus gracia et fortitudine faciebat prodigia et signa magna in populo. Surrexerunt quidam de synagoga disputantes cum Stephano, et non poterant resistere sapientie, et spiritui, qui loquebatur. Faciebat. R[esponsus] 2. Surrexerunt quidam de synagoga disputantes cun Stephano. Et non poterant resistere sapientie, et spiritui qui loquebatur. Commoventur itaque plebem, et concurrentes rapuerit eum, et adduxerunt in concilium. Et non.*

IN THE DAY OF ST. STEPHEN

*In the matins of Saint Stephen. Antiphon: And Stephen [etc.] [Versicle:] Great is his glory. [Invitatory:] King of the Martyrs. The antiphons, versicles and psalms are those of the nocturnes of the common of one martyr.*

*Responsory 1. Stephen, full of grace and strength, made wonders and great sings among the people. There arose some from the synagogue who disputed with Stephen, but they were not able to overcome the wisdom and the spirit that spoke. [Stephen] made . . . Responsory 2: There arose some from the synagogue who disputed with Stephen, but they were not able to overcome the wisdom and the spirit that spoke. They stirred up the people, and flocking together, they seized him and brought him before the council. But [they were] not [able] . . .*

The manuscript begins with the antiphon, *Stephanus autem*, and the invitatory, *Regem martirum [Dominus]* (Lord, the King of Martyrs). Matins would begin by chanting a response and verse, followed by the invitatory, with the chanted response, *Venite, adoremus* (Come

let us adore him). Then Psalm 94 (95) would be chanted, with the invitatory chanted at certain moments. The manuscript page we have contains two responsories, the first following the first lesson, and the second following the second lesson, both most likely from *Acts of the Apostles* 6. The third responsory was probably on the following page, and perhaps narrated the moment illustrated in the image (see a proposed reconstruction of the full first nocturn [here](#)).

The responsory makes several key changes to the Biblical text through abbreviation and the elimination of context. Since the text of *Acts* 6:8-10 was the second lesson for the matins on that day and the lesson for the Mass, the choir (and the congregation) would have had a clear opportunity for comparison, provided that they could sufficiently understand the Latin. In the Biblical text, the “synagogue” is specified: it is the synagogue of the freedmen, who had either returned from or came for the first time to the Holy Land from Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia. In the responsory text, it suggests that the Jews in general are opposing Stephen. This is further emphasized by abbreviation in the next line. In the Biblical text, these freedmen stir up not only the people, but the elders and the scribes as well. The responsories homogenize the Jewish threat to Stephen.

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## The Iconography and Legends of St. Stephen

The image of St. Stephen, found in the "S" capital of the *recto*, is fairly consistent with the



typical medieval iconographic depictions of the martyr. He is youthful in appearance, and is dressed as a deacon, wearing a dalmatic, and a stole is potentially indicated over his left wrist. Rather than the theophany described in *Acts* (seeing Christ in heaven, enthroned next to the Father), he sees only the hand of God extended in blessing from the sky. He is seen in prayer, consistent with the account in *Acts*, which states that he prays for his attackers. He was also stoned outside the gates of Jerusalem, a fact suggested by the empty fields. His attackers

surround him, and one of them wears a yellowish hat that possibly indicates his Jewish ethnicity. The artist has depicted the scene at the moment when the first stone hits Stephen (it can be seen striking the back of his head), though the attitude of the attackers makes it unclear who threw the stone.

Medieval material suggests the massive importance of the liturgy in the production of culture, and St. Stephen makes this case especially well. Despite the fact that the narrative of St. Stephen has a Biblical pedigree far more authoritative than most of the other saints on the calendar, a great deal of the cultural production is dependent upon the liturgical, rather than scriptural, context of the saint. For instance, the image of St. Stephen is always that of a deacon, vested according to contemporary (rather than Biblical) fashion. The image in this manuscript would have been reflected by the living deacons present at the service. The generalized Jewish antagonism, almost always a part of his iconography, is particularly apt for the liturgical associations of his feast, especially its associations with another narrative of martyrdom, the Massacre of the Innocents, whose feast is celebrated on 28 December. In fact, the association is so strong that a fifteenth-century ballad rewrites Stephen's story to better fit the liturgical context, despite making it conflict with the Biblical witness. In the ballad, Stephen is King Herod's kitchen servant, and rejects Herod's service upon seeing the star over Bethlehem. Despite the witness of a reanimated chicken dinner (who, despite having been cooked, crows "*Christus natus est*" ("Christ is born")), Herod has Stephen taken out and stoned. The *Acts of the Apostles* make it abundantly clear that Stephen is alive after the Resurrection; this ballad (which in this version or another circulated widely enough to gain comment in other texts) is interested in showing that Stephen was *truly* the first martyr (even before the Holy Innocents) and explaining why "his euy[n] [is] on Crystes owyn day." It is the *liturgical* location and import of St. Stephen's feast that forms the work of art (The full text of the ballad is [here](#)).

Nor is this ballad the only example of the influence of the liturgy on cultural production. The highly popular collection of saints' lives, the *Legenda Aurea* (*Golden Legend*) of Jacobius de Voragine (1230-1298) uses the liturgical calendar to organize the lives, and was itself used as a basis for sermon composition. Each of the saint's names is given a series of speculative etymologies, each ripe for development in a sermon. For instance, one of the meanings of "Stephen" is "crown", and it is common for the hymns on feasts of martyrs to use the image of a crown (*corona*); *Martyr dei* in the matins of St. Stephen is an example. Jacobius' *Legenda* could help a preacher make this connection in the pulpit. In Jacobius' life of St. Stephen, he repeats word-for-word the antiphon, *Stephenus autem*, and this sentence serves as the marker for the beginning of the primary content of the narrative. Jacobius ends his narrative by explaining that even though the (supposed) date of Stephen's death was on 3 August, there are thematic reasons for placing the feast right after the Nativity, and associating it with both John the Evangelist and the Holy Innocents.

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## Music of Folger Z.e.4

The music of the manuscript is quite clearly written so that it could be readable by the entire choir. Some of the music is quite common; for instance, the music for the first part of the antiphon can be found in the *Liber Usualis*, the nineteenth-century compilation of medieval chant produced by the monks of the Abbey of Solesmes, in France. The music of the responsories is similar to (but not exactly the same as) music found in a monastic antiphonal from thirteenth-century Lucca, and related to another monastic antiphonal from Worcester. Even now, the music can be read fairly easily: while the staff has four lines rather than our modern staff's five, the key signature can be determined by the placing of the "fa" (C) at the beginning of each section. Guides for singing neumes (the name given to the medieval notes) are easily found, and a modern transcription of the music can be found [here](#). The first responsory is in Mode 3, while the second is in Mode 8.

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## Glossary of Medieval Terms

### Clerical Titles

**Abbot:** the man in spiritual and financial control of an abbey, a type of monastery (cf. Prior); the female equivalent is an abbess. Necessarily a monk (or in the case of women, a nun).

**Acolyte:** in the Middle Ages, the acolyte was the highest of the minor orders, and assisted at Mass with candles, processions, but not the consecration.

**Archbishop:** otherwise known as a metropolitan, an archbishop is a bishop with an extended jurisdiction over his suffragan bishops; this extended jurisdiction is mostly in compelling provincial councils. There were two archbishops in medieval England (as there still are): the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York, Canterbury being primary.

**Benefice:** a right to receive ecclesiastical revenues, wherein those revenues are permanently established, the right is given for life, and the holder is given some spiritual function (such as the care of souls, celebration of Mass or the Divine Office).

**Bishop:** a priest who is the spiritual leader of a diocese, i.e., one of the administrative divisions of the Catholic Church. Bishops alone have the to ordain major clergy, and are the only ordinary ministers of the confirmation. Bishops alone can dedicate a church, consecrate an altar (and the other elements necessary for the saying of Mass), and bless an abbot. They can ordain laws for the faithful (though they must not contradict the Pope), and in the Middle Ages, usually held an ecclesiastical court which judged violations of religious law. They are appointed by the pope, though local rulers in the Middle Ages were often directly involved in the choice.

**Canon:** in the medieval Church, a male clergyman attached to a particular ecclesiastical establishment (a cathedral, seminary, hospital, etc.) who lived according to a rule (most often, the Augustinian rule). Unlike a monk, the canon is not resident in a monastery and cannot be a priest.

**Cantor:** a cleric holding minor orders who is responsible for leading singing.

**Cardinal:** an honorary title which allowed a clergyman to vote in papal elections; cardinals are appointed by the pope for life, and are usually already important churchmen.

**Clerk:** (pronounced "clark" in British English) is any male member of the clergy, in either minor or major orders. The plural is often "clergy", a term synonymous with "education" in much medieval discourse.

**Curate:** the priest in charge of the "cure" or care of souls in a parish church. The parish priest would normally be a curate, but if absent from the parish, he might assign someone to take his place, i.e., a vicar.

**Deacon:** commonly, a cleric who has received major orders, but has not yet been ordained a priest; however, the term was vague in the Middle Ages, and could refer to any "servant."

An Archdeacon was a priest and an administrator over an archdeaconry, and held the most senior diocesan position below the bishop (this position no longer exists in the Roman Catholic Church, though it continues in the Anglican Church).

**Friar:** a member of one of the mendicant, or "begging" orders: the Franciscans (Grey Friars, or Friars Minor [O.F.M.]), Dominicans (Black Friars, Friars Preacher [O.P.]), Carmelites (White Friars [O.Carm.]) and Augustinians (Austin Friars [O.S.A.]), and after 1424, the Servites [O.S.M.]. Friars generally are priests, but live under a stricter rule than secular priests (i.e., priests part of the diocesan system), and report to their own superiors rather than the bishop. All the mendicant orders were founded in the 13th century, and were preaching and educative orders, rather than strictly contemplative (as monks are).

**Laity:** those Christians not in any ecclesiastical orders; non-clergy.

**Lay brother:** members of the religious orders involved in the manual labors and secular affairs of an religious establishment, in contrast to the **choir monks**, who are primarily dedicated to the Divine Office and to study.

**Major Orders:** ranks of clergy that involve perpetual vows: subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop.

**Minor canons:** unbeneficed canons.

**Minor Orders:** ranks of clergy below the rank of deacon: porter, lector, exorcist, cantor, and acolyte. These were preparatory ranks for receiving major orders, and did not involve perpetual vows.

**Monk:** a resident of a monastery or priory, vowed to live perpetually under the rule of an order. There are numerous orders of monks, most of which developed out of the Benedictines: Cistercians, Cluniacs, Carthusians, etc.

**Prebendary canon:** a canon with a kind of benefice that consisted of income from cathedral estates.

**Priest:** has taken major orders (including perpetual celibacy) and has the power to consecrate the host, hear confessions, administer baptisms, perform marriage rite and extreme unction (last rites).

**Prior:** can refer either to a monastic superior in a monastery, who is below the rank of abbot, or the superior of a smaller monastic community, such as a priory.

**Vicar:** a priest who temporarily inhabits a cure.

### **Liturgical Objects**

**Alb:** a white garment worn over the cassock, and used in the celebration of the sacraments. It extends to the ankle, and is usually belted by a cincture.

**Almuce:** a hooded cape, worn as a choir vestment in the Middle Ages; an exterior garment.

**Amice:** a white, cape-like cloth tied in the front by two ribbons. Worn below the alb.

**Cassock:** the close-fitting, ankle-length vestment worn by a variety of clergy-men, and which serves as a base for all other liturgical vestments. A **fascia**, or band, is often worn around the middle, which by its color can identify the rank of the clergyman.

**Chalice:** a drinking cup, usually made (or least lined interiorly with gold) in which wine is consecrated as the Blood of Christ in the Mass. During the Middle Ages, the chalice was reserved to the priest; parishioners only received the Host.

**Chasuble:** the outermost liturgical vestment used to celebrate the Eucharist; essentially an oval shaped garment, often heavily embroidered, with a hole for the head. Cloth had to be gathered up on the sides to allow the arms freedom.

**Ciborium:** a chalice-like vessel used to hold the consecrated Host.

**Cope:** a liturgical vestment, which may conveniently be described as a very long mantle or cloak, open in front and fastened at the breast with a band or clasp. It may be of any

liturgical color. Often very elaborate and expensive.

**Corporal:** a linen cloth, placed over the altar cloth, upon which the consecrated elements (the Chalice and Host) may be placed during Mass.

**Crosier:** a staff curled at one end, which represents the "shepherd's staff" of a pope, bishop, or certain abbot.

**Dalmatic:** a long, wide-sleeved tunic, worn by deacons. Similar to a **chasuble**.

**Host:** the common term for the consecrated wafer that the Church taught is the physical Real Presence of Christ's Body. Reserved host were kept in a tabernacle.

**Mitre:** the headgear used to show ecclesiastical superiority; used by popes, bishops, and some abbots. Can take various shapes

**Monstrance:** a portable shrine for the public display of the Host. Often shaped like the sun, atop an elaborate staff.

**Pallium:** an ecclesiastical vestment, usually reserved for popes, cardinals, and bishops, two to three inches wide, which is worn around the neck, and is shaped like a "Y", almost like a tie.

**Pax:** originally derived from the kiss of peace at Mass, by the 13th century this kissing was replaced by a box (often bearing an image of the Crucifixion, the Virgin Mary, or another saint) which was passed around the Church for the parishioners to kiss.

**Pyx:** a small, boxlike vessel in which the consecrated Host may be carried (to the sick or dying)

**Stole:** a liturgical vestment worn below the chasuble or dalmatic but above the alb; a band of cloth, often of silk or other expensive fabric, long enough to extend below the bottom of the chasuble or dalmatic.

**Surplice:** also known as the "cotta", is a white vestment with sleeves worn over the cassock. A smaller version of the alb, usually worn by those in Minor Orders.

**Thurible:** A vessel suspended by chains, and used for burning incense at solemn Mass, Vespers, Benediction, processions, and other important offices of the Church.

### Elements of the Liturgy

**Divine Office:** the official set of daily prayers prescribed by the Catholic Church to be recited at the canonical hours by the clergy, religious orders, and laity. The Liturgy of the Hours consists primarily of psalms supplemented by hymns and readings. Together with the Mass, it constitutes the official public prayer life of the Church.

**Canonical Hours:** the divisions of times into eight "hours", according to the prayers of the Divine Office. Each "hour" has a particular set of prayers. A major office or hour has a more extended set of readings and hymn than a minor office.

**Matins:** (major office) the nocturnal office, or vigil, even though the word itself refers to the morning. In time keeping, about midnight, but usually performed as either a vigil or immediately before Lauds.

**Lauds:** (major office) the morning office, often performed directly before Mass. Performed at dawn.

**Prime:** (minor office) performed about 6 AM. Often immediately followed Mass, which immediately followed Lauds.

**Terce:** (minor office) performed about 9AM.

**Sext:** (minor office) performed about noon.

**Nones:** (minor office) performed about 3PM.

**Vespers:** (major office) the evening office, performed after sunset.

**Compline:** (minor office), the final office, performed before bedtime.

**Mass:** the central liturgical celebration of the Catholic Church, it is celebration of the Eucharist, performed by a priest, in which bread and wine is transformed in the physical, Real Presence of Jesus Christ. It has several parts to it.

**Antiphon:** a sung response, usually to a psalm.

**Common:** see Ordinary.

**Lesson:** a reading from scripture or the Church Fathers, included in either the **Divine Office** or the **Mass**. In the Mass, this does not include the reading from the Gospel.

**Ordinary [of the Mass]:** the generally invariable parts of the Mass: the *Kyrie eleison*, the *Gloria*, the *Credo*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnes Dei*. It also includes the **Canon of the Mass** (the prayers surrounding the consecration of the Host).

**Proper [of the Mass]:** the parts of the Mass that change with the time of year, the *Introit*, *Gradual*, *Alleluia* [or *Tract*], *Sequence*, *Offertory* and *Communion*, as well as the *collect*, *secreta*, *postcommunion*, and the readings (Epistle and Gospel).

**Alleluia:** an antiphonal chant of "Alleluia" after the Gradual and before the Gospel. It usually ended with a long melisma (the singing of one extended syllable of text with many notes) called a *jubilus*, which could be troped.

**Canticle:** a song usually derived from the Bible, but not a psalm.

**Collect:** a short prayer that involves a dialogue between the celebrant and the congregation. Often alludes to the saint of the day.

**Feast:** a day in the liturgical calendar that celebrates a member of the Trinity, saint, martyr, or holy event. Work was often proscribed and Matins, Mass, and Vespers required during these days, depending on its importance. They are divided into levels of importance: simple (least), semidouble, and double. Further distinctions are made locally.

**Feria:** a day other than a Sunday; not a **feast** day.

**Gradual:** an antiphonally sung psalm (or some verses from a psalm) sung after the Epistle.

**Hymn:** a song not derived from the bible, usually sung in unison.

**Introit:** an antiphon that is sung at the beginning of the celebration of the Mass.

**Invitatory:** the psalm, *Venite adoremus*, number 94 in the Septuagint (medieval) numbering of the psalms, and number 95 in the Masoretic (modern) numbering of the psalms. It was always used to begin **Matins**.

**Offertory:** the offering of the alms, bread and wine to the priest during Mass; also refers to the music sung during that time.

**Plainsong:** the chant-style of the Middle Ages, which restricted melodies to certain sets of notes (modes) in order to facilitate choir singing.

**Response:** The second half of a preces or liturgical prayer, which answers the **versicle** of the celebrant or officiant. Abbreviated "R." or "℞." These symbols can also signify responsory and the "respond" of a responsory.

**Responsory:** any sung prayer that involves multiple voices; specifically, the sung prayers common in the Divine Office and Mass that include two separate chanted elements: the respond and the verse. Cf.

**Secreta:** an offertory prayer said in a low voice while the choir sings the offertory. Often refers to the saint of the day. Can refer to the entire Canon, which was recited in a low voice throughout the later Middle Ages.

**Sequence:** a chant sung at Mass before the Gospel, and the form Latin poetry in non-classical meter that developed from it.

**Transubstantiation:** a term derived from Aristotelian philosophy in order to describe what physically occurs during the consecration of the Host. According to its theory, the substance of the bread and wine (that is, what makes it bread and wine in its essence) is replaced by

the physical, Real Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ. However, the accidents of bread and wine (those qualities that do not define its essence) remain, such as the particular taste, feel, shape, etc. This term was introduced into doctrine in 1215; the notion of a Real Presence was considerably more ancient. This formulation was based upon contemporary Aristotelian theories of substance and accident.

**Trope:** in liturgy, an addition of music and/or words to a liturgical element.

**Versicle:** the first half of the petitions or short prayers known as **preces**, sung by the officiant or cantor and answered by a **response** of the choir or congregation. Abbreviated "V." or "℣." This symbol can also signify the verse of a **responsory**.

### Types of Liturgical Books

**Antiphony:** a liturgical book containing the sung parts of the Office or Mass.

**Book of Hours:** an abbreviated form of the **breviary** for the laity.

**Breviary:** a liturgical book containing all instructions and texts necessary for the celebration of the Divine Office throughout the year.

**Evangelary:** a text containing the Gospel readings in their liturgical order

**Gradual (book):** a book containing only the musical elements of the Mass; it would naturally include the graduals.

**Lectionary:** a book containing the readings for Mass, in liturgical order; sometimes includes the Gospel.

**Missal:** a liturgical book containing all instructions and texts necessary for the celebration of Mass throughout the year.

**Ordinal:** the book that gives the rubrics (instructions) for celebrations.

**Psalter:** a collection of the psalms.

**Sacramentary:** contains the priest's texts for celebrating the Eucharist throughout the year.

**Troper:** a book containing only tropes and the places in the liturgy in which they are to be inserted.

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# St. Stephen's Day: The Liturgy of a Medieval Feast

Matthew Irvin, Sewanee: The University of the South

## Suggested Reading

Bischoff, Bernard. *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Translated by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Duffin, Ross W., ed. *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2002.

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Holsinger, Bruce. *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

McGee, Timothy. *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Shailor, Barbara. *The Medieval Book*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1991.

Stevens, John. *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

de Voragine, Jacobus. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Vol 1-2. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

For a comparable antiphony, see the thirteenth-century Italian antiphony in the State Library of South Australia: <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/antiphonal/>

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## Performing Childbirth: On the Life of Saint Margaret

Elina Gertsman, Case Western Reserve University

Cynthia Nazarian, Northwestern University

[The Martyrdom of St. Margaret](#) (A3r-A8r of *Life of St. Margaret*)

Translated by Cynthia Nazarian

One of the most popular and controversial saints of medieval Europe, St. Margaret of Antioch inspired several accounts of her life, many of which, focusing on her martyrdom and death, addressed in some way the violence and anxieties associated with the performance of childbirth. According to Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, Margaret—a daughter of a pagan priest—was converted to Christianity by her nurse. Refusing the advances of the local prefect named Olibrius, Margaret was thrown in prison, tortured, tormented by demonic appearances, and finally beheaded. Before submitting to the sword, Margaret prayed that “whenever a woman in labour should call upon her name, the child might be brought forth without harm” (354). She was subsequently invoked during labor pains, and extant birthing talismans from the late Middle Ages are rife with prayers to Margaret, begging her to intercede on behalf of the both the mother and child. Some versions of the legend give especially extravagant descriptions of the disquieting apparitions in Margaret's cell, as when she is swallowed and released from the body of the devil disguised as a dragon. By virtue of this trial, Margaret becomes associated with the Caesarean section, performed in the day only after the mother had died and for the sake of saving the child. Safety and danger, birthing and dying: Margaret's legend and its appropriation are infused with tensions and contradictions. Visually or verbally figured, she appears in statues, paintings, woodcuts, illuminated books and scrolls, birthing girdles, and fertility amulets, sometimes as an exalted maiden erupting from the dragon's belly, sometimes as a chaste virgin at repose.

There is a definitive change in the re-telling of Margaret's life in the late medieval and early modern era, as its spectacular drama becomes moderated, not only in text, but also in image. In the *Golden Legend*, Jacobus, otherwise given to florid narratives of violence, rejects the dragon episode as apocryphal; John Lydgate's *Life of St. Margaret* tells of the dragon bursting before the saint can be consumed; and John Mirk allows for Margaret's entire body to be placed in the dragon's maw but not its stomach. The saint's encounter with the dragon, however erotically charged and brutal, becomes similarly tamed in visual representations.

Such is the Folger print, which opens *La Vie de ma dame sainte Marguerite vierge [et] martyre avec son oraison* (France: 15–), a book containing Margaret's life and prayers to her. The sedate scene shows the chaste virgin, her hands folded in prayer, emerging from the dragon's back (not his belly) in the most demure way possible; in fact she appears to sit triumphantly astride the beast, the folds of her cloak decorously covering the ostensible fracture in the dragon's flesh. The only sign of her ordeal is a piece of her cloak still held in the beast's mouth. For all its restraint, the print suggests a sexually charged space: the visual contrast between the rigidly erect cross and the dragon's upright-curving tail intimates that Margaret was given a choice between the equally capable heavenly and demonic bridegrooms. Moreover, her position astride the dragon calls to mind images of Phyllis and

Aristotle—the young woman riding the foolish old man—images that pointed to the dangers of, as it were, a woman on top.

The text also hints at Margaret's subversive potential. Olibrius the tyrant finally puts her to death because she is enormously successful in steering the people to her faith. Emphasizing the various kinds of violence that Margaret undergoes with great detail, the text nonetheless omits any reference to her physical pain. The saint appears to overcome all obstacles and torments without difficulty or wavering; while onlookers are forced to turn away from the gruesome sight of her torture, she utters not one cry or protest in response.



The prayer addressed to her appears to evoke exactly this invulnerability as a divine defense against the dangers and suffering of childbirth. Just as Margaret rises untouched and composed from the ruptured belly of the dragon in the initial print, the text of her *vita* translated [here](#) emphasizes and activates her impenetrability, in stark contrast to Olibrius' impotent frustration, the dragon's pierced belly and Beelzebuth's surrender and defeat. Her victory over Belzebuth is a military one, in which a triumphant Margaret permits the devil to speak only once she has agreed to lessen the pressure of her foot on his prostrated neck. This—underscored by the fact that all of the saint's unsuccessful adversaries are male—showcases Margaret's inversion of traditions of female victimhood. First, she refuses the sexual advances of a rich and politically powerful ruler. Second, her encounter with the dragon not only neutralizes his attempt to (sexually, physically, and spiritually) consume her but also forces him to submit to the traditionally female suffering of childbirth.

These visual and verbal inversions in the Folger *La vie de ma dame sainte Marguerite*, formulated with deft restraint, suggest, then, a kind of ritualized space, in which childbirth pain, Margaret's chaste sexuality, and the violence perpetrated against the saint acquire transformative potency for supplicant that follow the *vita* proper. Tensions inherent in the narrative—tamed, re-charged, and subverted in word and image—act upon the reader-viewer to engage her cognitively in the perpetual cycle of violent consumption and release, and to deliver her from its many assaults to a dignified and emphatic wholeness.

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## The martyrdom of St. Margaret, excerpted from the *Life of St. Margaret*

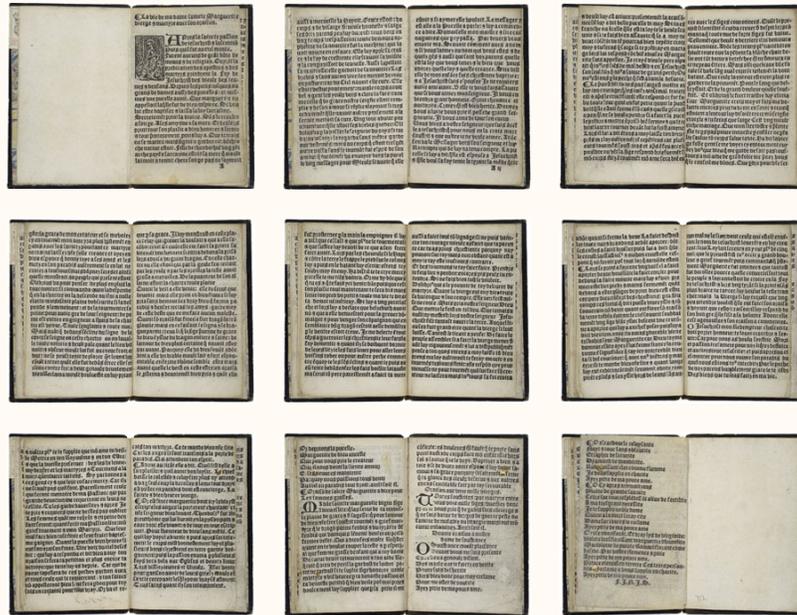
Translated by Cynthia Nazarian

When the provost heard her he thought to die of spite. He then commanded that she be fiercely whipped all naked, such that no skin would be left whole before nor behind her. Then right away the tyrants hung her up and beat and whipped her fair flesh so that no hide nor skin remained whole. They beat her so, that the blood ran down like the water from a fountain. Those around could no longer watch because of the blood that flowed from her and for the great pain that she suffered. Olibirus the proud traitor cried to her "Sister Margaret, believe me and do my bidding so that you may heal" and all those around her cried "Believe our master, believe him and you will be wise; our sire offers you a very rich marriage. Do not think that you are innocent because of your youth or of your folly; save your body and save your life". "Ha," said the virgin, "Foolish people, as you see me here in torment, do you think that God who guides me is not always at my side? You take me for a fool in advising me to lose for your master's sake the grace of my Creator. As you see me here in torment, so my soul will go more quickly to paradise with the saints. I am not afraid of this martyrdom; leave aside your foolish belief and have hope in God who gives joy to his friends and brings them to his paradise. Otherwise, if you do not believe in Him you will be damned forever and will remain thus." As she was speaking to the people who were present, Olibirus was thinking of ways to torment her more and more severely. Thus he commanded that she be taken down and thrown deep into the dungeon filled with darkness, where there is no light. They took her down and brought her along, taking care to torment her in order to have their master's good grace. Gnashing her teeth in pain, she came to the door of the dungeon all naked and bleeding. But before she could be thrown into the dark dungeon that would swallow her, she made the sign of the cross and paled at the dark, black place that chilled her heart. She could not keep from crying. They forced her to enter and when she was inside she bent down to the earth on her knees and sweetly called on God to show her by his grace who it was who wanted to harm her and do battle with her in this place. When her prayer was done suddenly a light entered the prison, showing her a great dragon there in the prison with her that spat fire through its mouth and eyes and ears and had a marvelously large head. The dungeon was filled with the stink of its breath. When she saw it come nearer she did not know what to do, but she took up her faith in God and prayed without delay, "True God who made Paradise and brought your friends out from Hell, save me from this beast and do not let it harm me." When her prayer was done the dragon swallowed her up, but as it was doing so she signed herself with the sign of the cross and the dragon burst open so that the virgin full of the grace of God could come out of the dragon whole and unhurt and more certain of the love of God than she had been before. As she was praising God, an ugly and terrifying devil came to her seemingly in the shape of a man, but before she could look at him she prostrated herself and prayed devoutly. As she was prostrate the devil grasped her by the hand and told her to cease and no longer torment him, and to be content with what she had done to his brother. Then she seized him by the hair and cast him to the ground, putting her foot on his neck and beating him, crying "Lie there beneath me, my enemy." "Ha" he said, "I cry mercy, young virgin; you have defeated me." She replied "Then tell me now who you are and what has brought you here". "Since this is your pleasure I will now tell you everything, only remove your foot a little and I will tell

you all my life and not lie by a single word". She loosened her hold a little and he said that his name was Belzebuth and that he had come to harm her and to battle with her, to avenge his companion who had appeared to her as a dragon and whose stomach had burst open. "I delight in always battling Christians. I make them betray their faith; while they sleep I wake them from their beds so that they may go rob their neighbors or commit any other sin to which I feel they are inclined. When I can hold any of them in Hell I boil and torment them. So your father served me and also your mother and all your lineage. If I cannot overcome your courage you will have exceeded your parents for you have taken up Christianity, in spite of which I have power over you and have always opposed you and put you through torments and illness and beatings. You will suffer worse if you do not quickly do the bidding of Olibrius, who has the power to deliver you from martyrdom." When the virgin heard all his story and rant she gave it nary a thought but prayed our lord God who had put her in that place though she had never harmed anyone. Then our lord Jesus Christ opened up the earth and in that place there was a great movement when the virgin left it. Next the tyrant thought to assemble the people and have the virgin brought before him. He told her harshly and publicly, "Think of your case; hear me and leave your God and take up my law. Otherwise I will put you to death and end your days in torment". She answered that neither threats nor torments would make her leave her creator or give up her faith. When he saw that she held so firm he had her stripped naked and had torches brought with which he had her sides burned. He then told her to believe him and to leave Jesus and believe in Mahon instead. She answered that she would not for all the gold in the world. At this he became incensed and had a pot brought and filled with boiling water to kill her with, first having her hands and feet tied fast. When she was plunged into the boiling water she prayed to God with all her strength: "God our father who comforts Christians through your virtue, break these bonds so that I may escape and live and bless your name". When she had finished her prayer the earth shook all around, the sky opened up suddenly and a white angel descended from it, carrying a crown, which he placed on her head. Then the angel told her "Come, friend; you will have eternal life. Do not be astonished, sister Margaret, for God loves you with the highest love. The crown that I have brought you and with which god has crowned you so well signifies that you will come to be with us through your martyrdom; God is summoning you". As soon as the angel had spoken thus she fainted away. Her bonds were broken and she got out without any harm having come to her. Seeing this, those who had been around began to praise the name of Jesus Christ and to believe in Him and to leave their law behind. There were more than five thousand that the provost put to death in great pain and torment. Then he commanded that Margaret be brought publicly before him and that she be beheaded because she was converting all the people and exhorting them to believe in the faith of Jesus Christ. Then one of the tyrants seized her and without a cry or admonishment wanted to cut off her head, but the Virgin asked him to wait a little while so that she could make her prayer. Seeing that she was right, he answered that she could pray at will. At that she kneeled and began her prayer: "O Jesus Christ my redeemer, all must honor, praise, fear and serve you, for you suffered Death for us and the most bitter Passion to undo our sins and be resurrected on the third day and afterwards to ascend to heaven to open up paradise that was forbidden to us by the sin of our parents. Humbly I praise and thank you for the good that you have done for me in my life. Furthermore, I beg you to take my soul into your Kingdom and into your Being and to preserve it from now on from the enemy in Hell and the martyrdom and torments of death that I am about to suffer. Also forgive these people and have mercy on them, for they do not know what they do. Also have mercy on those who will remember my passion and who will call on me with great devotion in their times of need. Keep them from adversity and afterwards I pray that you will not forget the women who will call on me in childbirth when they will have read my passion, my grave torments and my martyrdom. Let their pain finish quickly and their fruit attain baptism." When the happy young virgin finished her prayer a voice descended from heaven and answered her, saying "God has heard your prayer; he will do what you ask and has granted you even more than you wished, for those who will call on you wholeheartedly will have their sins forgiven. For you, God will forgive all those who call on you and call out your holy name; be assured that this is true. Now go and receive your martyrdom. God has asked this of you, for the angels have been sent to the gates of paradise to await your soul." She

told the tyrant that he was free to do as he pleased with her. Her head lowered, she bared her neck and the proud one did not wait another moment to cut off her head with a single blow. Thus the soul flew straight to heaven of which the saintly and blessed virgin is guardian.

Prayer to Saint Margaret for pregnant women: My lady Saint Margaret, worthy virgin chosen by God, who served Him in your youth full of wisdom and grace, who suffered torment and grave martyrdom for the love of God, who split open the dragon and defended yourself from the tyrant, who vanquished the enemy of Hell in a prison sealed with iron bars. You who called many times on God when your head was going to be cut off, especially so that women who are with child might turn to you wholeheartedly and ask for your help so that God might preserve them from peril and come quickly to their aid. I beg you, honored virgin and noble martyr, fortunate in your blessed passion and your blessed prayer, to pray God for me and ask Him sweetly in his mercy to comfort me in the pains that I must suffer without peril to my soul or body. Let my child be born healthy and safe so that I may see it baptized well and joyfully. And if it should live, I pray that He will give it his love and grace. Thus may it blessedly be that your holy glory serve the heavens and serve those who are in similar cases so that they may be saved by you.



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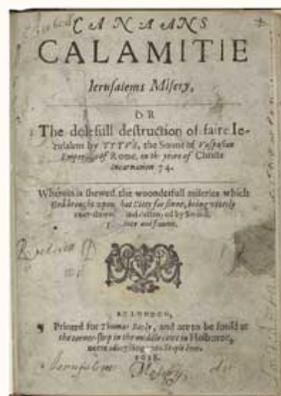
- ▶ Lisa Voigt

## A Mother's Cannibalism and Inverted Eucharistic Ceremony in a Seventeenth-Century Dramatic Text

Suzanne M. Yeager, Fordham University

Ritual, by its very nature, demands to be replicated, and its component forms can change over time. It would also seem that some rituals contain core elements that, when adapted beyond a certain point, create parody or ritual failure. Such is the case in the inversion of liturgical themes seen in medieval and early modern depictions of the destruction of Jerusalem. The play, *Canaan's Calamitie*, printed in 1618, belongs to an extensive tradition relating the Roman destruction of the holy city in 70 C.E. (Folger 6494).

This grim subject matter was of long-standing interest to western European audiences, as different versions of the event were adapted by Christian authors shortly after first-century Jewish chronicler, Josephus, wrote of the siege in *The Jewish War*. Since its historical occurrence, the siege has been remembered by Jewish communities worldwide, who memorialize this second fall of the Temple, along with that of the first, on a day of mourning called the 9th of Ab. By the fourth century, the Josephan account was revised by a Christian writer, Pseudo-Hegesippus, who fictionalized that the Romans were Christianized in the mid first century, and had destroyed Jerusalem and its Jewish citizens in order to avenge Christ's death, rather than out of loyalty to Caesar. This rescripted Christian remembrance would take on a life of its own in subsequent Christian histories of the siege, and in liturgical apparatus, biblical commentary, romance, poetry, prose, and drama.



While dramatic productions of the siege of Jerusalem are not yet known to have taken place in England before the fifteenth century, earlier versions of siege plays performed in France may have influenced their appeal elsewhere. In England, because so many source materials related to the siege were available during the early seventeenth century, it is difficult to trace direct lines of influence. *Canaan's Calamitie* shares unmistakable characteristics with past accounts of the event found in such English sources as John of Tynemouth's *Historia Aurea*, the fourteenth-century alliterative romance *The Siege of Jerusalem*, and its "offspring," the fifteenth-century works *Titus and Vespasian* and *The Siege in Prose*. By the seventeenth-

century, *Canaan's Calamitie*, attributed to Thomas Dekker, and probably written by the contemporary Thomas Deloney, showed continued attention to the siege. That these events held public interest is seen in the publication of an identical, printed text of *Canaan's Calamitie* which appeared again in 1677 (Folger D861; contains the missing C gathering of the 1618 text).

Though many details of the siege narrative have changed over time, one constant figure has been the cannibalistic mother, a victim and villain of Jerusalem's destruction. There are over a dozen different episodes key to the siege narrative related in past texts, but the text of

1618 offers only a handful. These include descriptions of Jerusalem's riches, prophecies of the city's demise, depictions of Jewish starvation, a mother's cannibalism, and the sacking of the Temple. *Canaan's Calamitie* focuses most of its attention on the episode of the mother's anthropophagy, which occupies 30% of the play, and is greatly embellished in comparison to the previous centuries' versions of the episode. Josephus alludes to it in one line of his history, the medieval accounts give it a stanza or two, while the seventeenth-century version expounds upon it in over six folio pages, included here.



The portrayal of a starving Jewish mother roasting and eating her own child has been adapted to fit the needs of its writers. Josephus says that he included it in his account as proof of scriptural prophecy against the city (Lamentations 2:20). Premodern and early modern writers have treated the scene variably. In the medieval romance, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, and its sources, the name, "Mary," has been given to the cannibalizing mother.

The play text of 1618 follows suit, giving its hungry protagonist the cognate, "Miriam." This provocative naming is first in a long line of ironies that make this text an interesting early modern commentary on the siege, the Eucharist, as well as the Jews and religious "others." Along with drawing out the length of the episode, and increasing its pathetic nature with mother and child's dialogue about their hunger, significant adaptations of *Canaan's Calamitie* include double entendres that verge on the macabre: Mariam laments that her son will not attain "ripened" years, or maturity, to "feed" and clothe her in her old age (sig. D4r). Likewise, allusions allying Miriam to the Virgin Mary abound, as she refers to herself as a "poor handmaiden" (sig. E2r) and is in a constant state of lamentation, echoing Mary first at the Annunciation, then at the foot of the cross. Other references hold Eucharistic resonance; when Miriam offers her belly as a "tomb" for the child (sig. D4v), images of the Virgin's womb as reliquary come to mind. This figurative interpretation was embodied in statues of Mary which opened to reveal a pyx, or alternatively, an image of the Trinity or crucified Christ, within. This type of ecclesiastical object, the *vierge ouvrante*, existed in England and the Continent. Finally, along with Miriam as Virgin and sacred receptacle, we see Miriam as priest: cutting her son's body into pieces, she serves him up on a table furnished richly with fine linen and silver trenchers, similar to preparations for the Eucharist upon the altar, and offers his body to her guests (sig. E1v).

In earlier versions of this episode, an English, orthodox Christian medieval audience would have interpreted the gross literalizing of the Eucharist to reflect on then-current attitudes toward the Jews; for this text, like its earlier relations, shows the Jews as a people blinded to symbolic meanings of scripture and the Mass. The sacrifice of Miriam's son would in this sense have been seen as finite and non-redemptive, compared to that of the body of Christ which the Christian priests were believed to recreate on the altar for nourishing the soul. For a Christian, non-Catholic audience of the seventeenth century, this episode would, perhaps, have had a different effect, as the inverted signs and symbols would have underlined questions over the efficacy of ritualized eating, the Eucharist, and the powers of the priesthood; such challenges would have been related to contemporary Protestant polemic and rejection of transubstantiation. The image of the failed ritual, or parodic Eucharist, can

produce still more interpretations, and illustrates well the flexible nature of the symbolic underpinnings of a most deeply revered, and sometimes deeply questioned, ceremony.

## Suggested Readings

Image of a mother's anthropophagy at the siege of Jerusalem, taken from a fourteenth-century Book of Hours ("Neville of Hornby Hours"): see London, British Library, MS Egerton 2781, fol. 190r.

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# Scenes Unseen: Ritual Performance and Theatrical Performance in Early Modern England

Matthew C. Hansen, Boise State University

Director Peter Brook has written about theatre as an empty space – a space that performers, in collaboration with audiences, through imagination, movement, and voice must fill. The empty space, the space of imagination, is also precisely what we encounter when we look for religious ritual on the Shakespearean stage. Looking closely, one will find that for all of the ceremony,

spectacle and display that the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries value, they also privilege certain kinds of performances by keeping them always and only in the empty space of the imagination, the off-stage world of what can only ever be seen in our mind's eye.

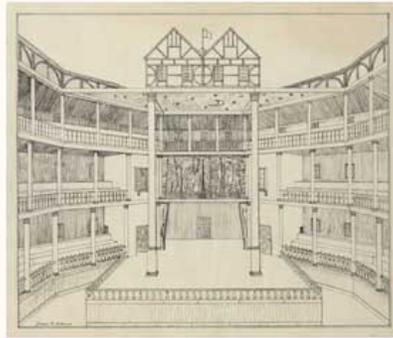


For all their potential as dramatic performances, there are no fully performed baptisms, coronations, or funerals. Nor are there any weddings – at least there aren't any fully performed, on-stage performances of a wedding. Given the ubiquitous presence in film, television, and theater today of wedding scenes that incorporate some or even all of the actual ritual language that enacts a marriage, the absence in early modern English plays of such a richly dramatic and socially significant performance in the lives of so many people is striking. Whether a result of external censorship (for which there is no evidence) or an internally driven sense of propriety, the missing presence of, for example, a fully performed Solemnization of Holy Matrimony in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries demonstrates an awareness of the representational limits of the theatre, especially when the "as if" power of dramatic play ran the risk of undermining community investment in ritual's power to genuinely transform the participants in that ritual to make legitimate and permanent the bonds of Holy Matrimony.

The majority of Shakespeare's comedies end in anticipation of wedding celebrations. When couples do get married during the course of a play, the wedding itself always happens off-stage. Shakespeare's contemporary Thomas Heywood (1573-1641), who claimed to have had a hand "or at least a main finger" in writing more than 200 plays, in his play *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* goes to explicit lengths to display detailed verisimilitude regarding the passage of time in the scene in which two couples arrive for a semi-clandestine marriage. After they exit with a priest for the exchange of vows, the Wise Woman addresses the audience for the space of approximately seven lines about what is going on off-stage. Playing on the language of the actual rite itself – in which the bride and bridegroom utter the parallel phrases, "I take thee [Name] for husband/wife" – the Wise Woman remarks on the "mistaking" that is in fact taking place as the two brides have the same name (Luce). A curious form of comic justice is at work as the play's heroine, known as Second Luce, is at this moment tricking Chartley, who previously promised in bad faith to marry her, to actually

make good on his past promises. The Wise Woman concludes, "I know it is Sir Boniface his custom to make short work and hath dispatched by this"(3.1.113-14) alerting us that enough time has passed for the performance to be complete. Since Heywood is at pains earlier in the play to demonstrate that the Wise Woman really does not possess the fortune-telling powers she professes to possess and carefully reveals her performances of prognostication to be only theatrical, sham performances, the unreal and temporary magic of theatrical transformation is starkly contrasted with the real, genuinely transformative power of ritual performance, a performance that can only be imagined.

Ceremonial structures like the ritual words of Holy Matrimony arguably lose their force – then as now – if placed on stage because when we engage with theater, we collectively agree that what we are seeing is not real, but a shadow of the real. We willingly suspend our disbelief (as Coleridge famously put it), and when we look to the stage, we pretend to see Henry V or Cleopatra and not the actor impersonating that character. This collective agreement is also similar in complex ways to the sort of communal agreement and investment in ritual. The reason the ritual language of marriage is able to transform a groom and bride into husband and wife is because the community witnesses and agrees upon the meaning of the words that the individuals participating in the ritual utter. The similarity of these two forms of community agreement in how theatrical and ritual performance operate make it seemingly impossible for the real performance of ritual to be represented by the "as if" performance of theater.



All of this is not to suggest that people in the early modern world weren't sufficiently sophisticated to know the difference between fiction and reality, between the world of stage plays and the real world outside the theaters. Rather, they understood the complex interplay and similarities between ritual performance and theatrical performance very well. They respected the power of both. One of the ways in which playwrights, actors, and other theater artists in Shakespeare's day

maintained the power of the theater to represent fantasy and ritual to represent reality was to keep the two types of performances separate and make skillful and effective use of the empty space of audience members' imaginations.

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# THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

## GENERAL CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION

### PHYSICS

#### PAPER 4: PRACTICAL SKILLS

##### SECTION 1

###### QUESTION 1

1.1. The diagram shows a circuit for measuring the resistance of a resistor.

1.2. The circuit is connected and the readings on the instruments are as shown.

1.3. Calculate the resistance of the resistor.

1.4. Calculate the power dissipated in the resistor.

1.5. The circuit is connected for a longer time. The readings on the instruments are as shown.

1.6. Calculate the resistance of the resistor.

1.7. Calculate the power dissipated in the resistor.

1.8. Explain the difference between the two readings of the resistance of the resistor.

1.9. Explain the difference between the two readings of the power dissipated in the resistor.

1.10. Explain the difference between the two readings of the current through the resistor.

1.11. Explain the difference between the two readings of the voltage across the resistor.

1.12. Explain the difference between the two readings of the temperature of the resistor.

1.13. Explain the difference between the two readings of the length of the resistor.

1.14. Explain the difference between the two readings of the area of the resistor.

1.15. Explain the difference between the two readings of the volume of the resistor.

1.16. Explain the difference between the two readings of the mass of the resistor.

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## The Ritual Drama of Dying in Late Medieval and Early Modern England

Andrew McCarthy, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

In the later Middle Ages, the *Ars Moriendi*, or "Art of Dying," instructed Christian readers to replace their terror of death with careful preparation for the afterlife. In the early fifteenth century, the lengthy and anonymous *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* was published. A shorter version, popularly titled *Ars Moriendi*, was redacted from this larger tract and translated into every European language, with English copies appearing by the middle of the century. The earliest English version, *The Book of the Craft of Dying* appeared in manuscript form, but William Caxton, first printer of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, printed *The Arte and Crafte to Know Well to Dye* in 1490. These works, with their emphasis on aiding readers to "die well," regulated the process of dying. As a result, death became a type of ritual drama, providing the living with stage directions for appropriately preparing for, entering into, and responding to life's end.

The *Ars Moriendi* maintain a focused argument on the importance of preparing to die, much like the above image with its emphasis on "Memento Mori." Yet these tracts also function as a type of script, complete with question and answer sections to be rehearsed with the dying and prayers that should be read at specific, clearly defined moments. For instance, in one text the living are provided with a series of questions to which the sick should answer "Yea." At the end of this tract, a group of prayers are included that are meant to be "rehearsed," suggesting a degree of performance and that by repeating these prayers in a type of ritual practice, the dying may be brought to a point of complete devotion. Another tract is written in dialogue form, while yet another can best be described as a prose version of a morality play, where the title character interacts with a whole cast of characters, many of whom are identical to those we encounter in the period's drama. Even without these added dramatic elements, the very appearance of the tracts in the mid-to-late fifteenth century and their mission statement to teach men "to learn and have craft and knowledge to die well" serves a script-like purpose. Indeed, the very word "craft" highlights an attention to skill, suggesting that one can acquire, through practice, the ability to successfully perform one's own death.

Despite the production of tracts meant to guide the ritual preparation for death, the question of what constituted an appropriate response to death was one that vexed late medieval and early modern England. In the years following the Protestant Reformation, mourning rituals were under constant scrutiny and subject to repeated revision. Indeed, one need only turn to the English *Book of Common Prayer* to see the complexity of concern regarding matters of grief. While the 1549 "Order for the Burial of the Dead" maintained communication between priest, the dead body, and its soul, by 1552 those ties were severed. The new version of the liturgy, which appeared only three years later, stressed a profound disconnect from the corpse, with the service addressing only the living congregation. The deceased's body was moved from inside the church to outside by the grave, and the separation of the living and the dead was further emphasized by the ritual action of the priest who, at the moment of committal, no longer turned towards the corpse, but faced the congregation instead. Even the Eucharist, the sacrament whose very purpose was a ritualistic commemoration of Christ's sacrificial death, was removed from the burial service. These changes point to a profound and pervasive fear regarding the efficacy of rituals to maintain a connection

between the living and the dead, something reformers hoped to limit as they worked to dismantle the cultural force of Purgatory. Yet this attention to re-scripting mourning also hints at fears regarding the potential of particular rituals to inspire powerful and dangerous emotions in the mourners. These emotions—fear, sadness, grief, and even despair—had profound religious implications, implications that challenged the reformed agenda.

We can trace the tension surrounding the rituals of death and dying in the above image. Much like the goal of the *Ars Moriendi*, readers are encouraged to “Remember to Die” or “Memento Mori,” reminding them that death is an unavoidable part of life. The first line of the verse is an adaptation of Hebrews 9:27: “And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment.” That is followed by the instruction to “think upon Eternity” because everyone ends up like the individual in the burial shroud. The transitory nature of life is emphasized by the variety of images included. Father Time, with his hourglass and scythe, and Death, with his deadly dart, preside over a host of skulls, skeletons, and grave-digging implements. Joined together in this way, these images encourage readers to confront death head-on and turn their thoughts to preparing for the end.

The second half of the verse continues this theme, informing the reader, “And as I am so must you be, / Therefore prepare to follow me.” On the surface, these lines continue the overarching theme of preparation for the inevitable. The individual wrapped in the burial shroud, ostensibly the “I” of these lines, encourages the reader to see him or herself in this same position as a type of sympathetic participation in death. While this does not vary from the message of preparing oneself for the afterlife, the fact that the dead is



communicating with the living returns us to the fears expressed through the revisions to the burial service. Despite the destruction of rituals meant to link the quick and the dead, this message from the grave insists that the past's rituals still linger. Indeed, a fortuitous example of this message appears in the ghostly handwritten note added just underneath the printed text: “Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.” While the last word or so is indistinguishable, the message of this note is clear: though the dead may go to their “long home,” grief exists as a type of emotional afterlife, continuing on in the streets as mourners attempt to come to terms with their loss.

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### The Ceremonies of the Conclave and Print Culture in Baroque Rome

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# The Ceremonies of the Conclave and Print Culture in Baroque Rome

John Hunt, University of Louisville

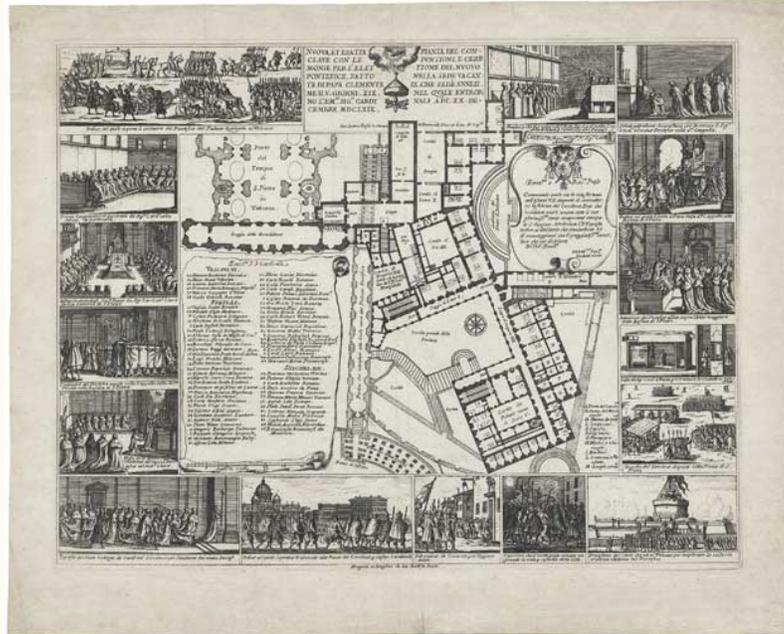
Rituals served many functions in early modern Europe. They symbolized the values and beliefs of the society that enacted and performed them. They also could unite or divided members of the society who participated in them. Baroque Rome was no different. Popes used rituals to propagandize their power, teach the faithful about doctrine, and to unite the various factions of the city. This all changed with the death of the pope.

The pope's death initiated a period in Rome called *sede vacante*, or the empty seat, in which the papal throne lay vacant until the election of his successor. The vacant see also unleashed a frenzy of violence and ritual disorder associated with the cessation of law and justice in the wake of the pope's death. During this time, the cardinals gathered in the conclave to elect the next occupant of St. Peter's throne. The conclave—which means “with key” in Latin—was traditionally sealed to prevent foreign princes and local barons from influencing the supposedly divinely-guided election. The pope's death and the papal election were heralded and symbolized by a range of popular and official ceremonies. These rituals evolved from the first conclave created by Urban V's bull *Ubi periculum* of 1274. Many of these ceremonies remained a mystery to the populace of the city because the conclave was kept locked except for the main entrance to the Vatican Palace and four *route*, or turning wheels, by which the cardinals received food and drink. To ensure that the entrances were protected several companies of soldiers, a contingent of Swiss guards, and the civic militia all watched over the conclave and St. Peter's Square.

Despite these precautions, information of the political machinations and the daily balloting that occurred within the conclave leaked out into the city and the Curia, that is, the papal court of officials, ecclesiastical courtiers, and messengers. The ambassadors of the great Catholic powers impatiently sought news of the election to send to their masters in Madrid, Paris, and Vienna. No less eager to discover information concerning the election were the people of Rome, who always desired a magnanimous leader, preferably one from a Roman family. Many of them also looked forward to sacking the pope elect's house—a customary and ritualized right that Romans had enjoyed since the papacy's definitive return from Avignon in 1420. The source of these leaks was the cardinals' servants and even the cardinals themselves, who hoped to influence popular opinion. Much of this news, both false and true, spread through whispers and concealed notes passed through the *ruote* of the conclave. Once this information hit the streets, it disseminated either by word of mouth or through hand-written newsletters called *avvisi*. (Since this material constituted state secrets it could never be published in printed accounts.) The papal government—even during the vacant see—closely monitored the activities and output of printers and censored anything critical of the deceased pope, his regime, and the papacy in general.

From the second half of the seventeenth century, the public's curiosity for news of the electoral process spurred printers to publish accounts of papal conclaves. These accounts took the form of conclave maps, which depicted the Vatican and the names and cells of the cardinals who participated in the election. They also illustrated and described in small captions the various ceremonies attached to the pope's death and the conclave. Papal

censors, however, sanitized these accounts to prevent state secrets from being divulged and to conceal the violence that always colored the *sede vacante*. These conclave maps conveyed a sanitized and static view of the vacant see and the papal election. Indeed, by 1655, a standardized map had developed that could describe any conclave, regardless of what actually occurred during the vacant see. Consequently, the public still had to acquire actual knowledge of the politicking and the disorder of the conclave and vacant see through the *avvisi*. What the conclave maps provided was a window into the mysteries of the conclave's ceremonies—albeit a comforting rather than a realistic vision.



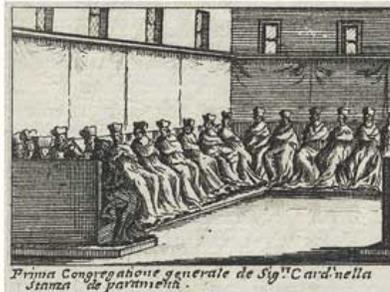
This conclave map was engraved by Giovanni Battista Falda (c. 1640-78), famous for his prints of the fountains and palaces of Baroque Rome, and published by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi (1627-91), a prominent printer in Rome. This print described the vacant see of Clement IX and the conclave of 1670. It includes ten captions that illustrate the funeral obsequies of the dead pope, the ceremonies of the conclave's inauguration, and the rites associated with the election and presentation of the new pope. Listed below are brief descriptions of each of the captions. Taken as a whole, these captions illustrate the official and unofficial rituals of the conclave and what they meant to those who participated in them and viewed them. The last two captions are out of sequence.

**Giovanni Battista Falda, *New and Exact Map of the Conclave with the Functions for the Election of the New Pope Made in the Vacant See of Pope Clement IX* (Rome: Giovanni Iacomo Rossi, 1670) [*Nuova et essatta pianta del conclave con le funtioni per l'elezione del nuovo Pontefice fatto nella sede vacante di Papa Clemente IX*]**



**The manner in which the body of the pontiff is taken from the Quirinal Palace to the Vatican [Ordine col quale si porta il cadaver del Pontefice dal Palazzo Quirinale al Vaticano]**

Immediately after the pope's death, his body was quietly taken in litter from the Quirinal Palace, the pope's main residence in the heart of Rome, to the Vatican Palace, the seat of his court. The body was heavily protected by light cavalrymen and cannon as it made its way through the city. Although this ritual was done with utmost secrecy, the mournful procession of soldiers signaled the pope's death to the city at large.



*Prima Congregazione generale de Sig.<sup>ti</sup> Card. nella stanza de paramenti.*

**First general congregation of the Lord Cardinals in the dressing room [Prima Congregazione generale de' Sig.re Card. nella stanza de paramenti]**

On the first day of the vacant see the College of Cardinals met to provide law and order in the wake of the pope's death and the cessation of his law. The Cardinal Chamberlain, head of the chancery, assumed full leadership of the conclave and the state.

He and the other cardinals chose two officers: the Governor of the Borgo, who was responsible for the protection of the conclave and the surrounding district (known as the Borgo) and the General of the Church, responsible for the papal army during the vacant see.

**Nine-day obsequies that the Lord Cardinals perform in the Choir of the Lord Canons of St. Peter's [Essequie novendiali che si fanno da Sig. Card. nel Choro de Sig. Canonici di S. Pietro]**

To broadcast and commemorate the pope's death, the cardinals held nine days of private funeral obsequies in the Choir of the Canons at St. Peter's. Only the cardinals and other powerful members of the clergy attended these ceremonies. On the first day, in the presence of the papal court and Masters of Ceremonies, the Cardinal Chamberlain broke the Fisherman's Ring, the symbol of St. Peter's legacy, and the papal seals used to make bulls and laws official. This signified that the deceased pope's law had ceased, that the vacant see had started, and that the College of Cardinals now held governmental responsibility. Funeral masses for the dead pope were held each day. The nine days of funeral obsequies also gave cardinals residing outside Rome time to make the trip to the conclave in order to take part in the election.



*Essequie novendiali, che si fanno da Sig. Card. nel Choro de Sig. Canonici di S. Pietro.*

**The pontiff's body is exposed in the Chapel of the Most Holy Trinity in St. Peter's Basilica [Cadavre del Pontifice esposto nella Cappella della SS.ma Trinità]**

For the first three days of the vacancy the pope's body was displayed at the Chapel of the Most Holy Trinity in St. Peter's for pilgrims and locals to view. The pious kissed the pope's slippered foot and begged forgiveness for their sins. They treated the deceased pope's body as if it were a holy object, as attested to by diarists and newsletter writers who commented on the hordes of people crowding around the body to see and touch it.



*Cadavre del Pontifice esposto nella Cappella della SS.ma Trinità nella Basilica di S. Pietro.*

**The Mass of the Holy Spirit for the election of the new pontiff in the aforementioned choir [Messa dello Spirito S.to per l'elettione del nuovo Pontefice nel sud.o Choro]**

On the day of the opening of the conclave, the cardinals all gathered in the Choir of the Canons where they would hear a mass



*Messa dello Spirito S.to per l'elettione del nuovo Pontefice nel sud.o Choro.*

asking for the Holy Spirit to inspire them to elect a wise and pious leader of the Church. The cardinals would also hear a sermon exhorting them to put aside factional loyalties and personal desires during the election.



**Entrance of the Sacred College of Cardinals in the conclave for the election of the new pontiff [Ingresso del Sacro Collegio de Card. nel Conclave per l'elettione del nuovo Pontef.]**

The Cardinals made their way to the conclave on the tenth day after the pope's death. Each cardinal was greeted by the Duke Savelli, whose family traditionally held the title of Warden of the Conclave, and by the Masters of Ceremonies. Crowds gathered outside the conclave cheered their favorite candidates as the Masters of Ceremonies read aloud their names with much fanfare. Afterwards ambassadors and Roman nobles met the cardinals to remind them to keep their candidates in mind as they took part in the election. Spanish and French ambassadors regularly gave factional leaders in the conclave lists of candidates acceptable to their sovereigns.

**The method in which food is carried to the Lazy Susans of the conclave for each cardinal [Ordine col quale si portano le vivande alle Ruote del conclave per ciascun Cardinale]**



The conclave was to remain entirely sealed except for the main entrance and four *route* each guarded by men under the command of Duke Savelli. The *route* were turning wheels on which food and wine could be taken to the servants of the Cardinals. They were a major source of leaks and rumors emanating from the conclave. Cardinals and their agents passed notes between each other by means of the turning wheels. They also whispered to one another at the turning wheels, sometimes employing a cant, or a secret language, that no one else could understand.



**Freeing of the prisoners who have committed light crimes [Liberazione de Carcerati per leggier delitto]**

At the death of the pope, prisoners who committed less serious crimes—debtors and petty thieves—were released from Rome's four prisons by the civic militia. The release of the prisoners reflected the cessation of the dead pope's judicial authority. The more serious prisoners—murderers and heretics—had already been transported to the fortress Castel Sant'Angelo once the cardinals knew that the pope was near death. Although imprisoned for slight crimes, the release of these prisoners accounted for a great deal of the violence and disorder, as they sought revenge against the persons responsible for placing them in the papal jails.

**The Caporione with many armed men goes patrolling during the night for the protection of the city [Caporione che con molta gente armata la notte per custodia della Città]**

The vacant see unleashed a spate of violence as Romans took the law into their own hands now that the pope's law ceased to function. Consequently, murders and vendettas spiked

during the vacancy. To keep the peace, the civic government of Rome sent out the *Caporioni*, the head of the civic militia, to patrol the city at night. There were fourteen *Caporioni*, one for each quarter of Rome. The *Caporioni* were prominent notaries, lawyers, and noblemen of their neighborhoods; their militiamen were artisans and shopkeepers.



**Procession of the clergy who go to the Vatican to beg for the prompt and excellent election of the pontiff [Processione del Clero che va' al Vaticano per implorare la sollecita et ottima elezione del Pontifice]**



For the duration of the conclave, processions of clergymen marched to the Vatican to spur the cardinals to elect a worthy leader of the Church. Laymen enlisted in confraternities were also marshaled in the work of soliciting divine assistance for election. The Cardinal Vicar organized this program of the prayers and processions among the confraternities in order to ask God to inspire the cardinals in the conclave.

**The cell of the Lord Cardinals and the Lazy Susans through which food is introduced into the conclave [Cella de Sig. Card. e Ruota p introdurre le vivande in Conclave]**



Each cardinal had a cell in which he stayed for the duration of the conclave. Cardinals brought books, wine, and other items to pass the time between ballots. Some cunning cardinals whose cells faced the courtyard of the Belvedere would bore holes in their walls in order to pass notes to servants and agents waiting outside.

**Adoration of the pontiff seated on the Great Altar of St. Peter's Basilica [Adoratione del Pontifice assiso sopra l'Altar maggiore della Basilica di S. Pietro]**



Once the election of the pope was decided and announced, the other cardinals sat him on the Great Altar in St. Peter's Basilica where they performed the ritual of adoration. Based on the Adoration of the Magi and filled with feudal overtones, the cardinals knelt before the pope and kissed his foot, then his hand, and finally his cheek. In these ways, they recognized him as the Vicar of Christ and the legitimate father of the Church.

**The manner in which the pope is carried from the said chapel to St. Peter's Basilica [Ordine col quale si porta il Papa dalla detta Cappella alla Basilica di S. Pietro]**

After the adoration of the newly elected pope, the cardinals placed him on a litter and bore him to the balcony overlooking St. Peter's Square where he was introduced by the Cardinal Deacon to the waiting crowd with the words, "Habemus Papam!" (We have a pope!). The pope then performed the first act of his new office: blessing the crowd, which had come to St. Peter's Square, having heard of the election by word of mouth and from salvoes fired

from Castel Sant'Angelo. It was only in the nineteenth century that the papal ceremony adopted the ritual of the white smoke to herald the pope's election.

**The first adoration that the Lord Cardinals take with crosses to the new pontiff in the said chapel [Prima adoratione che prestano con le crocie li Signori Card. al nuovo**



Ordine nel quale si porta il Papa dalla d<sup>a</sup> Cappella alla Basilica di S<sup>to</sup> Pietro -

#### **Pontefice nella detta. Capella]**

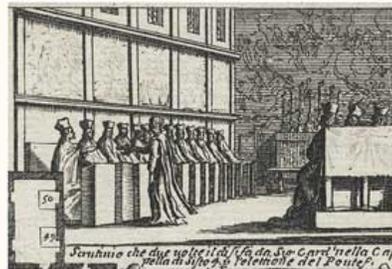
Before the adoration at the Great Altar in St. Peter's, the cardinals would recognize the new pope by presenting crosses to him in the Sistine Chapel. They would then perform the ritual of adoration, thereby recognizing his legitimate election.



Prima adoratione che prestano con la crocie li Sig.<sup>ni</sup> Card.<sup>ali</sup> al nuovo Pontefice nella d<sup>a</sup> Cappella -

**times a day in the Chapel of Sixtus IV for the election of the pontiff [Scrutinio che due volte di si fa da Sig. Card. nella Cappella di Sisto 4 per l'elettione del Pontefice]**

During the conclave, the cardinals held ballots daily in which they voted on the candidate of their choice. These were called scrutines. The candidate who received a two-thirds majority would be elected pope and then recognized through adoration by all the cardinals. Gregory XV established the definitive rules for the scrutiny and papal election with his bull of 1623. The papacy did not change the rules established by Gregory until 1978.



Scrutinio che due volte si fa da Sig. Card.<sup>ali</sup> nella Cap.<sup>ella</sup> di S<sup>to</sup> Sisto 4. per l'elettione del Pontefice -

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## Triumphal Arches

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### *Arabia Britannica* and “The Device at Soper Lane End” from Thomas Dekker’s *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604)

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### The Dutch Arch in the Entry of James I in 1604 on the occasion of his Royal Coronation

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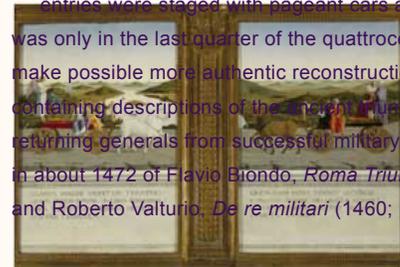
▶ Christopher Bilodeau

▶ Lisa Voigt

# The Triumphal Arch: From Imperial Rome to Renaissance Civic Ceremonies

Marcia B. Hall, Temple University

Italian Renaissance princes needed models for ceremonies to celebrate the secular state and its rulers that were different from those of the church. For such models, they naturally turned to antiquity and particularly to imperial Rome as the most noble and prestigious model. In the fourteenth century and first three quarters of the fifteenth century, victorious entries were staged with pageant cars and a gloss of all'antica motifs, (Strong 44-45). It was only in the last quarter of the quattrocento, however, that materials became available to make possible more authentic reconstruction. Texts redacted and published by humanists



containing descriptions of the ancient triumphs granted by the Roman senate to honor returning generals from successful military campaigns began to appear in print. Publication in about 1472 of Flavio Biondo, *Roma Triumphans* (written in 1447-59; published in Mantua) and Roberto Valturio, *De re militari* (1460; published in Verona) quickly stimulated

responses. These came first in print and only later as actual re-enactments.

When Andrea Mantegna undertook to paint a nine canvas procession re-enacting the Triumph of Julius Caesar for his patron, the Gonzaga duke of Mantua, he had access to these sources, as well as to the descriptions of Livy, Appianus etc. Mantegna's antiquarian interest in the visual culture of ancient Rome, fostered in the Gonzaga court, gave his triumph a verisimilitude that made it "the most influential visualization of the Roman victory parade ever" (Beard 154). The Roman triumph was adapted as the model for civic rituals, first in Italy, then spreading all across Europe. When Charles VIII invaded Italy in 1494, he was repeatedly welcomed in the manner of an ancient Roman emperor (Mitchell). "Indeed it was these wars that gave a reality to the military triumph as a festival form" (Strong 45).

Engravings after Mantegna appeared before the end of the fifteenth century (Martindale; Levenson et al). In 1504, a woodcut collaboration in Venice, based on the textual description of a triumph of Scipio Africanus by Appianus [Historia Romana, Bk. VIII] produced a series of twelve images with so many similarities to the Mantegna series that it seems likely that the designer, Benedetto Bordon, knew Mantegna's paintings at first hand and not just from the engravings and drawings in circulation (Armstrong). These are the materials that provided the models for the royal entries, coronation processions of emperors, kings, queens, and popes that would be enacted all across Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In his canvases, Mantegna had recreated the entire victory procession. But the triumphal arch, which would become an indispensable centerpiece of royal triumphal celebrations, appeared only at the end of the series, framing the crowning with laurel of Julius Caesar. Curiously, Bordon's engraved version omitted the arch. Another monumental project gave central focus to the arch and would prove immensely influential, like Mantegna's designs, because it too made use of the new medium of engraving and so circulated all over Europe. Maximilian demonstrated the use that all'antica imagery could be put to in the service of

royal image making. He commissioned an extraordinary paper triumph, composed of 137 separate woodcuts, presented an arch covered with reliefs and explanatory text celebrating the ancestry and achievements of the emperor's life, and a frieze-like procession.

Dated 1515 and created in the workshop of Albrecht Dürer, the arch only vaguely resembles the Roman models, principally in its triple openings. Its gothic form would inspire many of its northern European progeny. This visual and verbal presentation also anticipated the printed festival books recording royal spectacles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were circulated to allies and enemies alike in order to impress upon them the power of the celebrants and enhance their prestige.



The same year that Maximilian's triumph was commissioned, important triumphs were staged both south and north of the Alps. In Florence, when the Medici pope Leo X made his triumphal return to his native city, fifteen arches were installed along his route of entry to welcome him. In Bruges, the entry of the future emperor Charles V to celebrate his attainment of his majority was marked with a ceremony described in the contemporary account of Remi du Puy: "the Italian merchant communities, or colonies, of the city paid their respects to the new sovereign by erecting 'ung arc triumphal a l'antique.'" This is the first triumphal arch mentioned in the Netherlands (Silver 1990), and the event was one of the first to be recorded in an illustrated booklet (Silver, 2008).

It is by means of such printed records that we know something about the appearance of the arches that marked the ceremonial processions of, for example, Henri IV in 1549 and the processions preceding the coronations of Elizabeth I in 1558 and James I in 1604. On the latter, see the accompanying essays by Bernardette Andrea, Caitlin Finlayson, and Nancy Kay.

The still new media of printing and engraving made possible the spread of these models across Europe. The detailed depiction that Mantegna provided in his triumph, made possible by his obsessive study of the material culture of ancient Rome, was valuable to princes north of the border of the Roman empire who did not have access to an authentic visual record or to original models. The Hapsburg fantasy provided a prototype for inscribing whatever messages of genealogy, history, or propaganda the celebrant wished to convey with images and allegories, either in the universal language of Latin or in the vernacular.

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## *Arabia Britannica* and “The Device at Soper Lane End” from Thomas Dekker’s *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604)

Bernadette Andrea, University of Texas at San Antonio

The production and publication history of King James I of England’s inaugural progress into London is riven with false starts, upstarts, and disappointments. Adopting the Italian Renaissance revival of the imperial Roman triumph (Hall, “The Triumphal Arch in Renaissance Civic Ceremonies”) and continuing the native British tradition of civic pageantry, the officials of the City of London began preparing for a royal entry upon Queen Elizabeth I’s death on March 24, 1603, and the proclamation of King James VI of Scotland as her successor the same day. These entertainments, originally scheduled for the king’s coronation on July 25, 1603, had to be deferred for a year due to an epidemic that killed more than 30,000 people (Dutton 19). On March 15, 1604, the entertainments were revived for the king’s ceremonial entrance into London for the commencement of parliament. Although Thomas Dekker originally had been commissioned to write the speeches for all the pageants, by the following year his rival Ben Jonson had intruded to compose the speeches for the first device at Fenchurch and the final one at Temple Bar, which combined mechanical and emblematic elements (Bergeron 236-37). The Italian and Dutch merchants sponsored two others (Kay, “The Dutch Arch in the Entry of James I”). Dekker was assigned three devices in the middle of the processional route (Finlayson, “The Garden of Plentie”).

Dekker was also awarded the commission to write an account of the entire progress; however, Jonson scooped him by publishing his highly self-serving version a month prior (*Ben Jonson his Part of King James his Royal and Magnificent Entertainment*). Ultimately, Jonson’s tract was recalled, and Dekker’s remained the “official” version (Smuts 498). Two other accounts were published around the same time: the spectator Gilbert Dugdale’s *The Triumph of Time* and the architect Stephen Harrison’s *Arches of Triumph*. All four versions are collated in *Thomas Middleton: Collected Works* (2007) as “The Whole Royal and Magnificent Entertainment of King James through the City of London, 15 March 1604, with the Arches of Triumph,” by Thomas Dekker, Stephen Harrison, Ben Jonson, and Thomas Middleton. I cite this collated edition in my analysis, but “The Device at Soper Lane End” was solely by Dekker. He, like Jonson and Middleton, was disappointed by the king’s lack of interest in their carefully crafted speeches, many of which were not performed as planned (Dutton 21-22). Nonetheless, they were printed in their full detail, with additional commentary and annotations (Bergeron 9-10).

“The Device at Soper Lane End” contains an intriguing figure of *Arabia Britannica*. We can understand its inclusion from two angles: within the tightly integrated symbolism of the device itself and within the sequence of the entire entertainment. Dekker begins by describing the arch: “Within a large compartment mounted above the forehead of the gate, over the frieze, in capitals was inscribed this title: NOVA FÆLIX ARABIA” (253). Smuts translates this Latin title as “Happy New Arabia” (253); Dutton adds “New happy (fruitful) Arabia,” noting that Arabia was “traditionally thought of as ‘faelix’, being abundant in spices,

etc.” (66n5). While both glosses are literally true, neither mentions that “Arabia Fælix” was a term applied by the Roman imperialists to the region also known as Yemen on the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula. (The ancient Greek geographer Ptolemy earlier described Yemen as *Eudaimon Arabia*, which means “happy” or “blessed.”) The Romans divided up the territories from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean into Arabia Fælix (Yemen), Arabia Deserta (the desert interior of the Arabian peninsula, including Mecca and Medina), and Arabia Petraea (greater Syria, centered in Petra), having occupied only the latter. While Yemen was not part of the Roman Empire, it was incorporated into the Persian Sassanid Empire, which immediately pre-dated the Islamic era. From 630 CE onwards, Muslim rulers controlled Yemen. In addition to its renown as a source of cinnamon and other spices, Arabia Fælix was esteemed from the Roman era to the Renaissance for rare and precious resins such as the frankincense and myrrh mentioned throughout the Bible. Perhaps most famously, the “wise men from the east” bring frankincense and myrrh as gifts to the newborn Jesus (Matthew 2: 1, 11, King James Version). Another biblical figure, Sheba, who played court to Solomon (2 Chronicles 9: 1), was reputed to be the queen of Yemen. James, as king of Scotland and England, styled himself the New Solomon destined to encompass Great Britain under his beneficent imperial rule (Nichols 1: 350n1; Parry 29-32; Applebaum 334-40).



This connection between Arabia Fælix, or Yemen, through the analogy of King James with Solomon, helps explain the rest of the opening description:

The most worthy personage advanced in this place was *Arabia Britannica*, a woman attired all in white, a rich mantle of green cast about her, an imperial crown on her head, and a sceptre in one hand; a mound [a globe with a cross on top] in the other, upon which she sadly leaned; a rich veil under the crown, shadowing her eyes, by reason that her countenance (which till his Majesty's approach could by no worldly object be drawn to look up) was pensively dejected (253).

Ironically, the surviving visual record of the arch by Harrison “does not depict Arabia Britannica at all” (Bergeron 80). Still, the written record of the pageant closes with *Arabia Britannica* looking “cheerfully up” as King James passed, an unveiling followed by a speech from a boy “figuring Circumspection” (254). This speech reinforces the imperial theme by praising James as a descendent of the Trojan Brutus, who was thought to have founded London or “Troynovant” (254). *Translatio imperii*, or the transfer of empire from Asia to Europe, thus proceeds to the “Great monarch of the West,” King James himself (254). As a result, he wears “a triple diadem” or imperial crown, which implies sole sovereignty over his realm (Canny 1; Parry 8-9, 16).

James's realm, now expanded to include England and its colonies, is ultimately compared to “[a] new Arabia, in whose spicèd nest/A phoenix lived and died in the sun's breast” (254). The phoenix is a mythical bird, known to the ancient Greeks but perhaps derived from the Phoenicians, “said to live for five or six hundred years in the deserts of Arabia, before burning itself to ashes on a funeral pyre ignited by the sun and fanned by its own wings, only to rise from its ashes with renewed youth to live through another such cycle” (OED). Geoffrey Whitney, in *A Choice of Emblems* (1586), describes “The Phoenix” as “unica semper avis” or “the bird that is ever unique.” Elizabeth, as a “female king,” was often depicted this way, as in the famous “Phoenix Portrait” (c. 1575), attributed to Nicholas Hilliard. James, who is praised as “that sacred phoenix that dost rise/From th'ashes of the first: beams from thine eyes/So virtually shining that they bring/To England's new Arabia, a new spring” (254), is thus not only Elizabeth's heir but also Solomon's.

The internal references to *Arabia Britannica* in the device itself are therefore primarily classical and biblical, with no mention of Elizabeth's and James's engagement with the

Islamic powers of their era (Schmuck). Although Elizabeth had forged economic and political ties with the Ottomans and Moroccans and attempted to do so with the Persians, neither the English crown nor the English trading companies had established trade in the Arabian Peninsula. When the East India Company first attempted to trade in the region via the Red Sea on its third voyage from 1607 to 1610 the results were disastrous (Barbour).

Yet, if we examine "The Device at Soper Lane End" in the context of the entire entertainment, we can see that its references to Arabia resonate with contemporary engagements with the Islamic world that concerned King James directly. Specifically, the pageant immediately prior, sponsored by the Italian merchants, features Apollo, the classical Greco-Roman god of the sun, "pointing to the battle of Lepanto fought by the Turks, of which his Majesty hath written a poem" (246). This sea battle between the Holy League (an alliance among the Papal States, Spain, and Venice) and the Ottomans took place in the Eastern Mediterranean on October 7, 1571 (Paulson and Alvarez-Detrell 15-28). It resulted in the unexpected victory of the Christian forces over the Muslims. As such, it was widely celebrated by Catholics and Protestants in Western Europe, despite the continuing expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Mediterranean (they captured Cyprus from the Venetians shortly thereafter) and Eastern Europe (they laid siege to Vienna in 1529 and again in 1683). James, prior to taking up the English throne, published a long poem, *The Lepanto*, contributing to this ideology of Christian triumphalism (Craigie 197-259). The reference to *Arabia Britannica* in "The Device at Soper Lane End" underscores this connection, even if contemporary allusions are lacking in the device itself.

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## The Dutch Arch in the Entry of James I in 1604 on the occasion of his Royal Coronation

Nancy J. Kay, Merrimack College

Royal Entries provided late medieval and early modern sovereigns with the ideal stage on which they could display their own particular brand of power to their new subjects and assert national unity (Wisch and Munshower). Since the largest foreign groups in major urban centers often erected their own triumphal arches on these occasions and participated in the processions, the study of Royal Entries also grants scholars unique access to the preoccupations of foreign nations at a particular moment and place as well as valuable insights into international relationships (Hood). Furthermore, the universal language of classical motifs and symbols, allegories, personifications, and genealogies that constituted the building blocks of design for these ceremonial objects could break through the usual cultural and linguistic barriers of communication. This provided foreigners with a powerful voice with which to address both their host city and its visiting sovereign.

The Dutch arch that was erected for the Entry of James I into London in 1604 is an excellent case study in this regard. James's entry was the most lavish one that London had ever mounted (Archer). In addition, the Dutch spent more money and employed more workers to produce their arch than the city of



London did proportionately on any one of theirs. The Dutch also surpassed the Italians, who were the only other foreign group to sponsor an arch for this particular occasion.

James's Entry of 1604 also constitutes the first time in the history of English spectacle that the designer of the triumphal arches was celebrated by name (Bergeron). The English joiner Stephen Harrison is traditionally credited with transforming the ideas of Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Middleton for all seven arches into visual form (Harrison). However simple this historical development might seem, though, a closer investigation of non-English sources underscores the need to be aware of possible political and national biases that can lead to incorrect attributions. It turns out that the Dutch artist Conrad Jansen was actually responsible for the design of Dutch arch and that several of his fellow countrymen assisted him in its execution (Hood).

Since at least the beginning of the sixteenth-century, English monarchs had successfully lured Flemish artists into their service (Brown). However, Netherlandish merchants did not start taking up residence in London in mass until after 1585, when Spain regained control of

the southern provinces and forced Protestants to either convert back to Catholicism or flee. By 1604, there were more than 7,000 Dutch immigrants in London, which comprised the largest single group of foreigners in the city at that time (Rubright 26).

It should also be noted that that illustrations of lost triumphal arches in general tend to present these ceremonial objects completely without a physical context (Thøfner 7).



While this adds to the ritual mystique of the depicted event, it can mislead scholars into thinking that the placement of these ritual objects within the larger urban setting is not important. However a closer look at the Dutch arch demonstrates that just the opposite is true.

The Dutch arch was erected in front of the new Royal Exchange. This building was



completed in 1570 and was modeled after the well-known one in Antwerp (Saunders). Furthermore, the London version was inspired by Thomas Gresham's decades long service in Antwerp as an agent of the English crown, designed by the Antwerp architect Hendrik van Passe, and executed by a team of Antwerp builders (Louw). English workers were actually provoked to violence over this particular use of immigrant labor, which prompted city officials to intervene on their behalf. Ultimately the success of the Exchange helped to catapult the city into a world-class metropolis just as its prototype did for Antwerp before it was embroiled in prolonged warfare (O'Brien).



The displaced Dutch community augmented this strategic position with an iconographic agenda. Through word and image, they made an

appeal to James to help them overthrow the Spanish tyranny in their homelands and restore the Low Countries to their original state of Seventeen United Provinces (Hood). The two panel paintings closest to the eye-level of James depicted allegories of war and peace. Above that, they acknowledged James's legitimacy with the usual trope of ancestor portraits. However, the Dutch strategically singled out the English rulers who were known for advancing the Protestant cause. Their point was to emphasize that this was the very cause for which they had been exiled from their homeland. Most important was Edward VI, who had established the nearby Dutch church in London on the site of the expelled Austin Friar house (Pettegree).

The design of the Dutch arch also paid homage to the city of London by acknowledging its ancient Roman origins. This was expressed through another ancestor portrait of King Lucius, who according to local legend not only brought Christianity to the region, but also founded the churches of Sts. Peter and Paul that were important stopping points along the same processional route as their arch (Smith).

A fruitful comparison can be made between the Dutch triumphal arch of 1604 and an earlier one that the English merchants of Antwerp erected for the Royal Entry of Prince Philip II of Spain into that city in 1549 (Schryver).

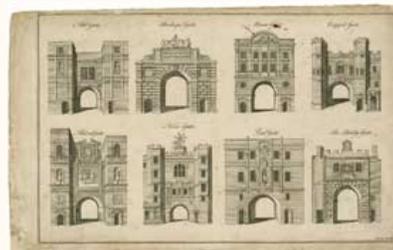


Here, the English represented themselves as Britannicus and chose as their main subject, portraits of Saint Helen and her son, the Emperor Constantine the Great.

John Stowe mentioned these two figures as the founders of the original gates, walls and main thoroughfare of London, which formed the main leg of its royal processional route (Stowe).

Ironically in this arch, the

English pledge their eternal loyalty to Philip and the Habsburg house. By 1604 though, England was neither Catholic nor loyal to Spain. With a more recent history of forming alliances with Protestant countries, the Dutch exiles in London had reason to hope that James would be sympathetic to their cause and work on their behalf.



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# *The Garden of Plentie* in Stephen Harrison's *The Arches of Triumph* and the 1604 Royal Entry for James I

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Most modern historical and literary commentary on English Renaissance pageants deals almost exclusively with the authors' printed texts, partly because access to details of performance is limited, and records of the central focus, the device, are regrettably rare. For example, our only visual records of the London Lord Mayor's Shows are the contemporary drawings of Anthony Munday's *Chrysanaleia* (1616) held by the Fishmongers' Company (the show's sponsor) and Abram Booth's eyewitness drawings of Dekker's *Londons Tempe* (1629). However, there exists one detailed visual record of the devices (that is, the specific material devices or arches with its accompanying figures) for the royal entry of 1604 and selected excerpts from different commentaries on these devices which, until recently has been chiefly relegated to the context of "illustration." It is only when we acknowledge the centrality of the visual image or device to the pageantry of something like a royal entry that we fully understand the event. The performance of James I's royal entry into London in 1604 is an excellent example. This event produced multiple textual iterations in the literary market place. The royal entry's primary author, Thomas Dekker, produced the official account of *The Magnificent Entertainment* but was scooped by Ben Jonson who published an unauthorized account of his contribution to the entry, *His Part of King James, His Royal and Magnificent Entertainment*, which was ultimately recalled (Smuts 498). The architect, Stephen Harrison, prepared an illustrated folio of the royal entry's triumphal arches entitled *The Arches of Triumph*, which was printed by John Windet, the city's official printer, and sold directly from Harrison's "house in Lime-street" (K). Rounding out this collection of occasional texts is Gilbert Dugdale's unofficial, quirky eyewitness report, *The Triumph of Time*. Just as the performance was a collaborative event involving multiple pageant authors (Middleton, Dekker, Jonson), artificers, actors and musicians as well as city, state and foreign government officials, so also is the textual account of the royal entry subject to competing, and often contradictory, versions by multiple authors.

Harrison's folio presents the architectural designs for the seven arches of the royal entry, five of which he designed. Engraved by William Kip, the volume provides a rare base to explore how pageantry melds the visual and verbal, as well as the dramatic performance and the literary text. Harrison's folio is our first full set of illustration for an English pageant (Bergeron, *English* 73). This unusual text combines Harrison's architectural designs with a descriptive narrative, to which he appends commendatory verses by Dekker and John Webster, excerpts of speeches from Jonson's *His Part of King James, His Royal and Magnificent Entertainment* and Dekker's *The Magnificent Entertainment*. *The Arches of Triumph*, as a composite text, blends the distinct visual narrative of Harrison's designs with performance material from the royal entry and his observations on the day's broader occasional context. Since spectacle is the crux of pageantry, Harrison's text provides a unique opportunity to explore fully this relationship between visual and verbal.

One example will suggest directions for further study. Harrison's illustration of *Hortus Euporïae*, or *the Garden of Plentie* device is accompanied by his description of the material

device. In conjunction with Harrison's text, I will briefly discuss Dekker's divergent literary account of this arch and its attendant drama.



Harrison's illustration of the *Hortus Euporiae*, or the *Garden of Plentie* arch, situated at the Little Conduit in Cheapside, is distinctive among the royal entry's arches. Unlike the other arches, it is not an ordered classical design with Corinthian columns, which thereby evokes the form's Roman origins in the celebration of military triumphs, nor does it employ reproductions of London's contemporary architectural landmarks, evoking the city as the stage of this ritualized procession. Instead, *The Garden of Plentie* arch, as Harrison describes it, is organic, a "greene bower... Artificially hung with Pompions, Cowcumbers, Grapes, Cherries, Peares, Apples, and all other fruits" and "Flowers, made by Art"

(G). The three domes (perhaps an allusion to the three Kingdoms unified under James: England, Scotland and Ireland) that crown the arch are overgrown with vegetation. While the other arches are ordered with clean lines, this device is wild, vegetative, playful and, at points, vulgar. Structurally and historically, behind this arch lies the Roman arch, but Harrison strips it of its traditional military associations and accoutrements. The half-man, half-goat figures of Sylvanus (god of the woods) and two sylvans playing cornets (a type of bass trumpet) spill out from the confines of the arch itself into the page's textual margins; this is the only illustration that is not firmly contained and ordered. With their cloven hooves, goat tails and horns, these figures (performed by boy actors) evoke satyrs, appropriate to the uncontrolled vegetative fecundity of the arch. At the foot of the stairs in the middle of the arch are situated two wooden "satyrs" (G). Additionally, at the base of the arch are carved four satyrs, legs vulgarly splayed with manifest sexual organs. The foundation of this device, then, is wild, natural and sexually suggestive, which then builds upwards to figures representing the Muses and Liberal Arts, perhaps suggesting nature tamed and controlled by man's intellect, and then the commercialism of Gold and Silver, all under the auspices of Peace and Plenty. Angel wings are playfully added to these carved satyrs, which, added to the bizarre vegetable profundity of the arch, create an arresting and intriguing image that is by no means fully explicated by either Harrison or Dekker. Dekker's text, in fact, though containing an *objective record* of the arch, ignores many of its visually intriguing elements, effectively diminishing its full visual power.

This summer arbor is presided over by Peace, accompanied by her daughter, *Euphoria* or *Plenty*, "never from her side" (Dutton 76). This is a celebration both of Peace and its economic benefits, here significantly personified by the crowned characters of Gold and Silver, holding a globe "in token that they commanded over the world" (Dutton 77), who sit immediately beneath Peace and Plenty. Dekker's *The Magnificent Entertainment* overall identifies James as Peace, who has suppressed War in the realm, "the peaceful presence of their King," and more specifically in the Temple Bar Arch in which, beneath the feet of the principal character Peace, Mars (or War) grovels (Dutton 91). *The Garden of Plenti* device ends with a speech by Vertumnus, the "master gardener," of which Dekker only records the "tenor" (Dutton 81) or general impression. Notably, Vertumnus' speech concludes with an entreaty for continued peace and plenty: "praying His Majesty not to forget this poor arbor of his Lady" (Dutton 82). In a speech to parliament in March 1604, James lauds the benefits of peace, highlighting (as Dekker does) its economic benefits, "for by peace abroad with their neighbours the towns flourish, the merchants become rich, the trade doth increase, and the people of all sorts of the land enjoy free liberty to exercise themselves in their several vocations without peril or disturbance" (Houston 69). This image and Dekker's analysis is an early literary representation of James as Peacemaker.

A second theme is announced by Dekker's explication of the tier below Peace and Plenty, - the main tableau of the nine Muses (Choristers of Paul's) and seven Liberal Arts, which

flank either side of Ceres and Pomona (performed by boy actors). Overhead the prolific vegetation of artichokes and roses (Dutton 80) acts as an architectural connective between the parts of the arch, and within the arch an array of vast vegetables take the place of the captured arms of the defeated which frequently decorated triumphal arches, reinforcing the parody of the military history of triumphal arches, a point lost to Dekker. Located at the Little Conduit, the arbor evokes Hippocrene, the Muses' fountain of inspiration; Harrison tells us the Conduit "ran Claret wine very plenteously" (K). Sylvanus greets the King at the opening of this pageant by quoting Virgil's *Eclagues*: "Alter Apollo redit, novus en, iam regnat Apollo" or 'A second Apollo returns; see, he is new; now Apollo is King' (Dutton 75). By casting James as Apollo, the God of poetry, music, and inspiration, as the King encounters an arch that displays the Muses and the Liberal Arts (or Sciences, according to Harrison), Dekker represents James as not only the patron but also the progenitor of the arts and of learning. James was a prolific writer, as well as initiator of the new translation of the Bible, and a patron of the arts; the allusion associates him with the flourishing of humanist, classically-derived culture in the period: "Arts that were threat'ned to be trod under foot by barbarism now (even at the sight of His Majesty, who is the Delian patron both of the Muses and the Arts) being likewise advanced to most high preferment" (Dutton 82). Here, the visual text of Harrison's arch both compliments and directs the intellectual statement of Dekker's literary text.

In addition to questions regarding the relationship of the printed text to the performance it purports to record, Harrison's illustrated folio and Dekker's literary text demonstrate the frequent divergence in Renaissance pageantry between visual iconography and literary explication. Following his description of the arch, Harrison appends Dekker's accompanying speech by Sylvanus. However, a significant passage on the absence of Peace in other kingdoms and the world's envy at Britain's peaceable estate in Dekker's account of Sylvanus' speech is excised from Harrison's edition, raising questions about the differences between Dekker's explication and Harrison's conceptual emphasis. Dekker clearly goes beyond what is represented in Harrison's visual image. A further disparity between performance and text is asserted by Dekker when he states in reference to this arch: "his Grace was (at least it was appointed he should have been) met on his way near to the Cross, by Sylvanus" (Dutton 75), suggesting the slippery vicissitudes of performance. Similarly, atop the middle dome on a globe stands Fortune, according to Harrison, depicted as naked with a billow of fabric arching over her head. Fortune, architecturally the peak of the design, finds no expression in Dekker's text, a major omission and difference in his conception of the arch's allegory. Flanking Fortune, atop the two other domes, are a lion rampant (alluding to the Royal Coat of Arms of Scotland) and a greyhound rampant (a heraldic beast that sometimes supported the Royal Arms of England, particularly under Elizabeth), again pointing to the unification of the kingdom by James, but, again, not described by Dekker. These are just a few examples of many of such textual discrepancies. Architect and pageant writer each contributes to this complex collaborative art form but their representation of this ritualized spectacle is subject to a complex and varied range of individual conceptual concerns and commercial motivations.

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## Introduction

Heralds not only designed and recorded coats of arms, but they also managed orders of precedence and a number of public ceremonies, from tournaments to funerals. Their books provide invaluable – and underutilized – sources for ritual and ceremony, not just in details of the events themselves, but sometimes in suggesting interpretations or revealing habits of thought that guided people's responses to the world they lived in. The visual iconography of heraldry also supplied a lexicon of symbols for use in ceremonies, rituals, and spectacles. Heraldic miscellanies at the Folger contain materials that range from the fanciful (mythical accounts of the origins of heraldry) to the practical (measurements and drawings of how to build a hearse for an earl).

Three examples give a small hint of the diversity of materials available. One, from 1583, is a pair of heraldic pedigrees of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary that is described in an essay called [Politics by Pedigree](#). While superficially objective, the pedigrees reveal the genealogical problems of Elizabeth's reign; the less accurate Scottish pedigree records but does not emphasize the lineage that made Mary a claimant to the English throne, and which her son James ultimately achieved.

The second example is a page on Irish nobles from Edmund Tillney's *Topographical Descriptions, Regiments, and Policies of Italy, France, Germany, Spain, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (which actually includes significantly more than the title promises). Tillney, who for years was Elizabeth's Master of Revels, intended his work as a diplomatic handbook for government. For each country, Tillney includes an alphabetical listing of major families and their arms. As is discussed in an essay titled [Edmond Tillney and the Wild Irish](#), the careful attention to each family's race shows the intense racial politics driving English policy in Ireland.

The third example introduced in [Heraldry and the World beyond Europe](#) looks at how heraldry could be used in understanding Europe's relation to non-European societies. A page from a sixteenth-century collection of the arms of the European nobility begins by listing kings and emperors from antiquity and the east to set the larger context, and seventeenth-century printed book were explicitly interested in "knights" from Asia and America.

This is only a small sample of what is available in the Folger collections. There are accounts of processions, which, when compared, can give a sense of what is emphasized in one event as opposed to another. There are genealogies. There are ordinaries of arms (descriptions of common devices, sometimes with comments on standard meanings, and lists of who bears those devices), or alphabets of arms (with the lists of arms arranged by the names of the bearers), or visitations (in which a herald records the arms of all the

armigerous families in a given area), or peerages in which lists of the arms of the great nobles are given. There are rules for jousts and orders of precedence, instructions for funerals with allowances for cloth, discussions of nobility and legendary histories of heraldry.

In addition to the accounts of rituals and ceremonies in these heraldic miscellanies – funerals, coronations, processions to parliament – these books provide a vast and varied language of culturally significant symbols. Heraldry provided a powerful basis for ceremonies in general, and these examples show the range of issues that could be addressed by the heralds.

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## Politics by Pedigree

A heraldic pedigree can covertly reveal interesting politics. In 1583, the relations between Queen Elizabeth of England and Mary, Queen of Scots, were troubled both politically and dynastically. (An extended description of the situation can be read in [Succession and Stability](#).)

It is under these circumstances that these pedigrees were drawn up. Although currently bound in the middle of Folger V.b.74, these pages are numbered 1-4, so they were the beginning of some other project. Page 1 is headed "the Q.s Maiestys Petegree, 1583" but it is a record of the kings and queens of England, ancestors of Elizabeth or not, and it omits generations that did not rule, such as Edward the Black Prince. It thus betrays its interest in political succession rather than genealogy. Each marriage is marked by impaled arms – meaning the husband's and wife's arms are displayed on the same shield, the husband's on the viewer's left, the wife's on the right (for unmarried monarchs, their arms cover the whole shield).



Second marriages are rarely noted. Richard II, for instance, is listed as married to Anne of Bohemia, without mention of his second wife Isabella of Valois. An exception for some reason is Henry IV: his second marriage is noted, even though it was childless and thus not crucial dynastically. The major break in the pattern, however, is Henry VIII. The first hint of trouble is the inclusion of the arms of Arthur, Henry VIII's eldest brother. Arthur was married to Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's first wife – and Henry's marriage was valid only if Arthur and Catherine had never consummated their marriage – an issue debated when Henry and Catherine married and then resurrected when he sought to have the marriage annulled. The herald explains none of this, and Arthur's arms are not quartered with Catherine's, but the dead prince's presence on the pedigree is silent testimony to the controversy that follows. The herald then indicates the political and dynastic turmoil of Henry's reign by listing all



of Henry's wives. Only Catherine of Aragon's arms are impaled with Henry's. The rest consist of the wives' arms alone – including Anne Boleyn's, Elizabeth's mother. Visually, moreover, the sudden appearance of the women's arms disrupts the stately procession of kings. They are followed by the signs of crisis: Edward VI, his arms not impaled because he died unmarried, without descendants. Mary's arms, impaled with the arms of Spain, but

without issue. The last entry is stark: Elizabeth's lonely arms, not impaled, and the caption "Q E. vnmarried." Two blank shields represent the succession that must somehow follow.

This is a very different pedigree from the one presented upon Elizabeth's entry into London before her coronation -- in which Henry VII and his queen Elizabeth, then Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn were presented -- providing a visual simplicity that did not hint at the genealogical complications.

The following opening in the miscellany gives Queen Mary of Scotland's pedigree in abbreviated fashion (apparently similar to the list of kings given in the 1560 Hamilton Armorial, now at the College of Arms, with a transcription available [here](#)). It begins with the arms of Bellioun [Balliol], who was named king in 1292 during the First Scottish War of Independence, but then skips back to Malcolm III (who died in 1093) and his wife Saint Margaret -- this is the Malcolm that defeats Macbeth. It then jumps forward to Robert Bruce, gets muddled about David, and continues to the Stuarts. The last two shields are Mary's, one as the wife of the King of France, one as the wife of Lord Darnley; Bothwell is not mentioned. Her arms are Scottish; they are not quartered with England's, the way she (or more properly her father-in-law, Henri II of France) had changed them in 1558 to reflect her claims to the English throne. Both marriages are represented by impaled arms, unlike Henry VIII's later queens' arms. Even though Mary had abdicated and her son James VI had succeeded in 1567, he has no shield; his reign is noted only in the caption beneath Mary's second marriage. (A later hand has written in his succession as English king in 1603.) Why did the herald not draw in James's arms? It could be nothing more than a sense of symmetry, since the last two shields had been blank in Elizabeth's longer pedigree. It could be the problem of having a queen who still thought of herself as the rightful queen of Scotland still alive while her son reigned. Or, possibly, it could show some sympathy to her claims.

Heraldry cannot be absolutely neutral. These four pages show full, if discreet, awareness of the troubles facing two embattled queens as they struggled to use one another.

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## Edmond Tillney and the Wild Irish

Irish politics were nasty at the end of the seventeenth century, and they were driven by ideas of race. The “wild Irish,” resistant to English rule and English custom, were often described as savages, most famously in Edmund Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Even worse, there was fear that English settlers, instead of civilizing the Irish, were degenerating into Irishness. Obviously, early modern ideas of both race and nation are different than modern ones. The extent to which this racialized understanding of the state of Ireland was present in Elizabeth’s government is suggested by a large diplomatic handbook compiled by Edmund Tilney or Tyllney.

Tilney is perhaps best known as Queen Elizabeth’s Master of Revels and the official censor for sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century drama. He was thus intimately involved with a number of ceremonies and spectacles. Towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign, however, perhaps with an eye of securing his position at court after her death, he compiled a huge tome about the lands and governments of Europe, apparently for use as a diplomatic guidebook for government officials and ambassadors. It exists in two manuscript versions, one at the Folger (V.b.182), and one slightly later version at the University of Illinois (Pre-1650 MS 0109).

After a few dense pages on theories of government, economics, and law, he includes sections on most of the European countries, with maps (pasted from printed atlases), sometimes pictures of the rulers (likewise cut from printed works), descriptions of the lands and cities, and histories. He includes descriptions of ceremonies as well, sometimes as practical diplomatic information – how the Ottoman Emperor grants audiences – and sometimes as symbols of the way a society is structured, as when he concludes a class-by-class description of the English social hierarchy with a description of one of Elizabeth’s processions and the order in which the people marched, apparently as an example of how English society was structured.

Each country’s description ends with an alphabet of arms – that is, an alphabetized list of the major families with their arms, and with additional relevant information given. For the Spanish, he comments on their wealth; for Italians and Germans, he makes note about who has fought, or who is obligated to fight, against the Turks.

When he described Ireland, it quickly becomes apparent that, unlike in most countries, including Spain, diplomacy is being driven by theories of race. Each Irish family is identified by race, usually Irish or English, but occasionally something else, such as British or Danish. The sample page shows the technique: a page, with blank spaces left for information to be filled in later, with very brief notes on each family. This is in marked contrast to his treatment of the other families in Europe, and shows racial politics were most intense closest to home.



But even as racial difference is carefully marked, the regular array of heraldic devices marks a class sameness, providing no visual marker of the differences the captions inscribe.

## Suggested Readings

Streitberger, W.R.. *Edmond Tylney, Master of Revels and Censor of Plays: A Descriptive Index to his Diplomatic Manual on Europe*. New York: AMS Press, 1986.

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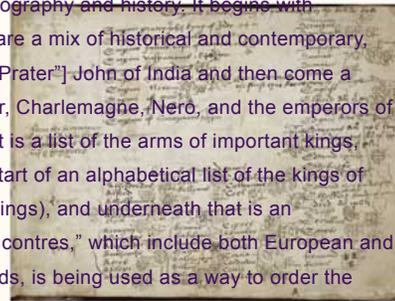
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## Heraldry and the World beyond Europe

Folger V.a.337 is described in the card catalogue as “A miscellaneous collection of heraldic material relating to European and English families, ca. 1540.” The opening page, however, contextualizes that material in terms of world geography and history. It begins with emperors (the highest rank), and the emperors are a mix of historical and contemporary, European and Asian. First is Emperor Prester [“Prater”] John of India and then come a mixed list that includes Julius Caesar, Alexander, Charlemagne, Nero, and the emperors of Constantinople, Greece, and Persia. To the right is a list of the arms of important kings, including the biblical David. Underneath is the start of an alphabetical list of the kings of England (including Arthur and other legendary kings), and underneath that is an alphabetical list of the arms of “kings of strang contres,” which include both European and Middle Eastern countries. Heraldry, in other words, is being used as a way to order the world historically and geographically, and its scope reaches well beyond Europe.



The habit of using heraldry to describe the world lasted well beyond the middle of the sixteenth century. Printed books in the Folger's collection do so far more extensively and explicitly. For example, Elias Ashmole, whose books were the foundation of the Ashmolean Library at the University of Oxford, was also a herald. His *Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1672) contains a survey of orders of knighthood around the world. After looking at European orders, he goes further, summarizing Aztec orders of knighthood, with the distinctive haircuts and badges distinguishing the Eagle, Lion, Tiger, and Grey “knights” and then the knights of the Incas and the Japanese, with the ceremonies for creating these knights. For the Japanese, instead of focusing on the domesticated samurai, he talks about the “bonzoes,” (*bozu*, Buddhist monks), likening them to religious orders in Europe.

Ashmole's inclusion of the Aztecs, Inca, and Japanese reveals the importance of ritual and ceremony in understanding foreign cultures. Ashmole looks to the ceremonies of knighthood to reveal something of the worth of the societies he discusses. That he includes two kingdoms from the Americas and one from Asia in his work on knighthood may surprise those who read eighteenth- and particularly nineteenth-century attitudes back onto the seventeenth century; while the seeds of the later colonialist discourses were certainly present, they were not yet dominant and unchallenged, and there was a European discourse of respect for certain non-Europeans and acknowledgement of common ground with them.

Ashmole was by no means singular. He cites his sources in the margins, and other, earlier works also try to understand Asian and American cultures through their rituals and their knights. For instance, André Favyn's *Theater of Honour and Knight-hood*, a translation of

which was printed in 1623, describes Mexican heraldry and then provides a fuller account of lands of the "Indies," including their heraldic arms and an account of the badges and privileges of scholars and mandarins in China and a discussion of Aztec knights (of the Crown, of the Eagles, of Lions and Tigers, and Grey Knights).

Heraldic materials often communicated, sometimes quite concisely, historical and geographical knowledge of the world, in traditions that interact with but are distinct from more familiar, more literary sources. To those who were heraldically literate, they provide valuable information about the social structure of the world. They used other societies' ceremonies as windows into their structure, the bonds and the hierarchies, the holidays and rituals that shape countries.

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## Succession and Stability

By 1583, Queen Elizabeth had ruled England successfully for twenty-five years – and she had managed to keep the Catholic powers of Europe from uniting against her. But she was unmarried and childless, so the succession was uncertain. The closest heir by blood was Mary Queen of Scots. Mary, however, was Catholic. This was ominous for English Protestants. Furthermore, Mary's ambitions extended further than being heir. She thought she should be the legal queen of England already, since Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII's second wife, Anne Boleyn – and if the divorce of his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, was illegitimate, as Catholics believed, then Elizabeth was a bastard with no claim to the throne she had sat on for a quarter century.

But Mary had worse problems than Elizabeth did. In 1583, Mary had been a prisoner of the English for fifteen years. This did not involve a drafty cell, of course: she was a closely guarded guest in a series of English aristocratic houses. Mary had grown up in France and had been married to the King of France, François II – until he died at the age of fifteen. She returned to Scotland, and for a time was Elizabeth's rival not just for crown and territory but also for a suitable husband. She eventually chose a most unsuitable one. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was tall and handsome, with enough English royal blood in his veins to strengthen Mary's claim to the throne. He was also vain, violent, and churlish. He murdered Mary's close friend David Rizzio in front of her. When, less than two years after the marriage, he was strangled and his lodging blown up with gunpowder, it seemed the number of suspects was greater than the number of mourners. Mary was high on the list, and she married with shameful speed the man that was highest: James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. This was a step too far, and a coup by Protestant Scottish lords forced Mary to abdicate in favor of her infant son James VI (later James I of England), whom they took from her and raised Protestant. She was imprisoned, escaped, and fled south to seek safety with Elizabeth. Elizabeth did not know what to do with her. Free, Mary was a threat to destabilize Scotland and to ally with France or Spain against England; imprisoned, she was a pitiful rallying point for all of Catholic Europe.

Mary, though imprisoned, used her visitors and her mail to scheme to regain the throne of Scotland and to claim the throne of England – either by being designated Elizabeth's heir or by assassinating her, whichever was easier. In 1583, when these pedigrees were drawn, Mary was doing both – negotiating for a power-sharing arrangement with James that would make her Queen of Scotland again and heir to Elizabeth, and, as part of the Throckmorton plot, conspiring with France and Spain to kill Elizabeth and coordinate a Catholic revolt in England with military help from France and Spain that would establish her as queen of a united England and Scotland and re-establish Catholicism on the island of Britain.

## Suggested Readings

Dunn, Jane. *Elizabeth and Mary: Cousins, Rivals, Queens*. New York: Knopf, 2004.

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## The Spanish Crusade Bull as Triumph and Parody

Patrick J. O'Banion, Lindenwood University

Rituals and ceremonies often became contested territory in early modern Europe. They served as the context within which individuals, groups, and institutions vied to communicate their messages to members of their own community, to allies, and even to rival communities. When, for example, a newly crowned king processed into a city for the first time in a royal entrance, he asserted authority over his subjects. However, he also had to listen to the city's inhabitants communicate their hopes and expectations to him (metaphorically if not audibly) through the creation of displays and monuments, which espoused carefully crafted messages.

The ceremony known as a triumph celebrated victory over an enemy and often saw vanquished foes put on display before the conquering population. But it was possible for one people's triumphal standard to be recast as another's defeated foe. Here, we examine this theme of parodic inversion as it relates to the *bula de la cruzada* (or bull of crusade), which was a crusading indulgence granted by the pope to the king of Spain throughout the early modern period. The significance assigned to ceremonial and ritual objects like the *bula de la cruzada* was inherently unstable and, removed from their original context, those objects could be refashioned and recoded with new meanings, often antithetical to their original purpose.

At its heart, the *bula de la cruzada* was a "plenary" indulgence that allowed its bearer to avoid suffering punishment for sins in purgatory after death. In addition to the indulgence, however, the *cruzada* granted its bearer a wide variety of additional privileges that made it nearly essential to daily life in early modern Spain. For example, a person who "took the *cruzada*" could eat dairy when otherwise forbidden by the church, be absolved of any sin except heresy, and chose his or her confessor rather than being tied down to the local parish priest. Moreover, in addition to such spiritual benefits, *cruzada* takers also received a cheaply printed broadside copy of the indulgence (known as a *buleta*) to keep as their own. All this was theirs for the modest sum of two *reales*. These contributions made their way into the coffers of the Spanish monarch and were earmarked for the defense of the faith against infidels (the Ottoman Turks) and heretics (Protestants). Some 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 *buletas* were printed and sold annually by the end of the sixteenth century.

Every year an army of crusade preachers carried these *buletas* across the peninsula, and at each city and many villages they participated in a ritualized procession often patterned after a triumphal entry. Typically the crusade preacher, followed by other important secular and ecclesiastical figures, led a procession through the city to the main church, while the other inhabitants lined the streets and watched in pious and reverent wonder. At the heart of the procession was an ornate copy of the *bula de la cruzada*, laden with heavy lead seals (*bullas*) that designated it as an official papal document. This document, often depicted as both a conquering hero and a triumphal standard in the procession, was carried under a canopy of rich cloth. Such canopies were reserved for people and ritual objects of the highest honor in moments of transference or movement—kings during royal entrances, popes during processions, consecrated bread and wine on the feast of *Corpus Christi*, or

images of the Virgin at special festivals. Spectacles of this sort were choreographed to reinforce the Spanish abomination for the enemies of the faith and thereby to foreshadow the ultimate destruction of heresy and the triumph of the one true faith.

But the religious ground occupied by the bull of crusade was contested in the early modern period. While Spain saw the theological ideas espoused by religious reformers such as Martin Luther as heretical, Protestants, who followed Luther, attacked indulgences and saw the notion that forgiveness could be purchased as a heretical corruption of the gospel.



King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556-1598) came to view England, which was established as a Protestant state after Elizabeth I's accession to the throne in 1558, as a clear and present threat to the wellbeing of Roman Catholic Europe. Thus, in 1588, under a papal crusading banner, the Prudent King imprudently attempted an invasion—the infamous and ill-fated Spanish Armada. Fire ships, superior English seamanship, and providential “Protestant winds” undid the Armada. A century later, the Englishman Samuel Ward remembered, “In EIGHTY EIGHT. Spayne arm'd with potent Might / Against our Peaceful Land came on to fight; / But winds and waves and fire in one conspire, / To help the ENGLISH, frustrate SPAYNES desire.”

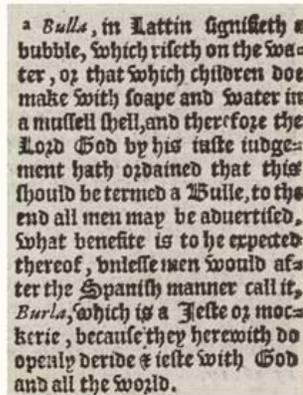
The only time a bull of crusade was printed in England was in the immediate wake of the Armada defeat, when the bull was presented to an English audience as part of the spoils of war. On 14 October 1588, John Wolfe of London made a translation of a *buleta* found aboard one of the Spanish vessels and published it with commentary in a small volume to which he gave the title: *The holy bull, and crusado of Rome.*

Wolfe's translation formed part of a groundswell of memorabilia, pamphlets, and books that appeared in the wake of England's victory. Yet, his edition of *The holy bull, and crusado of Rome* contains unique elements that highlight the way in which ritual objects like the bull of crusade were liable to parodic inversion. In bringing to print a translation of the *crusada* indulgence, Wolfe sought to put the papal bull on display before its readers, even to parade it throughout England. In doing so, he mimicked the actions of Londoners who, in the immediate aftermath of the naval victory, celebrated by carrying the banners, streamers, and ensigns of Spanish vessels from St. Paul's Church Yard to the Cross at Cheapside and thence to London Bridge. In like manner, Wolfe's translation of the *bula de la cruzada* presented the indulgence as a spoil of war. Like the banners, it had “been founde” among the Spanish loot. Indeed, the commentary in Wolfe's volume claimed that bulls of crusade had been responsible for raising the “invincible army (as they terme it).” The crusade bull was to blame for the armada; now that bull, like the Spanish flotilla with which it had sailed, had come to grief.

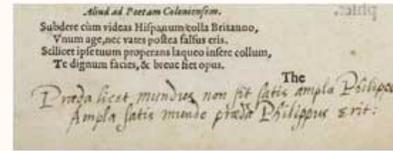
By publishing the translated indulgence, godly Protestants parodied their vanquished enemy and exposed it to public ridicule. The commentary, for example, described the lead seal (*bulla*) that authenticated a papal indulgence as “a bubble, which riseth on the water” or “which children doe make with soape and water in a mussell shell.” The commentator went on to emphasize the impotence of the indulgence by explaining how even Spaniards called the *bula* a “*Burla*, which is a Jeste or mockerie, because they herewith do openly deride & jeste with God and all the world.” The commentary sought to “very plainly set forth” the bull and to compare it “with the testimony of the holy scriptures.” In so doing, the incompatibility of the indulgence with the gospel became apparent. In short, Wolfe's *The holy bull, and crusado of Rome* recast the Spanish *bula de la cruzada* as a defeated enemy paraded in chains before a conquering God. The English would later claim, God blew and His enemies were scattered. The “armado,” as Wolfe put it, “is come to confusion.”



In the early 1580s, King Philip inserted into his royal coat of arms the Latin phrase, *Non sufficit orbem*—the world is not enough. But as the owner of one copy of *The holy bull, and crusado of Rome* noted, in a Latin couplet, “Although the spoils of the whole world aren’t enough for Philip / Philip will be spoils enough for the whole world.” Such inversions give modern readers some sense of the malleability at play in early modern Europe. Meanings were not fixed; they had to be imposed. But once imposed, they could be misunderstood,



a Bulla, in Lattin signifieth a bubble, which riseth on the water, or that which children doe make with soape and water in a mussell shell, and therfore the Lord God by his iust iudgement hath ordained that this should be termed a Bulla, to the end all men may be aduertised, what benefite is to be expected thereof, butesse men would after the Spanisly manner call it, Burla, which is a Jest or mockerie, because they herewith do openly deride & ieste with God and all the world.



Alind ad Petram Colonensem.  
Subdere cum videas Hispanum tolla Britanno,  
Vnum age, nec vares polica fallis eris.  
Scilicet ipse tuum properana laqueo infere collum,  
Te dignum facias, & bene fiet opus.  
The  
Princes heere, mundes, non sit satis ampla Philippo,  
Ampla satis mundo prado Philippo erit.

reinterpreted, twisted. Then, as now, nothing so effectively undid the power of ritual and ceremonial words and objects as their exposure to parody and mockery.

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## Troubled Courtesy: The English Entry of Marie de Médici, Queen Mother, in 1639

Stephanie Seery-Murphy, California State University, Sacramento

*Histoire de l'entrée de la Reyne Mère* recounts Marie de Médici's arrival in England and her grand entrance into London and the court of her son-in-law, King Charles I. Despite the punctilious welcome she received from her son-in-law's court and the crowds who greeted her arrival, Marie de Médici's visit was unwelcome. She was a controversial figure. The period of her regency over her son Louis was tumultuous and marked by several exiles. She was expelled from France in 1631, taking refuge in the Low Countries. By 1639, she was *persona non grata* and announced her intention to visit her youngest daughter. But English popular opinion was opposed to her arrival; her reputation for intrigue and interference had spread across the Channel, and Protestants suspected her of fomenting Catholic subversion. In addition, Charles was heavily indebted; he could ill afford to support his mother-in-law's large retinue, but felt compelled to do so nevertheless. (She would remain in England until 1641, costing the Exchequer about £29,000.) Therefore, her arrival was fraught with anxiety for the Caroline court.

It was also a rare event in Charles's reign. Though festival books commemorated royal entries by James I and Elizabeth I, Charles I disliked public spectacles, preferring to express the aesthetic values of his reign in painting, architecture and masques. In fact, the last Stuart festival display was in 1604, when James I entered into London for his coronation. The tradition lapsed until 1660, when Londoners joyfully welcomed his grandson Charles II to his restored throne. (However, there were lavish ceremonies in other contexts, such as the opening of the Short Parliament in 1640.) Therefore, the *Histoire* marks a historical anomaly. It offers ceremonial evidence of Caroline propaganda and its foreign policies, and hints at religious and political controversies building in the years just before the English Civil War.

Customarily, festival books commemorated royal entries, most of which spanned several days and multiple locations, and involved an extended cast of characters: the royal personage and his or her household; local officials; important clerics, and the general public, who were both observers and participants. Detailed illustrations also depicted the monarch's train or a local procession. There might be images of notable tableaux in a city or town: these were mostly temporary structures with emblems expounding upon an aspect of the monarch's character, whether real or ideal. Many texts also included personifications of kingly virtues, perhaps alongside the monarch's portrait. Accounts of royal entries had limited print runs and were distributed to the monarch's allies or influential subjects. Though such festivals and their texts were in decline by the 1640s, the author, de la Serre, was a loyal monarchist. A prolific writer and courtier, he went into exile with Marie, then returned to France, eventually ending up in the family of Gaston d'Orléans, Marie's son and younger brother of King Louis XIII. De La Serre and his sponsors stressed the greatness of the Stuart and Bourbon alliance even as the Stuart king's power was ebbing.

The Folger copy of the *Histoire* is an exceptionally elaborate example of the genre. It contains a number of hand-colored illustrations. The Folger catalog notes that it has been bound in red goatskin. More impressively, it bears the arms of Cardinal Mazarin, longtime minister of state under Louis XIII and during the regency of Louis XIV. That this copy has survived in such fine condition suggests the Cardinal's sympathies with traditional monarchy and perhaps the queen mother herself.



In fact, the *Histoire* presents the queen mother, her daughter and son-in-law as royal exemplars. Several full-color portraits of Charles, Henrietta and Marie show them beside personified figures of wisdom, justice and magnificence. Ironically, the elaboration of these virtues elides the latent tensions underlying the queen mother's visit. However, Marie could hardly fault the courtesy with which she was treated, or the grandeur of the displays that greeted her as she journeyed towards London. The *Histoire*'s largest illustration, comprised of two folded plates, is obviously the central image of the royal entry. It depicts her entrance into London via Cheapside, which had been part of the royal procession route since the thirteenth century.



In this panoramic view, the queen's carriage passes along the broad avenue, spectators standing at attention behind a low wall festooned with banners. Other city dwellers fill the windows of the houses behind. Armed troops follow in the wake of the procession. Intriguingly, to the far right of the plate, the Cheapside Cross is richly detailed. Cheapside Cross commemorated one of twelve overnight stops made by the funeral cortege of Eleanor, consort of Edward I. (One other, Charing Cross, was also based in London.) Its prominence in this panel is doubtless an indication of the strong royalist stance of the text. It may also be a veiled reference to the 'old faith,' Roman Catholicism, abolished in England since the Reformation. Such an allusion would make sense, considering Henrietta Maria's public Catholic activism – an ongoing source of stress between court and government. In fact, anti-royalist forces would destroy the cross in 1643, at the very beginning of the English Civil War, seeing it as a symbol of oppression and idolatry.



De la Serre's *Histoire de l'entrée de la Reyne Mère* privileged royalist values on both sides of the Channel, despite the fragility of popular support for the English king and his French wife. The Caroline court had long

prided itself in a vision of serene isolation from the religious wars of the continent. However, its portraits of the Stuarts commemorated a dynasty that was increasingly anachronistic and alienated from its own people.

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## Power and Spectacle in the creation of William III as a Protestant hero

Anne Wohlcke, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

*"Of Artificial Fire-works for Recreation, there are three general sorts, viz. Those that ascend or mount in the Air. Those that Consume the Earth: And such as burn on the Water." (The School of Recreation, 26)*

*The School of Recreation: or, A Guide to the Most Ingenious Exercises* (1701) was a popular eighteenth-century English guidebook that featured instructions on "How to make Artificial Fire-works of all sorts for Pleasure." Detailed guidelines described how to shape moulds for rockets and how to create colorful combinations of gunpowder, charcoal, salt peter, sulpher, or pewter for various types of fireworks displays, including "Golden Hair," "Silver Stars," or "Fountains of Fire." Firework construction was included alongside recreations such as hunting, tennis, singing and "the Science of Defence" as activities appropriate for "the Gentry of England, and others, wherein to Please and Delight themselves." This volume's author, "R.H.," recommended partaking in such exercises as recreation rather than business, because "a continual or insatiate Prosecution of any Thing, not only lessens the Pleasure, but may render it hurtful . . ." Nevertheless, crafting fireworks displays constituted a bona fide business opportunity and method of political communication in early modern England.

*The School of Recreation* appeared in the midst of an age of spectacle undertaken to consolidate and celebrate British power at home, in Europe and abroad. The monarchs William III and Mary II turned to a familiar arsenal of political tools for the display of power. Processions, commemorative medals, bonfires and fireworks were spectacles authorities used to communicate political messages in early modern Europe, and all

featured prominently in the coronation of William and Mary. Lavish ceremony and spectacle used as a means to showcase political strength was particularly important during the reign of William and Mary. The two had come to the throne under contestable circumstances. They ascended to power via a "Glorious Revolution," which replaced the Catholic and legitimate monarch, James II, with his Protestant daughter, Mary and her Dutch Stadtholder husband, William of Orange.



The Coronation of William and Mary was hastily planned and featured re-designed traditional symbolism meant both to create an appearance of uncontested right and to communicate the religious and political ideology of the "Glorious Revolution." The coronation of William and Mary included many Protestant features. In a liturgical

change from James II's coronation ceremony, William and Mary's ceremony featured the Anglican Communion service, with the actual coronation occurring in the middle of the Eucharist. Another Protestant element was featuring a Bible prominently in the coronation procession. The presiding Bishop of London, Henry Compton, later presented this Bible to the newly crowned king and queen.

We see a material example of how revolutionary ideas were conveyed to coronation participants in the medals and coins struck for that occasion. Such medals were distributed to coronation participants and also dispersed into the crowd at a particular point during the ceremony. These coins featured images of William and Mary as reigning English monarchs juxtaposed with classically-inspired or emblematic imagery. Messages on these coins undergirded the monarchs' claim to the throne with messages of providence, anti-Catholic rhetoric, and ideas that the monarchs protected English liberty and law. An anti-Catholic identity was an essential part of William and Mary's England, both within and without. William, a cousin of the Catholic Louis XIV, opposed the French king in late-seventeenth-century wars. In 1685, Louis had revoked the Edict of Nantes issued by Henry IV, the grandfather of both William III and Louis XIV. This edict provided protection for Protestant Huguenots in France. With its revocation, Louis XIV established his own Roman Catholic identity, while William III was recognized as a champion of Protestantism.



This role (as champion of Protestantism) was emphasized in the coins and medals struck



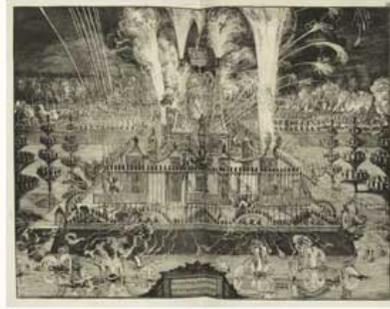
for the coronation. Coin 5 depicted in the image to the left reinforces the anti-Catholic sentiment of the new monarchs. This coin features the busts of William and Mary crowned with laurel, around which is inscribed: "Gulielmus Rex, Maria Regina, Fidei Defensores, Pii, Augusti" or "King William and Queen Mary, Defenders of the

faith, pious, august." The image on the reverse underscores their Protestant ideology and features what Rapin de Thoyras called, "a heap of church-ornaments used by the Papists; a yoke the symbol of slavery, and some serpents half hid... consumed by the fire of heaven." The inscription on the top of the medal proclaims an end to England's reign by the Roman Catholic James II, symbolized by the papal images with, "Haec Summa Dies," or "this is their last day."

William III's rivalry with Louis XIV went beyond warfare and religious identity. He also claimed to represent Henry IV's true legacy within Europe. Three years after his coronation, and in the midst of the Nine Years War, fought between France and a coalition of European states (including England and the Dutch Republic), William III made his 1691 entry into The Hague as King William III and the Dutch Stadtholder. A firework display conducted at the conclusion of celebrations attending William's triumphant, reveals the foundational ideology of his reign.

The engraver Romeyn de Hooghe commemorates William's entry into The Hague in a Dutch festival book. William was welcomed into the city through a series of classically-inspired arches, and the day's ceremonies were concluded with a firework display at the palace. The spectacle took place in a pond within the palace gardens. On a platform constructed for the firework display was a "spacious Theatre" upon which were "several Machines of Timber." Surrounding the theatre were several obelisks "embellished with Devices." Pyrotechnic images depicted emblems and Latin mottos celebrating William's triumphant return to the Dutch Republic. Centrally placed within the theatre were figures of a Lion, Hercules, and a

sun, and a large "W.R." glittered above. Men (visible in Hooghe's image) coordinated the fireworks and lit each display in a pre-determined order. The fireworks were at times obscured by the "fogginess of the Night," but William's strength was nevertheless apparent in the accompanying firing of cannon, muskets and harquebus.



The central feature of the firework display was the figure Hercules placed next to the sun. As a political gesture, William claimed Hercules as a personal symbol. This was a deliberate effort to claim the heritage of his grandfather, Henry IV. Hercules had been a symbol of Henry IV's family and in William's era it was also a symbol of Christian strength. By embracing Hercules as a personal emblem, William depicted himself as a Christian (properly, in his view, Protestant) and Bourbon prince. Watching this display, the audience perceived the superiority of William's branch of the family tree over Louis XIV's, represented, of course, by the sun. When lit, the figure of Hercules spouted "Rays of Fire" from his mouth, as well as a "Number of Serpents and Artificial Fires." In the process, the "Sun was quite consum'd." Hercules' club then began to shoot balls of fire into the sky, "as if were to render Thanks to Heaven for the Victory which he gain'd over the Sun."

Spectacle was an important tool for early modern monarchs, and particularly those negotiating the political and religious minefield of late-seventeenth century Europe. William III and Mary II ascended to the English throne under dubious circumstances, yet they retained their place. In part, their legitimacy was reinforced by the spectacle of their reign, in which they utilized visual language and classical imagery to convince Europe of their rightful claim to the English throne.

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## “The Spanish Match”: Ceremony, Diplomacy, and the Reading Public

Rachel Burk, Tulane University

Christopher Swift, City University of New York

In the spring of 1623, an unprecedented event took place. The Prince of Wales, later King Charles I (1625-1649), and his principal advisor, the Marquis of Buckingham, left London incognito, wearing false beads and using fake names, en route through France to Madrid in order to lobby for the Prince's marriage to a Spanish princess. Upon their unannounced arrival at the Spanish Court, a flurry of hastily planned ceremonies and spectacles honoring the English Prince were performed.

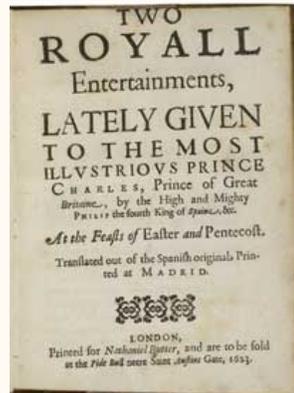
Four short printed accounts held at the Folger Library chronicle this intriguing and pivotal event in early modern diplomatic history: the six-month long visit of Prince Charles to the Spanish Court under Felipe IV (1621-1665). The accounts have informed contemporary debates among historians about Anglo-Spanish relations of the period. Most importantly for our focus here, they emphatically demonstrate a textual attempt to restage the magisterial festivals in Spain for an English-reading public. These written records also illustrate the use of inexpensive, lesser quality printing to reach and influence public opinion.

Such cheap printed editions expanded the reach of courtly ceremonies in early modern Europe far beyond the participants or those who would have read the sometimes lavishly illustrated books that circulated to a restricted audience of European royalty and festival planners. By contrast, the cheaply-produced quartos, octavos, and broadsides like those described here enjoyed a wider circulation to a less influential group of readers. Since the late sixteenth century, the general category of “pamphlet” in printing included news stories like the short accounts of the Prince's trip to Madrid at the Folger. However, the generic borders between polemical pieces, fiction, historical account, travel diaries, and news stories were barely delineated, despite authors' attempts to create the impression of verisimilitude. In the seventeenth century, the court began to recognize the propagandistic utility of pamphlets and, in addition to censorship, distribution of news literature became an important part of shaping public opinion. In fact, it was precisely during the time of the Spanish match that the English government began to assert their authority and version of events through the medium of print news. Latecomers to the field, the court began to understand the value of “controlling message” in print form. However their ability to influence public opinion was tampered by the concerns of Charles and royalists about entering the culture of political controversy so endemic to pamphleteering. Even so, the reports of Charles' trip to Spain were publicity attempts by the English monarchy, written in what we might think of as tabloid-style reporting of the most flattering kind. The increased diffusion of small, inexpensive “reports,” often in the form of first-person accounts, provided for the audience a performative reading experience *in absentia* of the event.

Charles travelled to Spain to secure the hand of the Infanta María Anna, sister to the King, in marriage. However the Folger texts do not describe high-level negotiations on matters of State, as would a newspaper story on an issue of like international significance today. Rather, during his stay in Madrid from March to September, the Prince regularly participated

in ceremonies in his honor and attended festivities. Produced for an English audience, the Folger texts describe a (failed) marriage negotiation conducted through spectacular theatre.

*A True Relation and Journall* and *A Continuation* (of the same) were published anonymously and ostensibly written by a lesser member of the English Prince's entourage. Along with the Prince's daily business, these accounts record events during March 1623 involving the Prince's royal entry in which he received the keys to the city and processed along the ceremonial route of Castilian kings. It is interesting that very little is made of his prospective bride, María Anna; the potential bride and groom meet but briefly, and little is said about reactions of either.



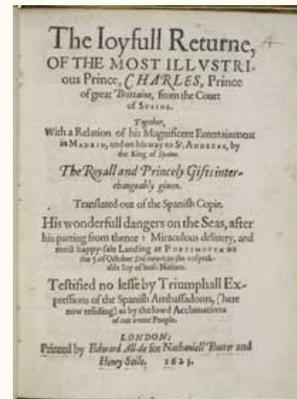
*Two Royall Entertainments*, written by Andrés Almansa y Mendoza and translated for a London edition, narrates a tournament and bullfight given during Easter week in which the Duke of Buckingham and the Conde-Duque de Olivares, Felipe IV's favorite, served as judges.

*The Joyfull Returne, of the most illustrious Prince, Charles, Prince of great Brittain, from the Court of Spaine*, also an English translation of an original account in Spanish, contains this vivid description from the introduction:

What exultations were made at his arrival,

what generall acclamations shouted out his Welcomes: His Magnificent entertainments, princely Feastings, with all the curiosities of Kingly Triumphs, that either sumptuous expences, quicknesse of invention, or the custome and quality of that Countrie could bring forth, have beene already so shrilly sounded out of the Trumpet of *Fame*, that here againe to proclaime them, were set up a Candle, after a Firmament of lights had showne them to the world.

The "sumptuous" imagery of light and sound evoked in this passage provided the reader with a feeling for a ceremony similar to one they may have experienced in the streets of London. Among the various forms of elaborate Stuart pageantry, Londoners were treated to Lord Mayor's Shows on an annual basis and the visit of a royal from one European court to another was almost always an occasion for spectacles and entertainments. As the four Folger accounts describe, Madrid also put its best foot forward for the English Prince, filling his days with bullfights, jousts, banquets, and elaborate processions through the city, some of which imitated coronation festivities.



*The Joyfull Returne* narrates events in Spain through the summer months, and includes the English party's departure from Felipe's court, trip to the Atlantic coast of Galicia, and a dangerous voyage by ship to the English coast. At port, the Spanish account breaks off, and another author, anonymous and presumably British, takes over, concluding with a Romance-inspired narration of high seas adventure with Prince Charles as hero.

In all the accounts, much is made of the splendor of the ceremonies as well as the court itself. To greater and lesser degrees, they paint idealizing portraits of the principal players, both Spanish and English, in hyperbolic, even reverential, terms. (This is especially true of the accounts translated from Spanish, which give luscious details about costumes and fabrics.) Attention is given to creating an overall impression of magnificence in dress and setting, suggesting that they were directed to an audience who did not have regular entrée to the court scenes described. All the Folger reports are told from the perspective of an eyewitness and have an episodic quality, distinct from the crafted narratives told by English pamphleteers and playwrights who also wrote on the event. The news reports include

subjective impressions that give them a greater sense of an author, always a minor player, witnessing the events:

...the streets were adorned, in some places with rich hangings, in others with curious pictures, and eere and there certaine scaffolds were sprinckled, whereupon the bodies of those Councells sat to see, which formerly had beene with the Prince to doe him reverence. (*Journall* 26)

These public displays did not arise effortlessly out of a general mood of cooperation and good will among and between the English and Spanish. There were many detractors of a "Spanish Match" (as it was called in England) and the political implications of the Prince's diplomatic adventure were great. Ceremonies honoring the Prince had to accommodate unusual circumstances: more than just the Prince's unannounced arrival in disguise, the actual presence of an heir to the throne in a foreign court to conduct his own foreign policy was unprecedented. The Spanish Match was a contentious proposition opposed by most of Parliament and many Protestants who were up in arms at the prospect of another Catholic queen. Negotiations would ultimately fail, and Charles would marry a French princess, Henrietta Marie, aunt to Louis XIV and also a Catholic, in 1625.

Nonetheless, a marriage alliance between the royal families of Spain and England had been a prospect with varying plausibility from the beginning of the century. On one side of the Channel, Charles's father, James I, hoped that a match with the Spanish Hapsburgs would lead to an end to the Palatinate Crisis, quelling the demands of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatinate Frederick, that were helping to fuel the Thirty Years' War. The massive dowry of Spanish silver also promised the Crown freedom from Parliamentary control of the purse. Also, a Spanish match would likely have improved the outlook for English Catholics, since restraining persecutions of Catholics in England was part of marriage negotiations. For Felipe IV, on the other hand, keeping England out of European in-fighting through diplomacy was an equally attractive prospect: the neutrality of their island neighbor would allow Spain to focus its efforts on defeating the Protestants in the United Provinces and German principalities.

While there is some disagreement among historians, most acknowledge that the Prince was treated extremely well during his Spanish sojourn and that he was an excellent guest, as well as an attractive mate for the Infanta. At the time of Charles's impromptu visit, despite English Protestant opposition and Papal ambivalence, there was still a real possibility of a marriage between the Spanish Hapsburgs and the heir to the British throne. The fact that a group of pamphlets directed to a general audience were published in the same year as the Prince's visit suggests that public opinion in England was important to the success or failure of this diplomatic mission. Of course, the notion of an English "public" that could have a shared "opinion" was a novel one. Perhaps the Folger accounts discussed here formed part of an early attempt to manage public relations.

Only months after Charles's return home, what had been seen as a success-in-the-making lost favor quickly. Opposition to "The Spanish Match" in England gained the upper hand, and critics let loose vitriolic anti-Spanish pamphlets like the *Vox Populi* and plays like Thomas Middleton's *A Game of Chess*. In Madrid, difficulties arose as papal dispensation to allow the marriage was thwarted by the death of Gregory XV and ascension of Urban VIII, who took time in reviewing the issue once more.

What is striking about the accounts is the absence of any acknowledgement of religious difference. Historians like Robert Cross and Brennan Pursell have begun revising the view of Anglo-Spanish relations as an intensely oppositional confrontation between two monolithic powers at either end of the religious spectrum. Of course, either side would have been very pleased with the conversion of either Protestant Charles or Catholic Infanta to their respective creed, but more important to both monarchies was the role a Hapsburg-Stuart union could play in the northern European wars of religion. In England, of course, it was not just the king whose will mattered. The House of Commons and other anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish factions made a Spanish Match a thorny proposition at best. These



circumstances help explain the initial secrecy of Charles' trip to Spain, but misgivings between the two parties are nowhere to be found in the travel reports. Quite to the contrary, the reports document Charles' observation of processions and sermons through the

many festivals of Holy Week, information that undoubtedly would have angered many Englishmen. The only indication of tension is obliquely alluded to: the Protestant Prince observed the royal Easter Mass from a private chamber that kept congregants from knowing of his presence. *A True Relation and Journall* also relays a powerful symbolic message: the Prince's first face-to-face meeting with the Infanta was on the same Easter Sunday, several weeks after his arrival, during which he offered "the Queene the buenas Pascuas [happy Easter], and passed some other complements of gratitude" (13), a nicety that would not have gone unnoticed to English readers sensitive to portrayals of Protestant-Catholic—as well as English-Spanish—relations.

These fascinating reports raise more questions than provide answers. What were the precise hopes of the Prince of Wales and Marquis of Buckingham as they traveled secretly to Spain? Was the Spanish court apprised of the Prince's arrival before the fact (possibly by the Conde de Gondomar, Spanish ambassador to the English court)? Were the descriptions of clandestine adventure forms of political theatre? Did the many ceremonies and entertainments in Madrid in 1623 produce tangible movement on the part of the Spanish public toward a potential marriage? We do know that, in the end, the courtly performances—and the texts that describe them in positive terms—failed: the marriage was never consummated. Perhaps the textual accounts of regal ceremonies were poor substitutes for the real thing.

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## Theodore de Bry's Engraving of an Amerindian Ritual

Peter Craft, University of Indianapolis



Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590), which was translated from Latin to English by Richard Hakluyt, was important or sensational enough to warrant a second edition that included illustrations. Theodore de Bry based this copper engraving on a watercolor sketch by John White. Within the context of the book as a whole, this

illustration reinforces the colonial project that

the contributors explicitly endorse. In the dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, De Bry expresses his desire to show the "benefit" and "proffit" of the famous explorer's colony to "the commonwealth" (3-4). Similarly, Hariot dedicates the work to the "adventrers, favorers, and wellwillers of the enterprise for the inhabitting and planting in Virginia," and readers learn that Raleigh sent White to North America "speciallye" to paint (5, 34).

The illustrations also reveal the gaps in cultural understanding. For instance, the description that accompanies this image of an Amerindian ritual points out "certayne posts carued with heads like to the faces of Nonnes couered with theyr vayles." In other words, the description associates the exotic with Catholicism. While the resemblance between Amerindian ritual posts and Catholic nuns may have been coincidental, Hariot describes indigenous peoples' reactions to the Bible from a Protestant perspective:

And although I told them the booke materially & of itself was not of anie such virtue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein cotained; yet would many be glad to touch it, embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their brests and heades, and stroke ouer all their bodie with it; to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of (27).

Hariot's concern for the content of the Bible rather than physical objects associated with it (the book itself, or by extension statues of saints, rosary beads, etc.) could perhaps be seen as a way of othering Catholicism by associating it with Amerindian rituals.

Indeed, the text that accompanies De Bry's image emphasizes the strangeness of the ritual to European eyes: the participants wear "the most strange fashion that they can deuise" and "vse the strangest gestures." Yet De Bry contains these potentially frightening differences within a historical framework by including drawings of the ancient Picts that feature markings and nudity similar to the Amerindian figures in his engraving. In the unpaginated section of the book, De Bry says that he includes these pictures "to shoue how that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie haue bin in times past as sauuage as those of Virginia." This statement implies that civilizing efforts by the English could, over time, transform Amerindian rituals to harmonize with European practices of worship. Hariot makes this idea more explicit by asserting that it "may bee hoped if meanes of good government bee vsed,

that they may in short time be brought to civilitie, and the embracing of true religion” (25). The images and text in this book therefore partially served as an incentive to Englishmen to contribute to the correction of what they believed were Amerindian misappropriations of ritual.

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# Captain John Smith and Pocahontas: The Ritual Complex

Christopher Bilodeau, Dickinson College

On December 31, 1607, one of the most famous events in the colonial history of North America occurred (allegedly): Pocahontas, daughter of the great chieftain Powhatan, saved Captain John Smith from certain death.

At his [Captain John Smith's] entrance before the King [Powhatan], all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper... (Smith 49).



Scholars have argued over this snippet of text since at least 1860 (no one thought the story important until the nineteenth century, when it became romanticized). Some argue that the eleven year-old Pocahontas had saved Smith because she had fallen in love with him. This is the popular version, from nineteenth-century poetry to twentieth-century Disney. Others find the story laughable, concluding that Smith made the whole thing up in a fit of self-aggrandizement, typical of the brash adventurer, just as they accuse him of making up other stories about women who saved him elsewhere on his travels (“Charatza Tragabigzanda,” when he was captured in Turkey, “Callamata,” when fleeing his Turkish captors, and “Madame Chanoie,” in France).

But others have argued (also since the nineteenth century) that Smith’s execution and salvation are better understood by looking at the episode from the perspective of the Powhatan Indians. A recent, and sophisticated, argument by Frederic Gleach claims that the episode was part of a series of elaborate Indian rituals meant to adopt and absorb the English colony under Powhatan’s rule. This “ritual complex”—or a sequence of connected ritual activities—lasted for days, and the Pocahontas incident—entirely scripted and pre-ordained—was only one ritual in this sequence of inclusion.

The ritual complex started when the Powhatans captured Smith with a large war party, much larger than necessary, as a show of martial strength. These warriors then brought Smith to their leader, Powhatan’s brother Opechancanough, who ritually threatened Smith’s life (the first of three times the Indians would threaten Smith with death during this ritual complex). The Indians then brought Smith to the village of Rasawek, on the periphery of Tsenachommacah, or Powhatan territory. They treated him as a captive leader, performed

three dances that centered on Opechancanough and Smith, and followed these dances with a feast. There Smith's life was threatened a second time. After almost a week, they brought Smith from the margins of Tsenacommacah to a central village, called Menapacute, where they enacted an exhausting, three day-long ritual in which they gave speeches, danced dances, and ceremonially encircled a bonfire with raw wheat and ground corn, all of which ritualistically opened a space for Smith and the English within Tsenacommacah (Smith 48). Then Powhatan had Smith brought, after a journey through his lands, to another central village, Werocomoco, where the chief resided.

It was there that Pocahontas saved Smith. Smith's hands were washed and dried with feathers, in a ritualistic act of cleansing typical for eastern woodland Indians. Already opened to inclusion within Powhatan's lands, Smith now had to make a personal symbolic transformation: he needed, as leader of the English, to die in order to be reborn into Indian society. He was first feasted, then seized, his head forced upon a stone, ready for a symbolic execution that, dramatically and terrifyingly for Smith no doubt, would end his Englishness. Pocahontas then intervened, acting, in the words of Gleach, "in an important cultural role as mediator," and saved Smith "to be reborn into a new world of cultural relationships" (Gleach 117). Smith was now a Powhatan.

Two days later, the Indians finished the ritual complex. Powhatan had Smith brought to an isolated longhouse, a liminal space between village and wilderness, and placed, by himself, on a mat. In ceremonial dress and paint—"more like a devil than a man," in Smith's words—Powhatan hid behind a screen, and made "the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard" (Smith 49). Then, with roughly 200 warriors "as black as himself," Powhatan "came unto him [Smith] and told him now they were friends." He told Smith to go to Jamestown and bring two cannons and a grindstone back to the Indians. In return, Smith would receive "the Country of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne Nantaquoud" (49). English integration in the empire of Powhatan was complete. Smith was now the subordinate kin of Powhatan, and the gift-exchange of the cannons, the grindstone, and the land would properly legitimate and solidify the new-born alliance.

Barring the discovery of new evidence, we'll likely never know for sure if Pocahontas saved Smith, or what it might have meant. But this story lends itself irresistibly to larger methodological questions: How do European descriptions of this episode evoke and evade a host of possible pasts? How can scholars take historical texts written by European hands and understood through European eyes and see Indian worlds? How can we approach texts like these to "brush history against the grain," in Walter Benjamin's famous phrase? One can only delve more deeply into sophisticated anthropological and historical interpretations and theories that take Indian ritual practices seriously, and help us illuminate an episode that continues to grip the imagination of people across the world.

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## Print and subaltern agency in a Brazilian festival

Lisa Voigt, Ohio State University

EUCCHARISTIC / TRIUMPH, / EXEMPLAR OF LUSITANIAN CHRISTIANITY / in public exaltation of the Faith in the solemn Transfer / OF THE MOST DIVINE / SACRAMENT / from the Church of the Lady of the Rosary, to a new Temple / OF THE LADY OF THE PILLAR / IN / VILLA RICA, / COURT OF THE CAPTAINCY OF MINAS. / On the 24th of May of 1733. / DEDICATED TO THE SOVEREIGN LADY / OF THE ROSARY / BY THE BLACK BROTHERS OF HER CONFRATERNITY, / and at their urging exposed to public notice / By SIMÃO FERREIRA MACHADO / native of Lisbon, and resident of MINAS. // LISBOA OCCIDENTAL / IN THE OFFICINA DA MÚSICA, UNDER THE PROTECTION / of the Patriarchs of St. Dominic and St. Francis. // MDCCXXXIV / With all the necessary licences.



As the lengthy title indicates, Simão Ferreira Machado's *Triunfo Eucharístico* (1734) describes the public festivities surrounding the ceremonial transfer of the Holy Sacrament to a new church in Vila Rica do Ouro Preto, Brazil, in 1733. By this time, the population boom as a result of the gold rush—following the discovery of gold in the Brazilian interior in the late seventeenth century—required that a new church be built to replace the modest original Igreja Matriz da Senhora do Pilar (Parish Church of Our Lady of the Pillar). Until it was ready, the Eucharist had been housed in the Igreja da Senhora do Rosario dos Pretos, the church of the Black Brotherhood of the Rosary. This confraternity was the oldest, most popular, and most prestigious of the many black and mulatto lay religious brotherhoods in colonial Brazil, organizations that provided essential social services and opportunities to their members, who were predominantly but not exclusively slaves. As the title page reveals, the Black Brotherhood of the Rosary, established in Vila Rica in 1715, sponsored the publication of *Triunfo Eucharístico*. This text can help us think in new ways about the cultural and racial diversity of participants in Christian rituals and ceremonies in the New World, and about the means and meanings of the participation of subaltern groups. The title page and one of the text's three illustrations are reproduced here with the generous permission of the Oliveira Lima Library at the Catholic University of America, one of the foremost Luso-Brazilian collections in the United States and the owner of one of only six known copies of the work.

Founded in 1711, Vila Rica do Ouro Preto (Rich Town of Black Gold) epitomized the boom towns of Minas Gerais (General Mines) that flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. As is typical of the festival account genre, *Triunfo Eucharístico* abounds with praise of the city and its elite residents:

In this town live the chief merchants, whose trade and importance incomparably exceed the most thriving of the leading merchants of Portugal. Hither, as to a port, are directed

and collected in the Royal Mint the grandiose amounts of gold from all the Mines. Here dwell the best educated men, both lay and ecclesiastic. Here is the seat of all nobility and the strength of the military. It is, by virtue of its natural position, the head of the whole of America; and by the wealth of its riches it is the precious pearl of Brazil (180-81, translated and quoted in Boxer 163).

In the description of both the city and the festival, *Triunfo Eucharistico* projects a grandiose image of Vila Rica to its European readers. The account was published in Lisbon surely not only because there were no printing presses in Brazil at the time, but also because it sought to respond to negative European perceptions of American cities in general, and of mining boom towns like Vila Rica in particular. Perhaps because of the greater prestige accorded to illustrated festival books in Europe, the book incorporates three roughly executed woodcuts, including this one of the Virgin of the Rosary holding the Christ child.



Yet the community invoked and lauded in *Triunfo Eucharistico* is not limited to the educated elite of which Machado formed a part. Machado concludes that the inhabitants of Vila Rica exceed “all the nations of the world” not only in “Catholic zeal, and excessive expense, with which [...] they edified sumptuous temples and raised altars [...] but also in the majestic pomp, and magnificent apparatus, with which (in glorious triumph) they transferred the Eucharistic Sacrament from the Church of our Lady of the Rosary to the new Temple of the Lady of the Pillar” (280, my translation). Here the praiseworthy community clearly extends to the members of the Black Brotherhood of the

Rosary, who are elsewhere identified as having a “great part” in the magnificent celebrations (151). This brotherhood provided a home for the Eucharist, contributed to the expense of the festivities, and even built a new road between the two churches. They also sponsored the publication of the account, thus making sure that the festival—and their own religious devotion—would become known to a wider audience. As the Black Brothers themselves declare in their dedication of the work to the Virgin of the Rosary, “This consideration obliged us to solicit this public writing, in which our affection will always be referred in perpetual memory, and such magnificent solemnity in all of its grandeur will be continuously narrated to those in the present and the future” (138-39, my translation). The Black Brotherhood of the Rosary may have been particularly keen to consolidate and publicize their image as “most faithful Catholics” (281) because of the controversy that surrounded another festival in which they regularly participated: the ritual coronation of an African King and Queen on the feast day of Our Lady of the Rosary. Known today as the *congado*, this event continues to be celebrated in various parts of Brazil. In eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, the “African kings” were sometimes suspected of sedition and the festivals banned (see, for example, Souza 234-36).

According to the text’s inquisitorial license, the Black Brotherhood sponsored the publication of *Triunfo Eucharistico* because they “want[ed] this circumspect exemplar of those Catholic inhabitants to be perpetuated in memory, and this Triumph and Lusitanian splendor to be imprinted in the press as it was on the Blacks, so that its exalted memory would delight the whole Church and all of the Portuguese” (151, my translation). The English translation cannot capture the wordplay of this passage; in the original Portuguese, the similarity between *pretos* (blacks) and *prelo* (printing press) helps to circumscribe the blacks’ role to those on whom the Eucharistic triumph was impressed. Yet *Triunfo Eucharistico* arose from, and reveals, a very different relationship between blacks and the printing press. The title page, in fact, gives the Black Brothers precedence over the author by mentioning them first, and the name of the brotherhood—“Do Rosario”—dwarfs that of the author in size, although both are highlighted in red. In the full title, the Black Brothers are attributed not only with the sponsorship and the dedication of the text, but with the resolve to see it made public (“at their urging exposed to public notice”). Their involvement in the work’s publication challenges an exclusive attribution of authorship to Simão Ferreira Machado, obliging us to

think about the messages that the brotherhood hoped to transmit. The Black Brothers of the Rosary, in effect, redefine the “triumph” of the work’s title, turning the celebration of the Eucharist into an act of self-promotion.

The Black Brotherhood of the Rosary compensated for the temporary presence of the Eucharist in their church by publishing a permanent record of the events, making sure that their festive contribution was more enduring than the festival itself. Such an act requires us to rethink assumptions about the role of subaltern groups in colonial festivals, which was not limited to either demonstrating subservience or engaging in defiant acts of resistance or subversion. Through the festival described in *Triunfo Eucharístico* and the text itself, the Black Brotherhood of the Rosary asserted a black Catholic identity with an important role and privileged place in Vila Rica society. Rituals and ceremonies—and, by extension, the texts that document them—may have been an effective means of social control and religious indoctrination, particularly in a colonial context, but they were also outlets for the expression of subaltern agency.

### Suggested Readings

Boxer, C. R. *The Golden Age of Brazil 1695-1750*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.

Jancsó, Ivan and Iris Kantor. *Festa: Cultura e Sociabilidade na América Portuguesa*. Vols 1-2. São Paulo: Hucitec/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo/Fapesp/Imprensa Oficial, 2001.

Kiddy, Elizabeth W. *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil*. University Park, PA.: Penn State University Press, 2005.

Lara, Silvia Hunold. “O Teatro do Poder em Perspectiva: Festas Públicas Dinásticas no Brasil Setecentista,” in *Ritualidades latinoamericanas: Un acercamiento interdisciplinario/Ritualidades latino-americanas: Uma aproximação interdisciplinar*, ed. Martín Lienhard, 107-19. Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2003.

Machado, Simão Ferreira. *Triunfo Eucharístico in Resíduos seiscentistas em Minas: Textos do século de ouro e as projeções do mundo barroco*, ed. Affonso Ávila, 135-281. Belo Horizonte: Centro de Estudos Mineiros, 1967.

Mulvey, Patricia A. “Black Brothers and Sisters: Membership in the Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil.” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 17.2 (1980): 253-79.

Russell-Wood, A. J. R. “Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54.4 (1974): 567-602.

Souza, Marina de Mello. *Reis Negros no Brasil Escravista: História da Festa de Coroação de Rei Congo*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2002.

Voigt, Lisa. “Spectacular Wealth: Baroque Festivals and Creole Consciousness in Colonial Mining Towns of Brazil and Peru.” In *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*, eds. Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti, 265-90. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

### NEH Institute Resources

- ▶ Syllabus
- ▶ Primary Bibliography
- ▶ Secondary Bibliography

## Syllabus

### Ritual and Ceremony from late-medieval Europe to early America

#### An NEH summer institute for college and university teachers

Directed by Claire Sponsler

At the Folger Shakespeare Library

#### Syllabus

**Week One:** (21-25 JUNE) EARLY EXEMPLARS, SHARED CULTURES

#### **Monday, 21 June: The Theory of Ritual and Ceremony**

We will begin by considering definitions, source materials, and interpretive issues in the study of ritual and ceremony. Our opening questions will include: How have ritual and ceremony have been theorized? What are the strengths and weaknesses of those approaches? And how have they been used in the study of medieval and early ceremonial? We will build a vocabulary for discussing ritual and ceremony and will consider the problems involved in studying ephemeral and often unscripted and unrecorded practices, using Phythian-Adams' landmark study of Coventry as a case study.

#### **Core Readings:**

Catherine Bell, chap. 1: "The Practice of Ritual Theory," in *Ritual Theory/Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 13-54.

Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, Introduction: "Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings," in *Secular Ritual*, ed. Moore and Myerhoff (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), pp. 3-24.

Jack Goody, "Against 'Ritual': Loosely Structured Thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic," in *Secular Ritual*, ed. Moore and Myerhoff, pp. 25-35.

Philippe Buc, Introduction to *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 1-12.

Charles Phythian-Adams, "Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450-1550," in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, ed. Peter Clark and Paul Slack (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 57-85.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Sheila Lindenbaum, "Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 171-88.

Edward Muir, "The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance" *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2007), pp. 129-53.

John J. MacAloon, ed., Introduction: "Cultural Performances, Culture Theory" to *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984).

David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) [glance through].

## **Tuesday, 22 June: An Introduction to the Liturgy through its Books**

**Guest faculty: Bruce Holsinger** (Professor of Music and English, University of Virginia)

This session will introduce participants to some of the basic materials necessary for understanding the work of liturgy in premodern Europe, particularly England. Liturgy was perhaps the most prolific scene of cultural production in the Middle Ages, and its modern study is a massive endeavor, so this session will focus on just a few of the central texts and concepts that guided liturgical life for religious and lay populations. Our discussion will consider the Mass and the Daily Office with reference to several of the liturgical books (or "service books") in the Folger's collection as well as some manuscripts in facsimile, and we will do some brief listening to Latin chants and tropes where appropriate. We'll also touch on some of the many controversies inspired by liturgical practice at the height of the Lollard heresy and during the Reformation.

### **Core Readings:**

*The Rule of St. Benedict*, trans. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1982).

Peter Damian, Letter 109 (to Pope Alexander II), in *Peter Damian: Letters 91-120*, trans. Owen J. Blum, OFM, *Fathers of the Church: Medieval Continuation* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), pp. 207-226.

Hildegard of Bingen, *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*, ed. and trans. Barbara Newman (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 109-137 (and notes).

The Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, from *The Sarum Missal in English*, trans. Frederick E. Warren (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1913), pp. 290-321.

Christmas Mass of the Day (*Puer Natus Est*) from the *Liber Usualis* (pp. 408-411) and the *Sarum Missal in English* (pp. 22-24).

Tropes on *Puer Natus Est*, from the Winchester Troper, from Schola Gregoriana, dir. Mary Berry, *An Anglo-Saxon Christmas: Tenth-Century Chant from the Winchester Troper* (Herald, 1993).

*The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: EETS, 1879), pp. 2-28.

"Of feigned contemplative life," in *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*, ed. F. D. Matthew, *EETS 74* (London 1880; reprint 1973), pp. 188-96.

*The Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1559): Uniformity Act, Preface, "Of Ceremonies."

### **Suggested Readings:**

Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, chapter 1, "Seasons and Signs: The Liturgical Year," pp. 11-52.

John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 11-126.

**Folger holdings on reserve:**

A selection of early liturgical books

(Bibliography to follow)

**Wednesday, 23 June: Liturgy and the Literary Field, Medieval and Early Modern**

**Guest faculty: Bruce Holsinger** (Professor of Music and English, University of Virginia)

With Tuesday's overview in mind, this session will turn to a variety of (mostly English, one Nahuatl) writings from the medieval and early modern periods that demonstrate the shaping role of liturgy in the creation of vernacular literary culture. While some works, such as Chaucer's Prioress's Tale, engage the liturgy thematically, others (e.g. the Chester Shepherd's Play and Skelton's *Philip Sparrow*) enlist liturgical performance in the actual process of invention. This day will involve a fair amount of reading aloud, so all should be prepared for their own participation in the ritual reenactments making up parts of our afternoon.

**Core Readings:**

Geoffrey Chaucer, The Prioress's Prologue and Tale (plus notes), from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed.

Larry Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), pp. 209-212 and 913-16.

"The Choristers' Lament," ed. Bruce Holsinger, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 21 (1999), pp. 135-41.

John Skelton, *Philip Sparrow*, ed. V.J. Scattergood in *John Skelton: The Complete Poems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

"Play 7: The Shepherds," from *The Chestery Mystery Cycle*, ed. David Mills (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1992), pp. 125-49.

Middle English Lyrics and Carols (selected)

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Psalmody Christiana*, ed. and trans. Arthur Anderson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), pp. 2-25, 182-97.

**Suggested Readings:**

Bruce Holsinger, "Liturgy," in Paul Strohm, ed., *Middle English: Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 295-314.

Katherine Zieman, "Ex ore infantium: Literacy and Elementary Educational Practices in Late Medieval England," chapter 1 of *Singing the new Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, ), pp.

**Thursday, 24 June: Performing Childbirth**

**Guest faculty: Gail McMurray Gibson** (William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor of English, Davidson College)

Today's discussion focuses on performance, ritual, and talismanic objects of childbirth in three late-medieval texts: a sequence of 15th century mystery plays about the Virgin Mary's

pregnancy and the birth of Christ; a witnessing notary's account of the birth of a Catalan male heir in 1490; and in a vellum devotional roll once belonging to the young Tudor prince who would become Henry VIII.

#### **Core Readings:**

"Introduction," "Parliament of Heaven; Salutation and Conception," "Joseph's Doubt," "Visit to Elizabeth" and "Nativity" from *The N-Town Plays* [c], ed. Douglas Sugano (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), pp. 1-18; 103-122; 133-142; notes, pp. 368-379; 383-384.

"Public Record of the Labour of Isabel de la Cavalleria," [1490] trans. Montserrat Cabré.

Online Reference Books for Medieval Studies: HYPERLINK "<http://www.the-orb.net/birthrecord.html>" <http://www.the-orb.net/birthrecord.html>.

"The Prince Henry Roll" [Ushaw College ms. 29, c. 1504], a textual amulet for safe childbirth owned by Henry, Prince of Wales, reproduced in *Henry VIII, Man and Monarch* [exhibition catalogue], ed. Susan Doran and David Starkey (London: The British Library, 2009), p. 46.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Jacques Gélis, Chapters 6, 7, and 9: "The Experience of Pregnancy," "The Society of Birth," and Birth: A Double Liberation," in *History of Childbirth*, trans. Rosemary Morris (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), pp. 66-111; 141-149.

Gail McMurray Gibson, Chapter 6: "Mary's Dower: East Anglian Drama and the Cult of the Virgin," in *The Theater of Devotion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 137-177.

Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, Chapter 5: "Maternal Mediators," in *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 125-147.

Don C. Skemer, Chapter 5: "Textual Amulets for Women" and "Conclusion" in *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 235-284 (see esp. pp. 264-267 on the Prince Henry Roll).

#### **Friday, 25 June: The Religion of Childbed**

**Guest faculty: Gail McMurray Gibson** (William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor of English, Davidson College)

We will discuss the priest-like duties of pre-Reformation English midwives and the continuing domestic rituals and prayerful ministrations of birth in Protestant Early Modern century England. In this session, we'll examine excerpts from a wide range of primary sources: medieval childbirth liturgies and a late-medieval handbook for parish priests, the emotional response to ceremonies of post-partum rituals recounted in Margery Kempe's visionary *Book*, a near-hagiographical account of the death of a pious young wife after childbirth, a 17th-century housewife's recipes for childbed foods and healing remedies and potions, and a vernacular obstetrical treatise for English midwives.

#### **Core Readings:**

Liturgies for marriage and the blessing of the marriage bed, childbirth, and post-partum women from *The Sarum Missal in English*, trans. Frederick E. Warren (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1913), II, pp. 143-165.

John Myrc, "A Midwife's Duties," in *Instructions for Parish Priests* (c. 1450), ed. Edward Peacock, Early English Text Society os 31, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1902), pp. 1-5.

Margery Kempe, Meditation on Candlemas and the post-partum Churching of women (Book I, chapter 82), in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. and ed. Lynn Staley (NY: W.W. Norton, 2001), pp. 145-146.

Phillip Stubbes, *A Cristal Glasse for Christian Women Containing a Most excellent Discourse, of the Godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes* (London, 1592), pp. 4-5.

*Mistress Sarah Longe her Receipt Booke*, transcriptions from *Fooles and Fricassees: Food in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Joan Thirsk and Mary Anne Caton (Washington: Folger Library, 1999), pp. 98-119.

Jackob Rueff, Preface "To All grave and modest matrons" in *The Expert Midwife* [1637, English translation of *De conceptus et generatione hominess*.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

David Cressy, Chapters 3, 5, 9: "Childbed Attendants," "Baptism as Sacrament and Drama," and "Purification, Thanksgiving, and the Churching of Women" in *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.55-79; 96-123; 196-229.

Kathleen Ashley, "Historicizing Margery: The Book of Margery Kempe as Social Text" *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. and ed. Lynn Staley (NY: W.W. Norton, 2001), pp. 264-276.

Mary E. Fissell, Chapter 1: "Reforming the Body," in *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Chap. 1 (pp. 14-52).

Elizabeth Harvey, Chapter 3: "Matrix as Metaphor: Midwifery and the Conception of Voice" in *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 81-122.

#### **Folger holdings on reserve:**

*Mistress Sarah Longe her Receipt Booke*, c. 1610. Folger ms. V.a.425.

Sir Thomas More Prayer Roll, July 1535. Copy ca.1550. Folger ms. X.d. 532.

Dorothy Philipps, "A Sermon Book." (Begun 1617, but continued in the family in various hands throughout the 17th century and into the early 18th century). Folger ms. V.a.347.

Jackob Rueff, *The Expert Midwife* (1637, English translation of *De conceptus et generatione hominess*).

Phillip Stubbes, *A Cristal Glasse for Christian Women Containing a Most excellent Discourse, of the Godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes* (London, 1592).

#### **Week Two: (28 JUNE-2 JULY): TRADITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN ENGLAND**

**Ian Archer** (University Lecturer in History and Fellow, Keble College, Oxford University)

**Roslyn L. Knutson** (Professor of English Emerita, University of Arkansas Little Rock)

**Monday, 28 June: Royal ceremonial in early modern London**

**Guest faculty: Ian Archer**

*Key question:* What were the messages of the 1559 and the 1604 royal entries?

*Other questions:* Costs and materiality of spectacle

The processional form: what it tells us.

Uses of space in royal rituals.

What did people understand?

Spectacle as a sensory experience: sound, colour, smell, touch, and taste.

**Core Readings:**

All:

Accounts for royal entry of 1604 in Lord Chamberlain's Office transcribed by Alan Nelson at  
HYPERLINK "<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/SHAX/lc1604.html>"

<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/SHAX/lc1604.html>

Group A: Andrea through Hunt:

[Richard Mulcaster], *The Passage of Our Most Dread Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth through the City of London to Westminster the Day Before Her Coronation* (1559), in *The Queen's Majesty's Passage and Related Documents*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004). There is an older edition by J.M. Osborn (New Haven, 1960). Also available in *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford, 1999).

Group B: Irvin through Yeager:

'The Whole Royal and Magnificent Entertainment' (1604). The best edition is now in Thomas Middleton. *The Collected Works*, ed Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (2 vols. Oxford, 2007), I. 219-79, including all the relevant texts with engravings of arches from Harrison, and eye-witness account by Gilbert Dugdale.

**Suggested Readings:**

Hunt, Alice, *The Drama of Coronation. Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 146-72

Smuts, Malcolm R., 'Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: The English Royal Entry in London, 1485-1642', in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. A. L. Beier, D. Cannadine & J. Rosenheim (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 65-93.

Manley, Lawrence, *The Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge, 1995), ch. 5 'Scripts for the Pageant: The Ceremonies of London', pp. 212- 93.

Archer, Ian W., 'City and Court Connected. The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1625', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71:1 (2008), 157-79.

**Folger holdings on reserve:**

*Hugh Alley's Caveat* (esp. for Cheapside)

Sidney funeral roll for processional form and costume

Stephen Harrison, *Arch's of Triumph*

Holinshed's *Chronicle* which includes the Mulcaster account of 1559 entry.

Selections from the Loseley Collection:

L.b.1

Writ under sign manual of Henry VIII to Christopher More, summoning him to attend Henry's first meeting with his future bride Anne of Cleves. More was to bring six "honestly furnished" servants and was himself to be "honestly appareled" in a black velvet coat with a chain of gold around his neck, and to have velvet gowns or "some other good silk for their change accordingly."

L.b.2

Detailed accounts of expenditures for wages, materials, and transportation of plays and masques at court from 1540 to 1544 as well as for king's wardrobe for a voyage to France in 1544.

L.b.16

Warrant under the sign manual to Sir Thomas Cawarden, concerning the delivery of materials for a Christmas tilt during the reign of Edward VI (at the time of the trial of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, who had been Edward VI's Protector and was later executed on Jan. 22, 1552).

L.b.33

Warrant under sign manual to Sir Thomas Cawarden from Elizabeth, concerning her coronation.

L.b.325

Inventory of bards and bases for horses and masquing garments for men and women, 1547.

L.b.341

Letter under sign manual to Sir Thomas Cawarden, from Mary at a time he was considered a potential threat related to Wyatt's Rebellion. Arms and armor were confiscated from Cawarden at that time.

L.b.508

A complaint from John Trew against Sir Edward Gage, "an extreme persecutor of the gospel," who had Trew pilloried and his ears cut off.

**Tuesday, 29 June: Civic ceremonial in early modern London.**

**Guest faculty: Ian Archer**

*Key question:* Discuss the ideological messages embodied in the 1613 and the 1624 lord mayors' shows.

*Other questions:* Did lord mayors' shows articulate a different understanding of crown-city relations from the royal entries?

How meaningful is the concept of secularization as applied to civic ritual in this period?

Inclusion and exclusion. How successfully did civil ritual articulate communal values?

Costs and materiality. How were the shows paid for, and by whom?

Use of civic space.

**Core Readings:**

All:

John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (2 vols., Oxford 1908), I. 101-4. for account of Midsummer show.

Account by William Smith (in R.T.D. Salye, *Lord Mayor's Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (privately printed, 1931), pp. 2-3).

Extracts from the diaries of William Schellinks. *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England, 1661-1663*, ed. M. Exwood and H.L. Lehmann (Camden Society, fifth series, 1, 1993), pp. 66-7, 76-8.

R.T.D.Salye, *Lord Mayor's Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (privately printed, 1931), pp 106-16 for the accounts relating to the 1624 pageant.

Group A (as above):

Thomas Middleton, 'The Triumphs of Truth' (1613), in Thomas Middleton, *Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (2 vols. Oxford, 2007), I. 963-79.

Group B (as above):

John Webster, 'The Monuments of Honor' (1624), in *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, ed. Richard Dutton (Keele, 1995).

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Knowles, James, 'The Spectacle of the Realm: Civic Consciousness, Rhetoric and Ritual in Early Modern London', in *Theatre and Government*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 157-89.

Bergeron, David M., *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London, 1971).

Paster, G. K., 'The Idea of London in Masque and Pageant', in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. David M. Bergeron (Athens, Ga., 1985), pp. 48-64.

Wright, Nancy E., "'Rival Traditions": Civic and Courtly Ceremonies in Jacobean London', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Houlbrooke (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 197-217.

Bromham, A.A., 'Thomas Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth*: City Politics in 1613', *The Seventeenth Century* 10 (1995), 1-25.

Archer, Ian W., 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in David Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (eds.), *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649*, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 17-34.

Klein, Benjamin, 'Between the Bums and Bellies of the Multitude: Civic Pageantry and the Problem of Audience in Later Stuart London', *London Journal* 17 (1992), 18-26.

#### **Folger holdings on reserve:**

Pageant texts by Dekker, Middleton, Jordan

Dekker, Thomas. *Londons Tempe, or, The feild of happines. In which field are planted seuerall trees of magnificence, state and bewty, to celebrate the solemnity of the Right Honorable Iames Campebell, at his inauguration into the honourable Thursday the 29 of October, 1629. All the particular inuentions, for the pageants, showes of triumph, both by water and land being here fully set downe, at the sole cost, and liberall charges of the Right worshipfull Society of Ironmongers.* London, 1629. PR1400 6509 [Photostat]

Jordan, Thomas. *The goldsmiths jubile: or, Londons triumphs: containing, a description of the several pageants: on which are represented, emblematical figures, artful pieces of architecture, and rural dancing: with the speeches spoken on each pageant. Performed Octob. 29, 1674. for the entertainment of the Right Honourable, and truly noble pattern of prudence and loyalty, Sir Robert Vyner, Kt & Bart, Lord Mayor of the city of London: at the proper costs and charges of the worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. The Kings most sacred Majesty and His Royal Consort, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Dutchess of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, several foreign embassadours, chief nobility, and secretaries of state, honouring the city with their presence.* London, 1674. PR1401 .J1033 [Microfilm]

Jordan, Thomas. *London in luster: projecting many bright beams of triumph: disposed into several representations of scenes and pageants. Performed with great splendor on Wednesday, October XXIX. 1679. At the initiation and instalment of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Clayton, Knight, Lord Mayor of the city of London. Dignified with divers delightful varieties of presentors, with speeches, songs, and actions, properly and punctually described. All set forth at the proper cost and charges of the worshipful Company of Drapers.* London, 1679. 151- 065q

Middleton, Thomas. *The triumphs of truth. A solemnity vnpareld for cost, art, and magnificence at the confirmation and establishment of that worthy and true nobly-minded gentleman, Sir Thomas Middleton, knight, in the honorable office of his Maiesties lieuutenant, the lord maior of the thrice famous city of London. Taking beginning at his Lordships going, and proceeding after his returne from receiuing the oath of maioralty at Westminster, on the morrow next after Simon and ludes day, October 29. 1613. All the showes, pageants, chariots, morning, noone, and night-triumphe.* London, 1613. STC 17904.

*Aqua Triumphalis*

MSS Add 1054 for processional order.

### **Wednesday, 30 June: Pageantry in Drama: The Medieval Corpus Christi Play and the Elizabethan Queen's Men**

**Guest faculty: Roslyn L. Knutson**

*Key question:* What patterns of ritual and ceremony are discernable in the medieval Corpus Christi plays, and is there carry-over or new formulas in the emerging English chronicle play of the 1580s?

*Other questions:* What does an inventory list for one Corpus Christi play suggest about visual aspects of performance?

What do documents of a political nature reveal about the appropriation of ceremony for commercial purposes?

What do documents of a financial nature reveal about the costs of piggy-backing commercial advertising onto established public theatrical ceremonies?

If the Queen's men "invented" the English chronicle play, how do surviving texts from that company suggest some carry-over of public, civic theatrical motifs?

Is there enough "in common" between *Famous Victories of Henry V* and *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* to draw any conclusions about the Queen's men and their agency in incorporating motifs of ritual and ceremony (however modified) into the English chronicle play?

**Core Readings:**

REED: Packet on medieval Corpus Christi plays

*Famous Victories of Henry V* from *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols. Vol. 4, "Later English History Plays" in the chapter on *1H4*

*Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*

**Suggested Readings:**

*The True Tragedy of Richard III*

*The Troublesome Reign of King John* (available in Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol 4, in conjunction with Shakespeare's *King John*)

*King Leir*

**Thursday, 1 July: Ritualistic and Ceremonial Moments in Selected Plays**

**Guest faculty Roslyn L. Knutson**

*Key question:* In what ways are the motifs in selected plays of the early modern period a perspective on the appropriation of festive, ceremonial moments in commercial drama of the early modern period?

See "Outline of Discussion" in reading packet

*Other questions:* What is germane to our seminar about dumb shows?

What is germane to our seminar about processions?

How is the use of these motifs on a commercial stage (i.e., playhouse) a contribution to the larger topic of ritual and ceremony?

Are traces of theatrical ritual and ceremony "gone" from the commercial stage by 1600, or so transformed as to be unrecognizable, or "there" if we know what to look for?

In what ways are selected plays by Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare "present to" the appropriation of festive, ceremonial moments?

**Core Readings:**

All:

Dumbshows handout

*A Larum for London*, Q1602; MSR, 1913.

Group A: Andrea through Finlayson, and Seery-Murphy through Yeager:

*Tamburlaine*, part 1, by Christopher Marlowe

*Henry V*, by William Shakespeare

(texts required for class; any handy edition of Marlowe and Shakespeare will do)

Group B: Gertsman through O'Banion:

*Edward II*, by Christopher Marlowe

*Richard II*, by William Shakespeare

(texts required for class; any handy edition of Marlowe and Shakespeare will do)

### Suggested Readings:

*First Part of the Contention* (quarto version of 2 Henry VI)

*True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (quarto version of 2 Henry VI)

*Henry VI*, parts 1, 2, & 3

### Additions to the Bibliography (Knutson)

#### Primary Sources:

Cook, David, and F. P. Wilson (eds) (1961), "Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber 1558–1642," in *Malone Society Collections*, vi/1. Browse for familiarity.

Feuillerat, Albert (1908), *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (Leuven: Ustpruyt). Browse for familiarity.

Streitburger, William (1986) *Declared Accounts of the Office of the Revels, Malone Society Collections*, xiii. Browse for familiarity.

#### Secondary Sources:

Astington, John H. *English Court Theatre, 1558-1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Browse for familiarity.

Bergeron, David M. *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1971. Chapters 1 & 4 (browse others as you like).

— (ed.). *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. Read Kipling, Black, Palmer, and Neill; another 4 or so as you like.

Kathman, David. "Inn-Yard Playhouses." In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Richard Dutton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 153-67.

Lancashire, Anne. *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Browse for familiarity.

McMillin, Scott, and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Read chapters 1, 2, 3, and 6.

### Week Three (6-9 July): LOCAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXTS ON THE CONTINENT

**Barbara Wisch** (Professor of Art History, SUNY Cortland)

**Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly** (Professor of German Literature, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford)

**Tuesday, 6 July: "The pomp of Rome, and its principal grandeur, lies in displays of devotion."** Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Works (Travel Journal, 1581)*, p. 1169

#### Guest faculty: Barbara Wisch

Two contemporary eye-witnesses—Gregory Martin and Michel de Montaigne—offer accounts of the same events but from diverse perspectives. Close analyses of these texts will serve as the basis for our two discussion sessions. First, we will address the larger claims of Rome as *the* center of pilgrimage, primary locus of relics, and purveyor of indulgences. We will elucidate rituals (from Carnival season to Easter) as well as Holy Year ceremonies that created sacred and civic topographies evoking Rome as *Caput Mundi*,

Eternal City, New Jerusalem, and even the New Babylon. Engravings from the Folger collection allow us to explore how printed images of papal power—especially conclaves and coronation processions—reshaped ritual events in local and international memory. We will examine how contestations over urban space, religious authority, political power, and social identities were refashioned and endowed with the allure of providential stability via the printed image and permanent art and architecture.

**Core Readings:**

Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), George Bruner Parks ed., (Rome: Fondazione Marco Besso, 1969); 17–44 (Five Churches, Seven Churches, and Nine Churches; stations of Lent; relics), 89–96 (Maundy Thursday); 75–83 (converting Jews).

Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Works: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters*, Donald M. Frame trans., (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), pp. 936-966 (30 November 1580–3 April 1581).

**Suggested Readings:**

Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620* (London: The British Museum Press, 2001).

For an excellent introduction to the print industry, see the sections on “Drawings into Prints,” “Engraving on Copper,” “Woodcutting,” “The Costs and Prices of Prints,” “Printing and Packaging for Sale,” “The Producers of Prints: Their Roles and Relationships,” and “Rome,” pp. 9–169.

Rose Marie San Juan, “Rumor’s Trajectories: The *Sede Vacante* and the Dispersal of Urban Conflict,” in *Rome: A City Out of Print* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 161–86.

Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn, “Triumphalism and the Sala Regia in the Vatican,” in *All the world’s a stage ... Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, Barbara Wisch and Susan S. Munshower eds. (Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University 6, University Park, 1990), 1: 22–81.

Barbara Wisch, “The Roman Church Triumphant: Pilgrimage, Penance and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575,” in *All the world’s a stage*, 1: 82–117.

*La Festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870*, Marcello Fagiolo ed., 2 vols. (Turin: Umberto Allemani & C.; Rome: J. Sands, 1997). The illustrations are exceptional.

Richard Joseph Ingersoll, “The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome,” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985; University Microfilms International, 1987. See especially, “Processions,” 95–138; “The Possesso,” 171–223; and “Roman Carnival,” 259–355.

**Folger holdings on reserve:**

Engravings (ART Box R763):

No. 3: *Plan of the Conclave*, engraving, 1655

No. 6: *Possesso of Leo XI* (Medici, 1605), engraving, 1605

No. 9: Monogrammist I.T.F (identified as Joannes Teufel), *La Festa di Testaccio fatta in Roma* [1545], published by Vincenzo Luchino, engraving, 1558

No. 15: *Romani pontificis publice et solennes actiones* (Alexander VII, Chigi, 1655–67), engraving, 1655

No. 24: Giovanni Battista Falda, *Possesso of Innocent XI* (Odescalchi, 1676–89), engraving, 1676

Etchings (ART Box R763.1):

No. 3: *Castello S'Angelo di Roma con la Girandola*.

Agostino Mascardi, *Le pompe del Campidoglio*, a ninety-six page festival book describing a ceremonial procession by Pope Urban VIII (1623-44) in 1623 (Bx 13431A M 3 1624).

Letter of Confraternity for the Hospital of St. Roch, Exeter (London: R. Faques, ca. 1510).  
Folger Shelf Mark: STC 10617.5

**Wednesday, 7 July: Roma Sancta: “a spectacle of fayth & good workes”** Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), p. 8

**Guest faculty: Barbara Wisch**

Following our focus on the papacy, we will expand our perspectives by turning to the crucial role of confraternities (lay religious brotherhoods) in the ritual life of Rome. Montaigne was most impressed by their flagellant processions on Maundy Thursday, but Gregory Martin understood their greater significance for public welfare, which culminated in festive celebrations of their piety and philanthropy. We will consider how the laity (Romans as well as foreigners) displayed a powerful presence through the extensive public manifestation of these fundamental activities in addition to their patronage of art and architecture.

**Core Readings:**

Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), George Bruner Parks ed., (Rome: Fondazione Marco Besso, 1969), 196–240.

Review Montaigne, esp. 1157, 1169–70, 1173.

**Suggested Readings:**

Barbara Wisch, “The Roman Church Triumphant: Pilgrimage, Penance and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575,” in *“All the world’s a stage,”* 1: 82–117.

Rose Marie San Juan, “‘Andando processionalmente per Roma’: Street Processions and the Imprints of Urban Charity,” in *Rome: A City Out of Print*, 95–119.

Eunice D. Howe, “Appropriating Space: Woman’s Place in Confraternal Life at Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome,” in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image*, Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl eds., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 235–58.

Nerida Newbigin, “The Decorum of the Passion: The Plays of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone in the Roman Colosseum, 1490–1539,” in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy*, 173–202.

Richard Joseph Ingersoll, “The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome,” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985; University Microfilms International, 1987. See especially, “The Assumption,” 224–58.

**Thursday, 8 July: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe**

**Guest faculty: Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly**

The Holy Roman Empire on the Eve of the Thirty Years’ War: A New World in the Making

The session title is taken from Pierre Béhar's essay, an extremely wide-ranging but compact account of the intellectual and political context in Europe from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the war. In this first session we will tease in much more detail some of the issues Béhar raises: e.g. the political make-up of the Holy Roman Empire, tensions between Protestant and Catholic, the Turkish threat, Rosicrucianism, Jakob Boehme and mysticism.

The Kassel Christening and the Palatine Wedding: A Case Study of England and the German Protestants through various accounts of the same event.

### Core Readings

Pierre Béhar, "The Holy Roman Empire on the Eve of the Thirty Years' War: A New World in the Making," in J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shrewing, *Europa Triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 2 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 4-14.

Edward Monings, *The Landgrave of Hessen his princelie receiuing of her Maiesties Ambassador*. London, 1596. This is the visit of the Elizabeth I's Ambassador to the christening of the daughter of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel in 1596 – a highly political visit.

See annotated edition of Monings, by Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, from the forthcoming *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Procession of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, Volume IV: 1596 to 1603. Edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Clarke and Elizabeth Goldring (Oxford: OUP 2011).

The Palatine wedding is available as follows:

An extract as Text No. 4 in 'The Protestant Union' section in *Europa Triumphans* is the account of the Palatine Wedding of 1613, 'Beschreibung der Reiss'.

On the HYPERLINK "<http://www.hab.de/bibliothek/wdb/festkultur/dig-inha.htm>" Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB) Wolfenbüttel website, text no. 167.

HYPERLINK "<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F197-15-hist>"  
<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F197-15-hist>

An account of triumphal arches relating to the Palatine Wedding:

On the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB), Wolfenbüttel, website, text no. 295 HYPERLINK "<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/26-7-1-geom>" <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/26-7-1-geom>

### Suggested Readings:

Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

### Additional Online Sources:

The Kassel Christening is described in Wilhelm Dilich, *Beschreibung vnd Abriß dero Ritterspiel/ so der Durchleuchtige/ ... Herr Moritz/ Landgraff zu Hessen/ etc. auff die Fürstliche Kindtauffen Frewlein Elisabethen/ vnd dann auch Herrn Moritzen des andern/ Landgrafen zu Hessen/ etc. am Fürstlichen Hoff zu Cassel angeordnet/ vnd halten lassen / Auff's eigentlichst erkleret vnd verfertigt Durch Wilhelm Dilich Jahr: 1601 Kassel : Wessel, 1601.*

On the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB), Wolfenbüttel, website, text no. text 161.

HYPERLINK "<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/gm-4f-411>"  
<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke/gm-4f-411>

*Europa Triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* is available as an ebook at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and can only be accessed from a Folger Shakespeare Library computer hub: [HYPERLINK](http://site.ebrary.com/lib/folger/docDetail.action?docID=10362151)  
"http://site.ebrary.com/lib/folger/docDetail.action?docID=10362151"  
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/folger/docDetail.action?docID=10362151>

### **Friday, 9 July: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe, continued**

#### **Guest faculty: Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly**

Stuttgart and the Protestant Union – War, Power Politics, and Festivals

We will discuss the Protestant power bloc, its festivals, how they can be said to be a preparation for war, where politics manifest themselves.

Protestant Iconography, Catholic Iconography

In this session we will recap on the specifically Protestant iconography of the festivals at Stuttgart and then, as a contrast and a look into the future, leap ahead to a Habsburg Imperial Festival of 1725 held in Augsburg to celebrate Karl VI, Holy Roman Emperor. This shows the distance travelled since the pre-War years and the Habsburg sense of their own role in the Empire.

#### **Core Readings:**

Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form', in *Europa Triumphans*, vol. I, pp.3-17.

Introductory articles by Watanabe-O'Kelly, Sara Smart, and Jill Bepler in the section 'Festivals of the Protestant Union' in *Europa Triumphans*, vol. II, pp.15-53.

John Adamson, 'The Making of the Ancien Régime Court' in his *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1999), pp. 7-41.

Oettinger's account of the Stuttgart wedding of 1609:

Text 2 in 'The Protestant Union' section in *Europa Triumphans*. The picture volume relating to this wedding is Küchler's volume.

On the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB), Wolfenbüttel, website, text no. 243. [HYPERLINK](http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2Fgm-4f-1152)  
"http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2Fgm-4f-1152"  
<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2Fgm-4f-1152>

The Dessau wedding of 1614:

Text 5 in 'The Protestant Union' section in *Europa Triumphans*.

Assum's account of the Stuttgart christening of 1616:

Text 6 in 'The Protestant Union' section in *Europa Triumphans*. Related to that is the picture volume by Hülsen,

On the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB), Wolfenbüttel, website, text no. 244. [HYPERLINK](http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F36-17-3-geom-2f-1)  
"http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F36-17-3-geom-2f-1"  
<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F36-17-3-geom-2f-1>

The account of the Stuttgart wedding of 1617:

On the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB), Wolfenbüttel, website, text no. 246. HYPERLINK  
“<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F36-17-4-geom-2f-1>”  
<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F36-17-4-geom-2f-1>

The last Stuttgart event before the Thirty Years' War is described in Weckherlin's account of a christening of 1618.

On the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB), Wolfenbüttel, website, text no. 247. HYPERLINK  
“<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F36-17-4-geom-2f-2>”  
<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?distype=thumbs&dir=drucke%2F36-17-4-geom-2f-2>

Antonius Bömer, *Triumphus novem seculorum Imperii roman-Germanici Carolo Magno*. . . Augsburg 1725. Accessible through HYPERLINK  
“[http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/dl\\_crosscollex/SetsSearchExecXC.asp?srctype=ITEM](http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/dl_crosscollex/SetsSearchExecXC.asp?srctype=ITEM)”  
Beinecke Library Yale.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

If people can read German, then Jörg Jochen Berns and Thomas Rahn (eds.), *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik ub Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), is good, especially Andreas Gestrich, 'Höfisches Zeremoniell und sinnliches Volk. Die Rechtfertigung des Hofzeremoniells im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert', 57-73.

#### **Folger Holdings on Reserve:**

Balthasar Kuchler engravings  
Esaias van Hulsen's illustrations of the Stuttgart 1616 christening.

**Week Four:** WEEK 4 (12-16 JULY): OLD FRANCE/NEW FRANCE

**Lawrence Bryant** (Professor of History, California State University, Chico)

**Michael Wintroub** (Associate Professor of Rhetoric, the University of California at Berkeley)

#### **Monday, 12 July: Ritual Processes in French History and Government**

##### **Lawrence M. Bryant, visiting**

We shall explore some of the ways that gestures, street pageants, processional rankings, symbols, and costumes temporarily gave French civic and royal ceremonies the appearance of unity and an ideal political order (or body). Attention will be given to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century royal entry performances where the king's person and the imagery of political theology were paramount. The royal entry gradually changed from precarious performances to be among the four fundamental ceremonies of the French Monarchy: the others were coronations, *lits de justice*, and royal funeral.

##### **Topics for discussion:**

Concepts of kingship as central to French ceremonial formations: royal charisma, ritual stability and socio-political order

Who orchestrated royal ceremonies?

On a “principle of random variation:” haphazardness versus agency in ritual development?

Socio-political identities and rights in the ceremonial representations of the body politic

Ceremonial Space: rankings and performances of popular and elite urban culture(s)

Dynastic symbolism in entries of kings and entries of queens

Considered diachronically, what do ceremonial entries contribute to understanding past cultures and historical development?

Performances and the styles of street plays, ephemerae, and public memory

Decorations and a hyperbole appropriate to the elevated status of the monarchy

**Core Reading:**

L. Bryant, "The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris" in *Ritual, Ceremony, and the Changing Monarchy in France, 1350-1789*, pp. 31-62.

Robert J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (chapter 7, "Ceremonies" pp. 94-123). Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008.

Seysssel, Claude de. *The Monarchy of France*, translated by J. H. Hexter and edited by Donald Kelley. New Haven and London, 1984, pp.. 38-66.

**Modern Editions and facsimiles on reserve for reference:**

Graham, Victor and W. McAllister Johnson. *The Parisian Entries of Charles IX and Elizabeth of Austria, 1571*. Toronto and Buffalo, 1974.

Guenée, Bernard and Françoise Lehoux. *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*. Paris 1968.

*Les Entrées royales à (1514) Paris de Marie d'Angleterre et Claude de France (1517)*, Edition by Cynthia J. Brown. Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 2005 (N.B.: not at Folger.)

"Entry of Henri II into Paris, 16 June 1549", ed. McFarlane, I.D., in *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, Binghamton, N.Y., 1982.

**Folger rare materials on reserve:**

DuTillet, Jean. *Recherches de France (1578-1580)*

Additional titles forthcoming

**Tuesday, 13 July: French Ceremonial Styles and Political Culture:**

**Lawrence M. Bryant, visiting**

Themes and issues centering on changes in civic ceremonies to new-styled triumphal and monumental spectacles of royal majesty are explored. Among local and royal officials and the nobility, displaying appropriate rank and decorum in the order of processions and street pageantry became of primary concern. Coteries of humanists, poets, courtiers and lawyers reshaped, preserved and invented traditions of royal performances amid conflicting theories of rulership, new renaissance styles and devastating religious-civil wars.

**Topics for discussion:**

Articulations of social, religious and political power and identity in the guise of ancient rituals Budé, de Seyssel, and DuTillet on the constitutional status of royal ceremonies

Symbolism of state ceremonies and contemporary realities (and problems) of government.

Printed ceremonial program books as agents for literary, architectural, conduct, moral, and religious changes

Cultural and political significance of the turn from rarely performed state ceremonies to daily rituals serving the king's body as the dominant style of royal ritual.

Fantasy and actuality in shaping programs of government and dynastic monarchy or the limits of ceremonial performance as politics

**Core Readings:**

Everyone:

"Entry of Henri II into Paris, 16 June 1549", in *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, ed. McFarlane, I.D., Binghamton, N.Y., 1982.

L. Bryant, "Making History: Ceremonial texts, Royal Space, and Political Theory in the Sixteenth Century", in *Ritual, Ceremony, and the Changing Monarchy in France, 1350-1789*, pp. 156-186.

S. Annette Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1789-1610*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999. chapter 3 "Henry's Ceremonial Entries: The Remaking of a King" pp. 47-62.

Additionally, each participant should select an essay of interest to them in the following collection for discussion of the various cultural forms that developed from rituals and ceremonies as well as of the current state of scholarship in the French tradition. **A master copy will be on the reserve shelf**, please pick an article to read in the library, or make a photocopy to read elsewhere.

*French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event Image, Text*, edited by Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin. Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto, 2007.

**Suggested Readings:**

Bloch, Marc. *The Royal Touch: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, translated by J. E. Anderson. London 1973 (French edition, 1924).

Bryant, Lawrence. "Ritual, Civic, and Royal" in *Europe 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, Jonathan Dewald, editor in chief.. New York, 2004. Vol.. V, pp. 228-235.

Geertz, Clifford. "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Symbols of Power" in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*. New York, 1983, pp. 120-146.

Giesey, Ralph. "Models of Rulership in French Royal Ceremonial" in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, edited by Sean Wilentz. Philadelphia, 1985, pp. 41-64.

Muir, Edward. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, 1997. (particularly Part III, "Ritual and Representation,") pp. 147-275.

**Wednesday 14 July**

**Michael Wintroub, visiting**

**Topics for discussion:**

The Theological and the Political

Materiality and Ritual

The Other and Sovereignty: Desecration of the Host and the Clipping of Coins

Calibrating/replicating (standardizing) Truth/Value/Power: The Trial of the Pyx

Rituals of Purification/Exclusion

The Transposition/Transformation (i.e., the development/genealogy) of Ritual

**Core Reading:**

Marc Shell, *Art & Money* (Chicago and London, 1995), 7-55.

Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven and London, 1999), 28-39 and 159-161

Simon Schaffer, "Golden means: assay instruments and the geography of precision in the Guinea trade", in M.-N. Bourguet, C. Licoppe, H. O. Sibum, (eds), *Instruments, Travel, and Science: Itineraries of Precision from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (London and New York, 2002).

Jacob Marcus and Marc Saperstein, *The Jew in the Medieval World: a source book* (Cincinnati, 1999), 174-177 (The Passau Host Desecration, 1478).

**Suggested Readings:**

Ruding, Rogers, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its dependencies* (London, 1840), "Of the Trial of the Pix" 69-76.

Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture* (Cambridge, 1991), 44-46.

L. Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis, 1988), 121-137.

Carlo Ginzburg, *Wooden Eyes: Nine Reflections on Distance* (New York, 2001), 63-78.

François Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, chapter 22.

**Thursday 15 July**

**Michael Wintroub, visiting**

**Topics for discussion:**

The Presence of God and the Presence of Sovereignty: The Eucharist in Brazil

Judaizers and Cannibals

Savages, Catholics and Calvinists: the dynamics of accusation and identification

Wars of Religion *avant la lettre*: the crucible of the New World

Ethnography or Reflections

Old World Rituals and the Construction/Inflection of New World Realities

The End of the World: the Old World and the New Comparative History/Ritual: diffusion, syncretism, coincidence?

**Core Readings:**

Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America...* translated by Janet Whatley (Berkeley, 1990), Chapter VI.

Tom Conley, "Thevet Revisits Guanabara," in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80: 4 (2000): 753-781.

Michel de Montaigne, "Of Cannibals."

André Thevet, *Histoire d'André Thevet Angoumois, Cosmographe du Roy, de deux voyages par luy faits aux Indes Australes, et Occidentales*, critical edition by Jean-Claude Laborie and Frank Lestringant (Geneva, 2006), 221.

**Suggested Readings:**

Frank Lestringant, *Cannibals* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), 53-80.

Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999), 137-147.

Hélène Clastres, *The Land-Without-Evil*, translated J. G. Brovender (Urbana and Chicago, 1995), 45-71.

J. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1970), 69-80.

Michael Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity and Knowledge in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 2006), 91-114.

WEEK FIVE: (19-23 JULY): CONQUEST, CONVERSION, AND NEW WORLD HYBRIDS

**Barbara Fuchs** (Professor of Spanish and Portuguese, UCLA)

**Joseph Roach** (Sterling Professor of Theater, Yale University)

**Claire Sponsler** and participants

**Monday, 19 July**

**Barbara Fuchs, visiting**

**NB: change of meeting times: 10:30—11:30 am and 1—4:30 pm**

**Topics for discussion:**

How different are the European powers that vie for the New World, in their understanding and use of ceremony? How are European religious differences experienced in the New World? How has historiography used ceremony to construct difference?

How does ceremony enable or complicate hybridization and conquest in New World contexts?

**Core Readings:**

**Morning overview:**

Gruzinski, Serge and Nathan Wachtel, "Cultural Interbreedings: Constituting the Majority as a Minority" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Apr., 1997), pp. 231-250.

URL: HYPERLINK "<http://www.jstor.org/stable/179314>" <http://www.jstor.org/stable/179314>

**Afternoon:**

Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge, "European Difference in the New World", in *Puritan Conquistadors : Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2006. pp. 54-82.

Case study:

Dean, Carolyn, "Religious Ceremony, Hybridity and Acculturation" in *Inka bodies and the body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999. pp. 38-58.

**Suggested Readings:**

Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of possession in Europe's conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. pp 1-40 and 69-99.

Clendinnen, Inga. *Ambivalent conquests : Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. (Especially the "Appendix of Documents" on the trials of Mayans in 1562 for idolatry).

**Tuesday, 20 July:** Difference and Ceremony in New Spain

**Barbara Fuchs, visiting**

**NB: Change of meeting times: 9:15 – 11:15 am**

**Core readings:**

Hakluyt, Richard. "A Discourse written by one Miles Philips", in *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over-land to the remote ad farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compass of these 1600 yeares*. Glasgow, J. MacLehose and sons, 1903-05. Vol. 9, pp 398-445.

Paz, Octavio. *Sor Juana : Her Life and Her World*. Trans. Margaret Sayers Peden. London : Faber, 1988. "Political Rites" and "The World as Hieroglyph", pp 139-168.

**Suggested Readings:**

Helgerson, Richard. "'I Miles Philips': An Elizabethan Seaman Conscripted by History" *PMLA*, Vol. 118, No. 3, Special Topic: Imagining History (May, 2003), pp 573-580.

Fuchs, Barbara. "An English Pícaro in New Spain: Miles Philips and the Framing of National Identity," *Early Modernities*, CR: The New Centennial Review 2.1, Spring 2002: 55-68.

**Wednesday, 21 July: Joseph Roach, visiting**

**Topic: Ritual Murder**

**Core Readings:**

Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (1996), Chapter 4, "Feathered Peoples," pp. 119-78.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Chapter 15, "Deep Play: Notes on a Balinese Cock Fight," pp. 412-53.

**Thursday, 22 July: Joseph Roach, visiting**

**Topic: Ritual Play**

**Core Readings:**

J. Roach, "Deep Play, Dark Play: Framing the Limit(less)" (from the Richard Schechner festschrift, forthcoming—attached)

Turner, Victor. "Liminality and Communitas," in *The Performance Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Bial (Second Edition, 2004), pp. 89-97.

**Friday, 23 July: Claire Sponsler and participants**

**Wrap up, conclusions, new directions.**

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## Selected Primary Sources at the Folger

### Art and Engravings

Bardi, Ferdinando. *Descrizione delle Feste fatte in Firenze per le Reali Nozze de . . . Ferdinando II, Gran Duca di Toscana, e Vittoria, Principessa d'Urbino*. Florence, 1637.

Callot, Jacques. *La Carrière de Nancy*. Paris, ca. 1627.

An etching of the grand square of Nancy, filled with minutely detailed festive activity. Rather than an accurate representation of any particular festival, this may be a visual fantasia, juxtaposing a variety of events that would each take place in front of the ducal palace.

Collection of Seventeenth-Century Engravings related to Rome, ART Box R763

Thirty-two engravings, including several by Giovanni Bernini.

De la Serre, Jean Puget. *Histoire de l'entrée de la reyne mere du Roy Très Chrestien, dans la Grande-Bretaigne*. 1639.

A colored engraving of a state visit Marie de Medici made to the court of her daughter, Queen Henrietta Maria of England at a time of heightened antagonisms against the continent and Catholicism.

Harrison, Stephen. *The arch's of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince. James. the first of that name. King, of England. and the sixt of Scotland. at his Maiesties entrance and passage through his honorable citty & chamber of London. vpon the 15th. day of march 1603. Invented and published by Stephen Harrison ioyner and architect: and graven by William Kip*. [London]: Are to be sould at the white horse in Popes head Alley, by Iohn Sudbury and George Humble, [c]

*Histoire de la triomphante entree du roy et de la reyne dans Paris le 26. d'aoust, 1660: avec la representation et l'explication des arcs triomphaux qu'on y auoit esleué et de toutes les autres magnificences*. A Paris: Chez Van Merlen . . ., 1665.

Hollar, Wenceslaus. *The True Maner of the Execution of Thomas Earle of Strafford*. 1641.

Lant, Thomas. *Sequitur celebritas & pompa funeris*. [London, 1588].

A remarkable set of images of Sir Philip Sidney's funeral procession, more than 38 feet in length if pasted together as a scroll (as apparently at least one seventeenth-century copy was).

Perrault, Charles. *Festiva ad Capita Annulumque Decursio, a Rege Ludovico XIV*. Paris, 1670.

This oversize book of engravings with descriptive text commemorates one of the most elaborate tournaments of the age. In 1662, Louis XIV and his court costumed themselves as members of the five "great nations" of Romans, Persians, Turks, Indians, and American natives, and performed on horseback in front of the Tuileries palace. The plates document not only the order of appearance of the figures and the equestrian displays, but also provide close-up details of the costumes.

Rüxner, Georg. *Thurnier Buch*. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1566.

This book on tournaments in Germany and Switzerland is filled with detailed woodcuts, including two fold-outs. It includes a history of tournaments from 938 to 1487, descriptions of the tournaments and games held in Vienna in the spring of 1565, and an illustrated account of the ceremonial entrance of Emperor Charles V into the city of Binz, on the North Sea, in 1549.

### Manuscripts

Alley, Hugh. *A Caveatt for the City of London*, 1598. V.a.318.

Contains many ink drawings of different markets in London, together with depictions of the aldermen. It apparently was prepared to make an argument against unfair market practices. This is a unique manuscript; there is a facsimile edition by Ian Archer, Caroline Barron, and Vanessa Harding.

Dering, Sir Edward. *History of King Henry the Fourth* (conflated) copied ca. 1623. Facing f. 1 is a cast list for John Fletcher's *The Spanish Curate* as acted by Sir Edward Dering's family and friends (MS V.b.34)

Hall, Constance. Receipt book (1672), held by the Folger Shakespeare Library (MS V.a.20).

The Macro Plays manuscript

Contains *The Castle of Perseverance*, *Wisdom*, and *Mankind*.

*Manuscript letter to the "Right Worshipp" the Lord Mayor of London describing the correct order of a Lord Mayor's procession*. England, 1690. (MS ADD 1054).

Funeral rites and ceremonies

V.a. 447

Prescribing the orders of procession in the funeral of Sir Christopher Hatton

L.b.86

Tallying the costs of funeral trappings for Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels

Heraldry

Dozens of manuscripts, including guides for "visitations" by heralds, to certify proper protocol in various regions and households.

Selections from the Loseley Collection:

L.b.1

Writ under sign manual of Henry VIII to Christopher More, summoning him to attend Henry's first meeting with his future bride Anne of Cleves. More was to bring six "honestly furnished" servants and was himself to be "honestly appareled" in a black velvet coat with a chain of gold around his neck, and to have velvet gowns or "some other good silk for their change accordingly."

L.b.2

Detailed accounts of expenditures for wages, materials, and transportation of plays and masques at court from 1540 to 1544 as well as for king's wardrobe for a voyage to France in 1544.

L.b.16

Warrant under the sign manual to Sir Thomas Cawarden, concerning the delivery of materials for a Christmas tilt during the reign of Edward VI (at the time of the trial of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, who had been Edward VI's Protector and was later executed on Jan. 22, 1552).

L.b.33

Warrant under sign manual to Sir Thomas Cawarden from Elizabeth, concerning her

coronation.

L.b.325

Inventory of bards and bases for horses and masquing garments for men and women, 1547.

L.b.341

Letter under sign manual to Sir Thomas Cawarden, from Mary at a time he was considered a potential threat related to Wyatt's Rebellion. Arms and armor were confiscated from Cawarden at that time.

L.b.508

A complaint from John Trew against Sir Edward Gage, "an extreme persecutor of the gospel," who had Trew pilloried and his ears cut off.

### Printed Books

Ashmole, Elias. *The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter / collected and digested into one body by Elias Ashmole; a work furnished with variety of matter, relating to honor and noblesse*. London: Printed by J. Maccock, for Nathanael [sic] Brooke, 1672.

Boemus, Joannes. *The manners, lavves, and customes of all nations. Collected out of the best vvriters by Ioannes Boemus Aubanus, a Dutch-man. With many other things of the same argument, gathered out of the historie of Nicholas Damascen. The like also out of the history of America, or Brasill, written by Iohn Lerijs. The faith, religion and manners of the Aethiopijs, and the deploration of the people of discourse of the Aethiopijs, taken out of Ioseph Scaliger his seuenth booke de Emendatione temporum. Written in Latin, and now newly translated into English by Ed. Aston*. London: 1611.

Catholic Church. *Expositio sequentiar[um]. Secundu[m] vsum Sar[um][The Sarum (Salisbury) Missal]*. London, 1512.

Catholic Church. *Missale ad vsu[m] insignis ecclesie Sa[rum]: nup[er] accuratissime castigatu[m]: p[er] pulcrisq[ue] characterib[us] impressu[m]: officia o[lim] s[an]cto[rum] totalit[er] ad longu[m] (q[uo]d celebra[n]tib[us] maxime erit vtilitati) co[n]tine[n]s cu[m] plurib[us] officiis nouis i[n] fine additis Magister Martinus Morin*. Imprime a Rouen: Martinus Morin, P. Coste, et G. Besnard, 1506.

*Cest la deduction du Somptrueux ordre, plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dresses et exhibes, par les citoiens de Rouen, ville metropolitaine du pays de Normandie, a la Sacree Majeste du tres Christien Roy de France Henry second leur souverain seigneur, et a tres illustre Dame, Ma Dame, Katherine de Medicis, La Royne son espouse, lors de leur triumphant, joyeux et nouvel advenement en icelle ville, qui fut es jours de mercredy et jedy premier et second jour d-octobre, Mil cinq cens cinquante*. Rouen, 1551.

Colt Collection of Festival Books

More than forty total, with a good sampling in the exhibition catalog: *The Festive Renaissance: Illustrated Books from the Colt Collection*. Ed. Laura Hull Cofield. Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1995.

*Courses de testes et de Bague Faittes par le Roy et par les Princes et Seigneurs de sa Cour en L'Année 1662*. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1670.

Includes depictions of a tournament with five quadrilles, each representing a great nation: The Romans (led by the King himself), the Persians, the Turks, the Indians, and the American savages.

Dekker, Thomas. *Londons Tempe, or, The feild of happines. In which field are planted seuerall trees of magnificence, state and bewty, to celebrate the solemnity of the Right*

Honorable James Campebell, at his inauguration into the honourable Thursday the 29 of October, 1629. All the particular inventions, for the pageants, shewes of triumph, both by water and land being here fully set downe, at the sole cost, and liberall charges of the Right worshipfull Society of Ironmongers. London, 1629.

De Léry, Jean. *Historia nauigationis in Brasiliam, quae et America dicitur*. Geneva, 1586.

*The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II, in his Passage through the City of London to his Coronation*. London, 1662.

Félibien, André, sieur des Avaux et de Javeroy. *Les divertissemens de Versailles donnés par le Roi à toute sa cour au retour de la conquête de la Franche-Comté en l'année mille six cent soixante-quatorze*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1676.

Froissart, Jean. *Here begynneth the first volum [sic] of sir Iohan Froyssart: of the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flau[n]ders: and other places adioynynge*. Tra[n]slated out of frenche. London, [1523].

Great Britain Public Record Office. *Venice Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*. Edited by Rawdon Brown, et al, 1202-1675. 38 vols. London, Longman, H.M.S.O., 1864-1947.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The principall nauigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or ouer land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: deuided into three seuerall parts, according to the positions of the regions wherunto they were directed. ... Whereunto is added the last most renowned English nauigation, round about the whole globe of the earth*. London, 1589.

Hulsen, Esaias van. *Repraesentatio der fürstlichen Aufzug vnd Ritterspil: so der durchleuchtig hochgeborn Fürst vnd Herr, Herr Johan Friderich Hertzog zu Württemberg, vnd Teeckh ... bey Ihr. Fe. Ge. neüwgebornen Sohn Friderich Hertzog zu Württemberg etc. fürstlicher Kindtauffen, denn 10. biss auff denn 17. Martij Anno 1616, inn der fürstlichen Haupt Statt Stuetgarten, mit grosser Solennitet gehalten*. Stuttgart, 1616.

Jordan, Thomas. *The goldsmiths jubile: or, Londons triumphs: containing, a description of the several pageants: on which are represented, emblematical figures, artful pieces of architecture, and rural dancing: with the speeches spoken on each pageant. Performed Octob. 29, 1674. for the entertainment of the Right Honourable, and truly noble pattern of prudence and loyalty, Sir Robert Vyner, Kt & Bart, Lord Mayor of the city of London: at the proper costs and charges of the worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. The Kings most sacred Majesty and His Royal Consort, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Dutchess of York, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, several foreign embassadours, chief nobility, and secretaries of state, honouring the city with their presence*. London, 1674.

Jordan, Thomas. *London in luster: projecting many bright beams of triumph: disposed into several representations of scenes and pageants. Performed with great splendor on Wednesday, October XXIX. 1679. At the initiation and instalment of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Clayton, Knight, Lord Mayor of the city of London. Dignified with divers delightful varieties of presentors, with speeches, songs, and actions, properly and punctually described. All set forth at the proper cost and charges of the worshipful Company of Drapers*. London, 1679.

Machyn, Henry. *The diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563, edited by John Gough Nichols*. London, 1848.

Martin, Gregory. *Roma sancta (1581). Now first edited from the manuscript by George Bruner Parks*. Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969.

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Montaigne, Michel de. *Les essais de Michel seigneur de Montagne [sic]; diuisez en trois liures; contenant vn riche & rare thresor de plusieurs beaux & notables discours couchez en vn stile.* Geneva, 1590.

[Mucedorus.] *A most pleasant comedie of Mucedorus the kings sonne of Valencia, and Amadine the kings daughter of Aragon with the merry conceits of Mouse: amplified with new additions, as it was acted before the Kings Maiestie at White-hall on Shroue-Sunday night, by His Highnesse seruants, vsually playing at the Globe: very delectable, and full of conceited mirth.* Imprinted at London: For William Iones, dwelling neere Holborne Conduit at the signe of the Gunne, 1613.

Nichols, John. *The progresses, processions, and magnificent festiuities, of King James the First, his royal consort, family, and court; collected from original manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, corporation records, parochial registers, &c, &c. Illustrated with notes, historical, topographical, biographical, and bibliographical.* London, J. B. Nichols, 1828.

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*Pompa introitus honori serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum Infantis . . .*  
Antwerp: Joannes Meursius, 1642.

Contains the designs of eleven triumphal arches designed by Peter Paul Rubens, as well as his frontispiece.

*The Quenes Maiesties Passage through the Citie of London to Westminster the Daye before her Coronacion.* London, 1559.

Rowe, John. *Tragi-comœdia. Being a brief relation of the strange, and wonderfull hand of God discovered at Witny, in the comedy acted there February the third, where there were some slaine, many hurt, with severall other remarkable passages. Together with what was preached in three sermons on that occasion from Rom. 1.18. Both which may serve as some check to the growing atheisme of the present age. By John Rowe of C.C.C. in Oxford, lecturer in the towne of Witny.* Oxford: printed by L. Lichfield, for Henry Cripps, anno Dom. 1653.

Sandford, Francis. *The history of the coronation of the most high, most mighty, and most excellent monarch, James II. By the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and of his royal consort Queen Mary: solemnized in the collegiate church of St. Peter in the city of Westminster, on Thursday the 23 of April, being the festival of St. George, in the year of our Lord 1685. With an exact account of the several preparations in order thereunto, Their Majesties most splendid processions, and their royal and magnificent feast in Westminster-Hall. The vvhole work illustrated with sculptures. By His Majesties especial command.* London: printed by Thomas Newcomb, 1687.

Sandford, Francis. *The order and ceremonies vsed for, and at the solemn interment of the most high, mighty and most noble Prince George Duke of Albemarle, Earle of Torrington,*

*Baron Monck of Potheridge*. London, 1670.

Scève, Maurice. *La Magnifica et Triumphale Entrata del . . . Re di Francia Henrico Secondo di Questo Nome Fatta nella Nobile & Antiqua Città de Lyone à Luy & à la Sua . . . Consorte Chaterina*. Lyons: Guillaume Rouillé, 1549.

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### NEH Institute Resources

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## Week 1: Early Exemplars, Shared Cultures

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## Week 2: Traditions and Transformations in Early Modern England

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STC 12863a Copy 1

### Christopher Bilodeau

Smith, John. *The The generall historie of Virginia. New-England. and the Summer Isles.* London: Printed by J. D[awson] and J. H[aviland] for Michael Sparkes, 1631. (plate between pp 20-21, detail)  
STC 22790

### Peter Craft

Hariot, Thomas. *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia. of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discovered by the English colon there seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight in the eere 1585. Which remained vnder the gouernement of twelue monethes. at the speciall charge and direction of the Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh Knight lord Warden of the stanneries who therein hath beene fauoured and authorised b her Maiestie:and her letters patents: This fore booke is made in English by Thomas Hariot seruant to the abouenamed Sir Walter. a member of the Colon. and there imploed in discovering Cum gratia et priuilegio Caes. Matis Speciali.* Francoforti ad Moenum: Typis Ioannis Wecheli, sumtibus vero Theodori de Bry anno M D XC. Venales reperiuntur in officina Sigismundi Feirabendii, 1590. (plate XVIII).  
STC 12786

### Caitlin Finlayson

Harrison, Stephen. *The arch's of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince. James. the first of that name. King, of England. and the sixt of Scotland. at his Maiesties entrance and passage through his honorable citty & chamber of London. vpon the 15th. day of march 1603.* London: Invented and published by Stephen Harrison ioyner and architect: and graven by William Kip. 1613. (New Plate 5. At Cheapside, "Garden of Plenty").  
STC 12863a Copy 1

### Marcia Hall

Duerer, Albrecht. *The Triumphal Arch.* 1515. Woodcut.  
Permissions and Photo Credit: The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

Piero della Francesca. *Allegory of the Triumph of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza.* ca. 1465. Tempera on wood.  
Permissions and Photo Credit: The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY.

## Matthew Hansen

De Schouburgh van binnen op't Tooneel aen te sien. 1658.

ART File A528.5 no.2 (size M)

Quincy, Joseph. Shakespeare's Globe Theatre. Conjectural Reconstruction. 1922.

ART Box A214 no.3

## Kenneth Hodges

Tilney, Edmund. The descriptions regiments and policies as well general, as particularly of Italy, France, Germany, Spain, England and Scotland, etc. by the several particularities whereof the perfect estate of each one of them may generally be discovered. ca. 1597-ca. 1601.

V.b.182 373r

Armorial of English families. ca. 1590

V.b.74, 196v-198r

A miscellaneous collection of heraldic material. ca. 1540

V.a. 337

## John Hunt

Falda, Giovanni Battista. Nuoua et essatta pianta del conclaue con le funtioni e ceremonie per l'elettione del nuouo pontefice fatto nella sede vacante di Papa Clemente IX che sede anni II mesi V giorni XIX nel quale entrorno .... cardinali a di XX Decembre MDCLXIX. Rome [Italy]: Gio. Iacomo Rossi le stampa. ca. 1670.

ART Box R763 no. 23

## Matthew Irvin

St. Stephen's day hymn [manuscript], 15th century.

Z.e.4 Map case

Catholic Church. Hore beate Marie v[ir]g[ini]s secundu[m] vsum Sarum. Paris: Jean Philippi for] Thielman Kerver: Pro Iohanne Ricardo mercatore librario Rothomagi. 1497. (pp 4)  
STC 15885

Catholic Church. The primer in Englishe and Latine, set out along, after the vse of Sa[rum]: with many godlie and deuoute praiers: as it apeareth in the table. Imprinted at London: by Ihon Kyngston, and Henry Sutton, 1557. (f. E4v-55r).

STC 16081

## Nancy Kay

Harrison, Stephen. The arch's of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince, James, the first of that name, King, of England, and the sixt of Scotland, at his Maiesties entrance and passage through his honorable citty & chamber of London, vpon the 15th. day of march 1603. London: Invented and published by Stephen Harrison ioyner and architect: and graven by William Kip. 1613. (title page, "the Dutch Arch," "Londinium," "Nova Felix Arabia," "Garden of Plenty," "The New World," "Temple of Janus," "The Italian Arch.").

STC 12863a Copy 1

Hollar, Wenceslaus. Byrsa Londinensis, vulgo the Royall Exchange of London. [London, England: s.n., 1644?].

ART Vol. d86 no.1

Hollar, Wenceslaus. Byrsa Londinensis, vulgo the Royall Exchange of London. [London, England: s.n., 1647?].

ART Box H737.5 no 18

Hollar, Wenceslaus. *Chori Ecclesiae Cathedralis S. Pauli. prospectus interior.* [graphic].  
Wenceslaus Hollar. delineauit et sculpsit.  
ART File L847c1, no.8

Schryver, Cornelius de. *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst, van den  
hooghmogenden Prince Philips. Prince van Spaignen, Caroli des vijfden, Keysers sone,  
inde stadt van Antwerpen. anno M.CCCCC.XLIX.. duer Cornelium Grapheum der seluer  
stadt secretaris. warachtelijck en[d] leuentlijck int Latijn brescreuen.* Geprint Tantwerpen:  
Voer Peeter Coecke van Aelst, gesworen printere, by Gillis van Diest, 1550. (K3r,  
illustration).  
222-765f

*[London gates] Ald-gate. Bishops-Gate. Moore-Gate. Cripple-Gate. Alders-Gate. New-Gate.  
Lud-Gate. the Bridge-Gate* [graphic]. B. Cole, sculp.  
ART File L847ml no.1 (size M).

## Andrew McCarthy

*Memento mori remember to die.* [London: s.n., 1640].  
STC 17816.5

## Elina Gertsman and Cynthia Nazarian

*La Vie de ma dame sainte Marguerite vierge [et] martyre avec son oraison.* [France: s.n.,  
15--]. (A1r, detail)  
192-670q

## Patrick O'Banion

Catholic Church, Pope Gregory XIII. *The holy bull, and crusado of Rome: first published by  
the holy father Gregory the xiii. and afterwards renewed and ratified by Sixtus the fift: for all  
those which desire full pardon and indulgence of their sinnes: and that for a litle money, to  
weete, for two Spanish realls, vz. thirteene pence. Very plainly set forth, and compared  
with the testimony of the holy scriptures, to the great benefite and profite of all good  
Christians. Together with a briefe declaration (set downe in the beginning) which was  
founde in the Armado of Spaine, of the prowde presumption of the Spaniard: which through  
the instigation of the aforesaide bulle, hath taken in hand the setting forth of the inuincible  
army (as they terme it) out of Portingale, towards England, and the Lowe countries, in which  
army the saide bulle hath been founde, with other like things. Which armado is come to  
confusion ... Imprinted first by Richard Schilders printer to the states of Sealand: with  
consent of the states. giuen at Middleborowe, the xii. of September. 1588.* Reprinted at  
London: by Iohn Wolfe, dwelling in the stationers hall, 1588. (pp 19).  
STC 12354 Copy 1

Ward, Samuel. *The Papists Powder-Treason: Deo Trin-vni Britanniae bis ultori. In Memoriam  
Classis Inuincibilis subuersae. submersae: Proditionis Nefandae detectae. disiectae. To God,  
In Memory of His double Deliverance from y[e] invincible Navie, and y[e] unmatcheable  
Powder-Treason.* [S.l.: s.n., 1689]. (detail)  
251142

## Stephanie Seery-Murphy

La Serre, M. de (Jean-Puget). *Histoire de l'entree de la reyne mere du roy tres Chrestien,  
dans la Grande-Bretaigne. Enrichie de planches. Par le Sr. de la Serre, Historigraphe de  
France.* A Londre: Par Jean Raworth, pour George Thomason, 1639. (plates 2, 3, 4 and 11).  
STC 20488

## Rachel Burk and Christopher Swift

Thomas Middleton. *A game at chess as it was acted nine dayes to gether at the Globe on the banks side.* [London: s.n., 1625?]. (title page).

STC 17882.2

Scott, Thomas. *The second part of Vox populi, or Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament, wherein are discovered his treacherous & subtile practises to the ruine as well of England, as the Netherlandes.* Printed at Goricom [i.e.

London]: by Ashuerus lanss, 1624. Stilo nouo. (title page).

STC 22103.2 copy 1

Almansa y Mendoza, Andres. *Tvvo royall entertainments, lately giuen to the most illustrious Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine, by the high and mighty Philip the fourth King of Spaine. &c. At the feasts of Easter and Pentecost. Translated out of the Spanish originals printed at Madrid.* London: Printed [by John Haviland] for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at the Pide Bull neere Saint Austins Gate, 1623. (title page).

STC 533

Almansa y Mendoza, Andres. *The ioyfull returne. of the most illustrious prince. Charles. Prince of great Brittain, from the court of Spaine. Together, with a relation of his magnificent entertainment in Madrid, and on his way to St. Anderas, by the King of Spaine. The royall and princely gifts interchangeably giuen. Translated out of the Spanish copie. His wonderfull dangers on the seas, after his parting from thence: miraculous deliuer, and most happy-safe landing at Portsmouth on the 5. of October.* London: Printed by Edward All-de for Nathaniell Butter and Henry Seile, 1623. (title page).

STC 5025

## Lisa Voigt

Machado, Simão Ferreira. *Triunfo eucharistico, exemplar da Christandade lusitana em publica exaltação da fé na solemne trasladação do divinissimo sacramento da Igreja da Senhora do Rosario, para hum novo templo da Senhora do Pilar em Villa Rica, corte da capitania das Minas. Aos 24. de mayo de 1733 ... / exposto á publica noticia por Simam Ferreira Machado.* Lisboa Occidental: Na Oficina da musica ..., M.DCC.XXXIV [1734]. (title page). Reproduced with permissions from The Catholic University of America.

## Anne Wohlcke

*Reign of William III and Mary* [scrapbook].

ART Vol. d105 no.63

Hooghe, Romeyn de. *Krooning van Willem de III. en Maria, [graphic] tot Koning en Koningin van Engeland. enz. in Westmunsters Abdy den 11/21. April 1689.* [Amsterdam]: Carolus Allard, [ca. 1689].

ART Vol. d105 no.63

*The metallick history of the reigns of King William III. and Queen Mary. Queen Anne. and King George I. Being a series of near four hundred medals, with the explication of devises, inscriptions and legends...* London: printed for John and Paul Knapton, 1747. (detail).

ART Vol. d105 no.66

## Suzanne Yeager

T.D. *Canaans calamitie Ieruselems misery, or The dolefull destruction of faire Ierusalem by Tytus, the sonne of Vaspasian Emperour of Rome, in the yeare of Christs incarnation 74. Wherein is shewed the woonderfull miseries which God brought vpon that city for sinne, being vtterly ouer-throwne and destroyed by sword, pestilence and famine.* At London: Printed [by W. Jones] for Thomas Bayly, and are to be sould at the corner-shop in the middle rowe iu [sic] Holborne, neere adioyning vnto Staple Inne, 1618.

STC 6494

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