Mainz Historical Cultural Sciences

Jörg Rogge (ed.)

Making Sense as a Cultural Practice

Historical Perspectives

[transcript]

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Making Sense as a Cultural Practice

Mainz Historical Cultural Sciences | Volume 18

Editorial

The **Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften** [Mainz Historical Cultural Sciences] series publishes the results of research that develops methods and theories of cultural sciences in connection with empirical research. The central approach is a historical perspective on cultural sciences, whereby both epochs and regions can differ widely and be treated in an all-embracing manner from time to time. Amongst other, the series brings together research approaches in archaeology, art history, visual studies, literary studies, philosophy, and history, and is open for contributions on the history of knowledge, political culture, the history of perceptions, experiences and life-worlds, as well as other fields of research with a historical cultural scientific orientation.
The objective of the **Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften** series is to become a platform for pioneering works and current discussions in the field of historical cultural sciences.

The series is edited by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Research Unit Historical Cultural Sciences (HKW) at the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz.

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Preface

The collections of papers presented in this volume are the reworked contributions to the conference "Making Sense as a Cultural Practice – Historical Perspectives" which took place in Mainz, 18-20th September 2012.

Thanks to all the colleagues for their commitment and their readiness to deliver their papers within six month.

I would like to thank the Research Unit Historical Cultural Sciences at the Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz for finical support and all the people who helped to plan, organize and accomplish the conference, especially Kristina Müller-Bongard.

Jörg Rogge *Mainz, May 2013*

Welcome Address

BY MECHTHILD DREYER, VICE-PRESIDENT FOR STUDIES AND TEACHING,
JOHANNES GUTENBERG-UNIVERSITY MAINZ

The Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz is one of the oldest universities in Germany and with more than 36,000 students one of the largest as well. According to our mission statement, our university is a place of learning in the unity of research and teaching. It is characterized by a diversity of subject disciplines, specific fields of excellence and cosmopolitanism. Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz is divided into ten faculties including Mainz University Medical Centre (UM) and two art schools – unique within the German academic landscape. Covering almost the entire spectrum of university specialties, our university offers a wide range of courses across more 145 subjects – from the humanities, economics and business administration, social sciences, law, the natural sciences, medicine and dentistry up to artistic subjects, sport theology and interpreting/translation. This variety of subjects does not only provide our students a great personal fulfilment freedom, but also ensures excellent teaching and an interdisciplinary and internationally research.

As an inter-faculty and interdisciplinary institution for the networking and promotion of empirical cultural sciences, the Special Research Unit Historical Cultural Sciences is not only a prime example for interdisciplinarity but also for internationality.

The Special Research Unit links several departments and different academic disciplines within our university intending to interconnect and stimulate research within the cultural sciences. It combines empirical work and profound theoretical and methodological considerations in a historical perspective. The Research Unit is financially supported from 2008 to 2013 by the State of Rhineland-Palatinate and aims at developing a specific historical-cultural profile within the University's general academic portfolio. I am very pleased about all the activities of the Special Research Unit Historical Cultural Sciences:

- establishing a research library "Historical Cultural Sciences" at our university
- inviting several outstanding scholars in the field of "Theories and Methods of Historical Cultural Sciences" as fellows of our Gutenberg Research College
- hosting an interdisciplinary research symposium three to four times each semester in order to increase synergies between the different academic disciplines
- establishing a new historical-cultural book series called "Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften" – twelve volumes are already published, five ones will appear in 2013
- initiating a project to develop a handbook on key concepts of the Historical Cultural Sciences, which will be published in 2013

One of the main concerns of the Research Unit is to strengthen the international networking and to implement the existing international co-operations in active formats, such as this third international conference. The conference in 2012 aims to examine how, in different contexts, the construction of sense was organized and implemented as a cultural practice. To broaden the perspective on this question, the Special Research Unit invited several scholars focussing on aspects of constructing meaning. The former conference as well as this volume shall introduce Historical Cultural Sciences in Mainz and to the international scientific community. It indicates the successful efforts of our scholars and their efficient international cooperation with other research groups and it additionally allows to fulfil another important task which is the support and bringing together of young academics. Our university gains much from such exchanges, and we greatly appreciate the contacts we have been able to make and maintain. The Special Research Unit Historical Cultural Sciences in Mainz are pursuing an excellent path – especially the conference and its volume is a good example for the way our university actively participates in the global academic community. Therefore I would like to thank Jörg Rogge and his team for organizing the conference and publishing its papers in the following volume.

Introduction[1]

Jörg Rogge, Matthias Berlandi, Judith Mengler

I.

The general theme of this volume is based on the assumption that human beings want to understand themselves, their environment and reality, and thus give them a sense. In the cultural and social formations of the past, practices exist for the generation and integration of moments having and giving a sense with the objective of strengthening the cultural and social cohesion. Such practices and processes of cohesion have a constructive character, even if this is not always in the minds of the actors themselves.

At the same time, the production and genesis of sense is not only dependent here on various media and discourses. Above all, it is not to be understood as a constant *creatio ex nihilo*, but is based, as a rule, on previous knowledge, traditions and normative concepts which are constantly being interpreted and rewritten. Consequently, they are subject to complex historical transformations. Every change, or the results of the same, then form at the same time the starting point for new practices and modifications, for instance when new experiences are classified by the development of new holistic or solidarity concepts, and given a sense. Such modifications and breaks with traditions, just as much as phenomena of the crisis of sense, the loss of sense or the destruction of sense, cannot be logically deduced, but only determined by and from concrete historical cultural practice.

1 Jörg Rogge has written part one of this introduction; Matthias Berlandi and Judith Mengler have written part two of this introduction, based on their conference report, which was published at Mainz, January 2013 (http://www.historische.kulturwissenschaften.uni-mainz.de/Dateien/Rep_Making_Sense_09.04.2013.pdf, 14.04.2013).

Constructions of sense and the interpretation of the world by contemporaries are accordingly a part and result of cultural practice. The construction of sense becomes tangible above all in the production of texts, sculptures and works of art, of rituals and ceremonies, as well as in the reception and transformation of the traditional sense contents associated with these material-sensory forms of expression. These practices can be linked with different sense dimensions and objectives – for instance with political legitimation, transcendent-religious orientation, cultural conceptions (of oneself) and constructions of identity.

Therefore the constructions of sense differ with regard to their range, their subject matter and with regard to their claim to recognition. The procedures and practices of the genesis of sense differ; and therefore it is not possible to decide solely at a theoretical level in what manner, in what forms and with what means and results discursive and other practices generate sense. Depending on the goal being striven for with the generation of sense and taking account of the respective political and social structural conditions, the forms and means of construction of sense vary. Therefore there must be an investigation on the basis of case studies how exactly these practices were employed in historical situations and how they functioned. That is taking place in this volume in the case studies presented by participants.

The papers in this volume are concentrating above all on two dimensions of constructions of sense: firstly on their forms and media and secondly on the politico-social structural conditions which are, of course, for their part already products of the interpretation work.

Cultural practices of the construction of sense make use firstly of specific media and forms of the presentation, handing down and modification of sense. These range from ritual rules and staging through structural models and patterns, pictures and presentation diagrams to language patterns and literary genres, as well as general forms of sentence and style. These media and forms differ greatly historically and have different, but always considerable influences on the handing down and representation of sense in each case. The possibilities and restrictions of the different media and materialities bring about specific course settings, asymmetries and exclusions. Nevertheless, even in well-worn semantics and dominant media, new ways can be taken for the construction of sense. These then lead to radical cultural changes and changes of media, or to new developments of forms of expression and reorientation in the history of ideas.

Secondly, cultural sense-giving processes do not take place (or for the most part do not do so alone) in an area of discursive contextlessness. On the contrary, they are shaped precisely by prevailing political and social conditions. The specific characteristic of concrete constructions of sense thus becomes accessi-

ble only by taking account of the sense-generating practices of the respective politico-social circumstances. But conversely, interpretations, that have been handed down, modified or newly developed, can also contribute to the legitimation or delegitimation of social and political constellations. Historical-political contextualisation therefore also takes a look at the reciprocal effects in cultural practice, here above all the interpretation and objectives of social and political constellations.

As the production of sense is among the central fields of action of cultural and political practice, the academic objective of this interdisciplinary volume is to examine how, in different contexts, the construction of sense was organised and implemented as a cultural practice. In addition to the recording of the production of sense in concrete terms in the case studies, in relation to the respective social formations, in the articles the methods and theories applied for research into cultural conditions for the genesis and production of sense are reflected upon. In order to achieve comparative results in the case studies, the contributors to this volume are dealing with one or more of the following questions:

In what forms and media is sense conveyed, transformed and modified in the different historical situations? To what extent do medial prerequisites and conditions, with their respective distinctive feature; contribute to the genesis of sense? How and in what forms are sense-generating practices represented even in cultural artefacts? To what extent do medial overlappings succeed in making a mark in this connection on these representations? What function do medial aspects fulfil in the context of cultural sense practices? How is legitimation striven for and acquired through integration into sense traditions, for instance, through staged references to representation models and established patterns of representation?

What specific possibilities and restrictions are associated with different media and forms of representation? In what relationship do the media and forms of representation stand to the politico-social circumstances and the structures of meaning constructions? How do the politico-social circumstances influence the cultural practices of the genesis of sense? What effects do modifications of the structural and institutional prerequisites have on the cultural practice generating sense – and why? How do political and social orders stabilise or destabilise sense-giving processes? How do sense-giving processes and their results react on the politico-social conditions of their origin? In what relationship do the politico-social circumstances stand to the media and forms of representation and the structures of sense constructions?

In the course of the conference and in the modified articles in this volume, these questions had been put into concrete terms as the contributors exemplify

and present the politico-social conditions for constructions of sense, as well as the forms and media used for this in the fields under examination religion and piety, knowledge, political cultures, identities, corporeality and emotions.

II.[2]

Ruben Zimmermann analyzes the parable genre as a form of re-use (*Wiedergebrauch*) which fulfils the narrative function of communicating the past and thereby provides lendable models for the process of shaping the identity and community of the Early Christians. Zimmermann defined a parable as a fictional historical text based on reality with implicit or explicit markers of differentiation between literal words and the text, an appeal structure and the challenge for the reader to carry out a metaphoric transfer. He concluded that parables have a sense-making role through their mnemonic function for the community as well as for the individual identity.

Christina Lutter presents a paper that aims at analyzing medieval visions of a community in a transcultural perspective. She discusses the making of a community within a religious environment and its fluent transitions to the world "outside", highlighting that visions of community not only bestow meaning on social groups but that they in turn confirm and, at the same time, change them in and through social practice. Thus, community can also be defined as a social practice: Monastic *vita communis* is characterized by regularity, organization and discipline to train community habitually and performatively.

Paolo Perantoni focuses on the family book of the Venetian textile-merchant Bartolomeo dal Bovo and its historical value as an "ego-document". The heterodox content of Dal Bovo's book, written by different persons in the 15th century, allows the research of several aspects of cultural and social history of the period. Perantoni pointed out, that the book created a font of knowledge as well as a genealogy of the family's nobility to strengthen their standing in the upper classes.

Asking for the conceptualization of knowledge, Ane Ohrvik analysis the genre of Black Books (Norwegian: Svartebogen). Black Books as "know-how" books were produced by writers of various social and cultural backgrounds, the oldest dating from 1480, and the youngest from the late 19th century. Ohrvik

2 Unfortunately and due to different circumstances Jeorjios Martin Beyer (Mainz), Maria Mair (Vienna), Jonas Liliequist (Umeå), Hanna Kietäväinen-Sirén (Jyväskylä) and Brita Brenna (Oslo) had not been able to publish their papers in this volume.

concentrates on the strategies of authorization of knowledge in the examined books, naming three main methods: the style of production, the repetition of authorship and the reference to sources. She concludes that the validity of knowledge is produced through placing it in time and space and connecting it with material objects, whereby a sort of biography of knowledge is developed.

ANNE ERIKSEN comments on Johannes Lilienskiold's Grand Tour which started in 1668, travelling through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, England and the Netherlands. Eriksen focuses on Lilienskiold's travel book that contains numerous lists, which are structured in primary lists of places within a city and secondary lists of things on or at these locations. The list system, which is of particular scholarly interest, allows to organize and to reflect the gained educational knowledge. Additionally, this collection captures knowledge and shows the competences of its producer and "owner". Thereby, experiences become moveable items through the transformation from objects to observations and from observations to written lists.

JÖRG ROGGE shows how political meaning has been created in late medieval Britain and the relevance of public spaces in this process. Especially the inauguration of new kings needed the evocation of a certain political meaning in order to show the legitimacy of the monarch. In the paper he gives three examples – from Scotland in the middle of the 13th century and from England in 1399 and 1461 – where different claims to power clashed and special political settings were used to communicate the rightfulness of the new ruler. This aim was achieved by symbolic practices e.g. gestures and speeches, and by political settings which were constituted both by places and crowds.

JAN KUSBER focuses on different ways of understanding the autocratic rule of Ivan the Terrible, the first Czar of Russia. This new title symbolized the new dimension of power he claimed as a divine ruler. Ivan's conquests were added to the title and so they gained symbolical meaning. Ivan also communicated his measures through different media and thereby influenced them, e.g. his impact on icon painting. Another way of making sense was his correspondence with other European rulers, where he could demonstrate his impressive education. Jan Kusber points out the sense-making of Ivan the Terrible by politicians and historiographers during the centuries up to now.

SIMONE LONARDI analyzes how historians are able to follow the paths of news and information exchange based on Camillo Badoer's relations as an informer of the *Inquisitorio di stato* in Venice during the second half of the 17th century. Badoer gathered information about public opinion and especially by using printed gazettes he pointed to the dawn of journalism in this time, which modified the relationship between government and subjects.

Federico Barbierato argues that the spread of information in early modern period affected and outlined the conditions for the development of widespread political and religious scepticism. Since the 17th century people were confronted with a flood of printed gazettes and written manuscripts which were controlled by different interest groups. People perceived the truth as something temporary and developed a political scepticism which was transferred to religious matters later on. As a result, the Bible was no longer an authority and Gazettes created a possibility for people to take part in the political process.

Anu Korhonen refers to the Renaissance body as a powerful signifier of identity and social status, which had to be read by the spectator with considerable practical knowledge and skill. Using the example of the fool, she discussed the cultural practice of making sense of the body. The identification of the fool relies mainly on his physical attributes and his habits – his costumes, looks, gestures etc. Some of his accessories, e.g. the cockscomb, became a synonym for the fool itself, others were of practical use in the fool's performance. His body was considered to be ugly and deformed with similarities to the appearance of animals, while his habits were childish and vulgar in order to question the social norm.

Alessandro Arcangeli focuses on classifications of passions in the 16th century, when a discourse on passions arose from the territories of medicine and philosophy and intersected with new political and religious concerns. The most popular taxonomies and value systems, by which early modern writers made sense of feelings and psychological conditions as well as suggested paths to a good life, were provided by Stoicism and Aquinas. Arcangeli outlines the circulation of and interaction between these paradigms in a variety of 16th century texts and related them to meaningful historical contexts.

Marjo Kaartinen discusses the cultural practices of making sense of breast cancer as well as the manner in which its understanding was a cultural practice. In her sources, from medical treatises to doctors' casebooks and from patients' letters to prescription collections, various explanations for cancer were given, but emotional reasons became manifest and were repeated in nearly every report. Especially the emotional arguments became evident for gendering cancer to women, to whom strong passions such as anger, sadness and hysteria. It is surprising that there is no evidence for a religiously motivated blame respectively cancer seen as a religious punishment.

Eivind Engebretsen comments on hunger as a cultural category by the close reading of two appeals for alms from Beauvais in 1662. As in the case of cancer, also hunger had a gendering aspect by corrupting key-symbols of gender role models: the fear of being a bad mother or the father's disability to protect

and care for his family. Engebretsen then explains that hunger had a place, and that there was a difference between rural and urban people. Especially in cities the social impact of hunger became evident in upper classes, where nobles were ashamed and afraid of losing their reputation.

Cay-Rüdiger Prüll analyzes how diabetics interpreted their disease of becoming equivalent members of the Western Germany society. Since 1957 diabetics' self-awareness and self-confidence increased and they were able to shape their identity by emphasizing their healthy way of life – especially in contrast to contemporaries who suffered from overweight and hedonism. The process of understanding diabetes through specific conduct values as well as specific medical visions helped to integrate this social group as reliable members of the society.

Communities

The Parables of Jesus as Media of Collective Memory

Making Sense of the Shaping of New Genres in Early Christianity, with Special Focus on the Parable of the Wicked Tenants (Mark 12:1-12)

Ruben Zimmermann

The death of Jesus did not make sense at all. He told his disciples about the kingdom of God, which is not merely a future kingdom, but one which is "in fact, among you" (Luke 17:21). He spoke about himself as the "Son of Man" from heaven, who appears as the lightning flashes and lights up the sky from one side to the other (Q/Luke 17:24). He was celebrated as the expected Messiah, who would, as a descendant of King David, rescue the Jews from the oppression of the Romans. Thus, the death of Jesus must have been shocking, especially because of the fact that he was crucified. Crucifixion was not only the death penalty for subversive criminals. According to the Jewish Scriptures "[e]veryone is cursed who hangs on a tree" (Deut 21:22f.) and in the first century the cross was understood to be such a tree (see Gal 3:13). Jesus' death on a cross simply did not make sense.

However, one of the most impressive processes of "making sense" began at the nadir of this story, a process which has not only influenced most of Western history, but which has also endured up to the present day. The cross of Jesus can be seen as the starting point or, in other words, as the birth of Christian theology. That is to say, the cross marks the birth of the Christian way of interpreting history and reality. Thus, early Christianity may indeed be an appropriate environment for gaining insight into the process of "creating sense".

In the following paper I would like to address a few components of this process. What are the means and media of creating sense in early Christianity?

How could a meaningful interpretation of the cross and the story of Jesus as a whole take place? It is important to recognize that a vital component of early Christian tradition is the process of *remembering* the life and death of Jesus. For this reason, "creating sense" takes place within and by means of this process of remembering. According to Jan and Aleida Assmann, among others,[1] memory always needs media and form to be constructed, conserved, and communicated. Various forms, such as diaries, wedding rings, photos, or gravestones are used by individuals to remember significant events in their own biographies. Similarly, collective and even cultural memory[2] is shaped by means of special media, which, according to Aleida Assmann, can be distinguished more abstractly in metaphor, writing, images, bodies and locations.[3] Although several forms of collective memory are frequently used by different groups, each group generates special forms which can be regarded as typical for a certain memory and which help to construct the identity of that group.

The following paper deals with the question of the media used in early Christian communities in order to remember the life and death of Jesus. I will focus in particular on language-based memory as it is preserved in early Christian writings and therefore, for the moment, leave aside various other forms such as archaeological artifacts or rituals.

My main hypothesis is that memory requires the repetition and typification of certain forms in order to gain collective meaning. The process of remembering thus not only inevitably leads to the development of certain forms and genres, but this very development of forms can be viewed as a decisive step in the process of "making," or perhaps more accurately, of "creating sense".

In the first part of my paper I would like to discuss more general issues of "creating sense in the process of remembering" through the use of genres. In the second part I will then apply these insights to early Christianity with special focus on the parable genre.

1 Assmann et al., 1998; Borsò et al., 2001; Erll/Nünning, 2004.

2 Assmann, 2005.

3 In Assmann, 1999.

1. Memory and Creating Sense through Genre

1.1 Media and Forms of Cultural Memory

The meaning of conventionalized forms in individual memory was demonstrated by Frederic C. Barlett in his study *Remembering*.[4] Barlett studied serial memory in particular and was able to show that individual memories are often superimposed with genre schemata. For example, the participants in the study often added the typical first sentence of a fairy tale ("Once upon a time"[5]) even if this sentence was missing in the stories they were working with. In doing this, they categorized stories of a different genre into the familiar genre of "fairy tale".

The focus of Barlett's study on individual memory processes is also applicable to cultural memory. Collective memory takes place by means of the categorization of individual events into well-known and pre-shaped forms.

In order to preserve and understand the remembered past of a cultural community for future generations, this past must be stabilized. Therefore, we can draw on Jan Assmann to characterize the particular achievement of cultural memory as the assignment of meaning to the distant horizon of cultural communication.[6] Both direct participants in the communication as well as subsequent generations should be able to understand and interpret certain past events.

According to Jan Assmann, this stabilization is reached particularly through form and conciseness as mnemotechnical processes.[7] As examples, he points to the function of literary forms of expression or linguistic styles: "Reim, Assonanz, Parallelismus membrorum, Allitteration, Metrum, Rhythmus, Melos sind Verfahren solcher Stabilisierung, die dem Flüchtigen Dauer verleihen sollen."[8] Every cultural community possesses a basic inventory of conventionalized

4 Barlett, 1955.

5 Ibid., p. 123, 130, 134, 140 etc.

6 Assmann, 2002, p. 239-247; Id., 1991, p. 14.

7 Assmann, 2002, p. 240: "Erst formale Prägnanz verleiht ihnen [i.e. den Sprachhandlungen] die Stabilität kultureller Merkzeichen. Erst durch Formung erwirbt eine sprachliche Äußerung die Merkmale, die sie einerseits einreihen in die Tradition sprachlicher Formung und dadurch zu einem Gedächtnisträger machen und andererseits erinnerbar machen für spätere Rückgriffe, so dass sie dieses Gedächtnis zugleich voraussetzt und bereichert."

8 Ibid., p. 241 ("Rhyme, assonance, parallelism membrum, alliteration, meter, rhythm, and melody are processes of this stabilization that, within the flow of time, grant permanence to that which is fleeting.").

forms by means of which the past can take shape and can become an object of cultural memory. "Die Form wird nicht immer wieder neu erfunden, sondern steht in einer Tradition, die sie voraussetzt und aufnimmt, auch dort, wo sie sie willentlich verändert und abwandelt."[9] Modifying one of Jan Assmann's terms, Astrid Erll and Klaudia Seibel have spoken of "forms of re-use" (*Wiedergebrauchs-Formen*) that prefigure cultural memory.[10] Genres can be defined as such forms of re-use in which a genre can be described as the conventionalized form of a text.[11] In literary genres, such as historiography or historical novel, this act of memory may be immediately understandable.

The past is primarily communicated by narratives; story is the main form in remembering history. This basic statement is only of little help if we want to focus the process of remembering on details. Telling a story can be viewed not only as a special way of talking; stories may be analyzed with regard to their narrative structure and techniques. Hayden White pointed out that an understanding of the past is finalized only if the plot of a narration is analyzed (emplotment). White distinguished four basic plots: romance, tragedy, comedy and satire. In other words, White assumes a form-finding process to be an important stage in remembering the past. I would like to take up this assumption and take it a step further.

Narration or, more generally, language-based treatments of the past cannot be limited to four general plots. As a consequence, I intend to look at the individual linguistic forms and genres used in early Christianity in order to remember the Jesus story, such as gospel narrative as macro-genre, or controversy stories (*Streitgespräche*), miracles, or, in particular, the parables. Before doing so, however, a few more general aspects of genre-theory need to be discussed. What function do genres fulfill in the process of memory?

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9 Ibid., p. 239f. ("The form is not reinvented over and over again. Instead, it exists within a tradition that requires and adopts it.").

10 See Erll/Seibel, 2004, p. 189, 191: "Wiedergebrauchs-Formen sind daher bedeutungsgeladenen (sic!) Träger von Ideologien des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, d.h. von Vergangenheitsversionen, Geschichtsbildern, Konzepten kollektiver Identität sowie von Wert- und Normvorstellungen." ("Forms of re-use are thus meaningful carriers of the ideologies of cultural memory. They are carriers of versions of the past, of historical images, of concepts of collective identity as well as of concepts of values and norms."). Jan Assmann spoke of "Wiedergebrauchs-Texten, -Bildern und -Riten" ("texts, images and rituals of re-use"), see Assmann, 1988, p. 15.

11 Erll/Nünning, 2003, p. 10: "The concept of genres as 'locations' of memory … points paradigmatically to the variety and complexity of literature/memory relations."

1.2 Creating Sense through Genre – Functions of Genre

The existence of linguistic "forms of re-use" can be described as a memory that establishes itself through intertextual relations. The conventionalization of certain textual characteristics is the result of a remembering process of communication in which repetitions and updates of a certain form reveal continuity. For example, when a past event is told repeatedly in a certain way or in a distinctive style (e.g. with irony, praise etc.), the memory of this event is molded into this special form. Moreover, the memory is only made possible by this form.

Linguistic forms, however, are in no way vehicles of memory without content. As form-giving entities they have a definitive impact on the processes of memory of any culture.[12] In the genre of historiography, Hayden White named this meaning-giving characteristic of form "the content of the form".[13] Taking up the concepts of Russian formalism (Jury Lotman) and of the Prague School (Roman Jacobson), Ansgar Nünning speaks, from a literary perspective, of a "semanticizing of literary forms".[14]

In the light of the focus of this conference, this process could also be called "creating sense through literary forms". The linguistic forms and structures thus act as independent bearers of meaning and play a central role in the creation of meaning in memory processes. The form and structure of the language are perceived as the sediments of the content, such that they allow for the meaning potential in the memory process that then grants meaning for the producers, tradents and recipients of the artifacts of memory.

One can determine three different functions of genres in the process of remembering: a) a tradition-creating function; b) a community-creating function; c) an identity-creating function.

a) The Tradition-Creating Function of Genres

The memory of events and characters from the past is a process of interpretation that classifies contingent experiences into defined patterns of thought and comprehension. Known patterns must be used in order to interpret unknown and thus incomprehensible events. A particular cultural community has a set of

12 Erll/Seibel, 2004, p. 191: "Collective identities, values, norms and the relationships between the sexes are not stabilized in memory cultures only by means of defined media of memory. Their formal processes such as parable, epos, allegory, tragedy and Bildungsroman contribute to the communication of cultural meaning."

13 White, 1987.

14 Nünning, 2004; regarding this term see also Schmid, 1977.

patterns which allows these processes of recollective interpretation. Thus, the Cinderella fairy tale can be used as a known pattern to explain the contemporary rise of pop stars such as "Hannah Montana" or "Lady Gaga".

However, the events are not completely subordinated to these formalized interpretive processes. Any current application of the pattern forms and changes the pattern. Therefore, against the background of contemporary genre theory, it is not possible to understand the existence of genres as "classification grids". Genres can no longer be regarded as "normative a priori sets" as was the case in the era of "normative *Gattungspoetik*" (genre poetics). However, those, such as Benedetto Croce, who therefore radically deny the existence of genres, are equally mistaken. Drawing on Klaus Hempfer's and Rüdiger Zymner's genre theory, I would instead like to speak of a "synthesizing constructivism" that understands genres as a part of a communicative practice.

As Hempfer pointed out: "Wir unterscheiden also zwischen den 'Gattungen' als aufgrund spezifischer Textkonstituenten beobachtbaren Phänomenen des historischen bzw. allgemein sprachlichen Kommunikationssystems und deren wissenschaftlicher Beschreibung."[15] Hempfer speaks of *faits normatifs* that are perceptible for the analyzer as norms of communication in texts but that can also be differentiated from facts such as the birth of Napoleon.[16] Rüdiger Zymner regards this "attenuated nominalism" (abgeschwächter Nominalismus) of developing genres as a part of a hermeneutic practice in communication acts. Zymner notes, "[d]abei stützt sich das erkennende Subjekt auf quasi-normative Fakten, auf Textbefunde und traditionelle Sichtweisen auf die Gattungen, so daß es sich bei dem Konstrukt dann doch eher um eine Rekonstruktion handelt."[17] Correspondingly, the form in the remembered communication act is simultaneously assumed as well as constituted and extended. Existing forms are used, but in applying them to certain events, by using them with a certain intention, they are transformed or even re-shaped. Thus, the formalizing memory is central to the process of the construction of tradition.

15 Hempfer, 1973, p. 125 ("We differentiate, thus, between 'genres' as phenomena of the historical, literary or general linguistic communication system, observable because of specific text constituents, and their scientific description.").

16 See ibid.

17 Zymner, 2003, p. 59 ("The cognitive subject bases itself upon quasi-normative facts, on textual evidence and traditional ways of thinking about the genres so that the construction is in actual fact a reconstruction.").

b) The Community-Creating Function of Genres

Linguistic forms are also a "medium of collective memory". The sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, a pioneer of modern memory research, investigated in particular the role of social groups in the processes of collective memory.[18] Remembering does not take place only in concrete social groups. Common acts of memory also create collective identity.

Collective identity can be constructed to a large extent by means of formally conventionalized memory. A community talks about the same events and in each retelling, the story is not retold in a fundamentally different manner, but rather in a recognizable way. This does not require literal continuity but a structural or formal identity. The memory of certain events that deviates and updates itself is recognizable due to the use of a defined form. Thus, the form guarantees the permanence and the stabilization of the memory as well as of the community.

This can be seen, for example, in a community's myths of origin as well as, in extreme cases, in the canonization of certain memory literature.

In this way literature is a "Medium der Darstellung und Reflexion, der Modellierung und Konstruktion von Erinnerung und Identität".[19] In the process of collective and thus also cultural remembering, certain forms or media of memory are established that then become carriers of memory and meaning. In this process, the conventionalized forms of language, and the genres in particular, are able to become the condition and the medium for cultural memory. Thus, genre plays an important role in the "making sense" by a group, or, in other words, in the collective way of creating sense.[20]

c) The Identity-Creating Function of Genres

The memory culture that is guaranteed by conventionalized forms links the collective dimension to the individual dimension of memory. In this process, genres become the meaning-giving models for the codification of life experiences. I would like to name this particular aspect the "identity-creating function" of genres or the "mimetic function" of genres.

Mimesis thus describes not only a simple reflection of realities but rather a *poiesis*, or in modern terms, a construction of collective as well as indivi-

18 See Halbwachs, 2006; Id., 1991.

19 Erll et al., 2003, p. v. (a "medium of the portrayal and reflection, the modeling and construction of memory and identity.").

20 See first van Gorp/Musarra-Schroeder, 2000, p. i-ix.

dual reality by means of the medium of language.[21] As recently demonstrated by William L. Randall[22] and Paul Ricœur,[23] it is narrative genres in particular, which become lendable models for the narration and interpretation of personal life experiences. Drawing on Aristotle's literary mimesis theory, Ricœur has described the understanding of a narration as a threefold mimetic process: The concrete construction as well as the understanding of a documented text (*configuration*) always requires pre-understanding and pre-development (*préfiguration* = mimesis I) to which the text can be related.[24] Genres are such pre-existing memory concepts that prefigure the memory process because both producers and recipients of literary works must refer to them. Understanding, however, occurs only in the refiguration and reconstruction of the temporal and life-world existence of the reader (*refiguration* = mimesis III). In this way, working productively with texts in their specific form leads to "narrative identity" through the process of prefiguration, configuration and refiguration.[25] Memory genres thus become the recollective and interpretive space of one's own life history. In other words: by means of reading and using literary forms, an individual process of "making sense" can take place.

2. Early Christianity as a Remembering Community

2.1 The Gospel of Jesus: The Medium is the Message

Let us now look specifically at early Christianity. Jesus of Nazareth, his words and his deeds as well as his fate on the cross are central subjects of early Chris-

21 Vittoria Borsò also emphasizes the "constitutional mediality of memory:" "storage techniques are not devices external to memory for the reproduction of pre-existing knowledge stored in the functional memory. Instead knowledge of the past is first produced through the relationship of medium and form," Borsò, 2001, p. 36.

22 See Randall, 1995.

23 See Ricœur, 1988/1989/1991.

24 See the overview in Ricœur, 1988, p. 87-135, as well as the entire structure of the three volume work.

25 See particularly ibid., p. 395: "The delicate offspring that originates from the union of history and fiction is the assignment of a specific identity to an individual or a community that one can call its *narrative identity*." The term narrative identity is expressed most precisely in the work *Soi-même comme un autre* (German: Ricœur, 1996).

tian memory. In recent Jesus studies there have been several attempts to look at Jesus by drawing on various considerations of memory theory[26] and to speak of "Jesus remembered".[27] Memory theory is also being increasingly employed to help explain the origins of Christianity and particularly the transmission of early Christian texts.[28]

I would like to continue along this path. In addition to the fundamental conviction that the retrospective of remembering, and not the idealization of the beginnings, is definitive, further studies looking particularly at the details of the process of remembering are necessary. How does remembering manifest itself? Which forms and genres are selected and shaped in order to remember the fate of Jesus?

The most important form – as a macro-genre – may be the "Gospel narrative". There has been a long debate within New Testament scholarship concerning whether the Gospels can be classified as "historiography",[29] especially taking up the so called "*bios*" (βίος)-genre used in Antiquity by Plutarch or the Historians like Tacitus on the life of the emperors (*Kaiser-Biographien*),[30] or as part of the Jewish prophetic literature (*Propheten-Vita*).[31] Others classify the Gospels as a new genre *sui generis*, which is a special form of preaching and missionary speech.[32] Taking up the "tradition-creating" aspect of the genre, we can easily escape from this conflict: The gospel genre takes over aspects from known, traditional forms (such as *Vita Caesaris* or *Vita prophetorum*). At the same time, however, the "gospel narrative" is more than a biography, it is as Mark headlines his writing εὐαγγέλιον (*euaggelion*), literally "good news",

26 See Assmann/Hölscher, 1988; Assmann/Harth, 1991; Fischer, 1998; Tuving/Craig, 2005.

27 Dunn, 2003. See also Schröter, 1997; Id., 2001; Id., 2007.

28 See the instructive collection of Kirk/Thatcher, 2005; especially the research review in Id., "Jesus Tradition as Social Memory," ibid., p. 25-42; Horsley et al., 2006; Schwankl, 2006; Söding, 2007; Thatcher, 2008; Rodriguez, 2009; more critically Häfner, 2007, p. 103: "Looking at it as a whole, I have not been able to convince myself that the category of memory is an appropriate hermeneutical model for Jesus research."

29 Cancik, 1981, p. 63-102; Reiser, 1999, p. 1-27; more recently Becker, 2005, p. 213-236; Id., 2006.

30 See Dormeyer, 1993, p. 205-228; Id., 2002; Wördemann, 2002.

31 Baltzer, 1975; Lührmann, 1977, p. 25-50.

32 See Hengel, 2011.

"news" that has never been heard before. The medium therefore is, at the same time, the message.

The *euaggelion*-genre, as performed by Mark, had important perpetuators of the genre within early Christianity: Matthew and Luke, who definitely knew and used Mark as a source, kept his form; so did John, who most probably also knew Mark. Furthermore, about thirty other "Gospels" were written during the first centuries A.D., as recently presented in the new edition and German translation by Markschies and Schröter.[33]

From its beginnings as a Jewish sect who believed in Jesus Christ as the Messiah, the community itself was deeply impacted by the gospel of Jesus. Thus, the Gospel genre gave collective identity to the community in which the story of Jesus was told. In other words: Those who told the story of Jesus Christ no longer named themselves Jews or Greeks, but "Christians" (see Acts 18).

Much more could be said about the Gospel genre, its form, and its function. In the following, however, I would like to take a micro-genre into account: Drawing on the insights of early form criticism (H. Gunkel, R. Bultmann),[34] I am convinced that linguistic forms for the preservation of early Christian memory were not created through the literary efforts of the Evangelists. Instead, much earlier, short forms acted as the media of a primarily oral memory culture. We can describe such typified short forms as genres which can still be recognized within the macro writings of the Gospels. Parables, for instance, may be seen as such a form in which the collective memory of early Christianity became the definitive and identity-creating media of memory.[35]

2.2 The Parable Genre and Creating Sense

Based on recent research on the oral culture of memory,[36] it is abundantly clear that figurative texts can be memorized more easily than abstract texts and thus that they, in particular, were able to become the material for a narrative community.

Even the ancient rhetoricians were familiar with the importance of images in support of memory, an example of this being the famous method of *loci*.[37]

33 See Markschies/Schröter, 2012.

34 See on this my remarks in Zimmermann, 2008, p. 131-167; also with focus on parables Id., 2011a.

35 Byrskog, 2008.

36 See the overview in Rubins, 1995; also Foley, 2006.

37 See Quint. *Inst*. XI 2,39; Plat. *Phaedr*. 267a , see Blum, 1969, here particularly 12-32: "the mnemotic images."

More recently, in an interesting article Armin D. Baum pointed out the great importance of imagery for the powers of memory.[38] He reflects on the psychological research on memory that has empirically proven that language-based images are much easier to memorize than abstract facts.[39] "Je bildhafter eine zu speichernde Information [ist], desto stärker [wird] das verbale vom imaginativen Kodierungssystem unterstützt."[40] Thus, one can conclude that figurative narrative texts or, in our definition, parables[41] have a constitutive role in oral memory cultures.[42]

Let me briefly point out how parables "create sense" by taking up the three functions of genre:

The parable genre is already known in Antiquity, in a few Hebrew writings (OT)[43], as well as in Greek literature, being part of the *paradeigmata*.[44] However, while there are only a few parables in the Old Testament, the Gospels are full of parables. Parables (Gerhardsson speaks of "narrative Meshalim") have played a central role in the collective memory of the early Christians. Taking up the historical memory that Jesus told parables, the early Christian communities followed this line in re-telling and even inventing new parables. The parables from the so called "Sayings source Q" or the first Gospel, Mark, have been re-told within Matthew, Luke, and the Gospel of Thomas. The Parable genre creates sense in creating tradition.

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38 See Baum, 2004.

39 The "dual-coding-theory" of Paivio is definitive. He proved that memory functions through a combination of verbal and image-based encoding; see Paivo, 1986; Id., 1991.

40 Baum, 2004, p. 8 ("The more figurative a piece of information, the more the verbal codification system is assisted by the image-based system.").

41 See Zimmermann, 2009, p. 170: "A parable is a short narrative (1) fictional (2) text that is related in the narrated world to known reality (3) but, by way of implicit or explicit transfer signals, makes it understood that the meaning of the narration must be differentiated from the literal words of the text (4). In its appeal structure (5) it challenges the reader to carry out a metaphoric transfer of meaning that is steered by co-text and context information (6)."

42 See in particular Gerhardsson, 1961; also Riesner, 1988, especially p. 392-404: "protective transmission."

43 See Gerhardsson, 1991.

44 See Aristotle, *Rhet*. II 20-22; Quintilian, *Inst*. V 11, see for details Zimmermann, 2011b.

The disciples of Jesus told parables and thus called an oral community of memory to life. According to the definition used in the *Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu* parables are fictional, but also realistic narrative. They refer to daily life.

The parables of Q, for instance, preserve the world of Galilean peasants by telling about laboring in the field and harvesting (parable of the mustard seed Q 13:21f.; see also Q 6:43-45; 10:2; 13:18f.), shepherding (parable of the "lost sheep" Q 15:1-7*), or the life in a small household (parable of making bread, Q 13:20f.; see also Q 6:47-49; 11:14-20; 13:20f.).[45] Nevertheless, for two reasons it would be inappropriate to narrow our view of the parables in a backward-looking socio-historical manner. On the one hand, these lifestyles are recollected in later communication contexts so that a conscious mixing of the social relationships occurs with pedagogical intention. The individual tradents, narrators, and listeners are meant to reflect on their own social relationships in the remembering process. Thus, space is created for a variety of social points of view that have historically been disregarded, such as in the domain of finance or justice.[46] Because of its realistic context and interactions, a parable's world can become a (contra) model for one's own shared life. In other words, the parable creates sense in constituting *social community* in various narrative situations.[47]

Finally, parables have a so-called "appeal structure". As figurative language they do not transport one single meaning. It is not obvious how a parable is to be interpreted. The meaning is not fixed. But this very aspect is important for the "identity-creating function" of the parable. Parables must be read and interpreted again and again. They are – as Crossan puts it – "discussion starters". In this way, the early Christians could reflect upon their own life in discussing parables. Within the famous Parable of the Prodigal Son, for instance, a reader can identify himself with the lost son, experiencing mercy from the good father. Another can identify himself with the older son, being angry about the special treatment of the prodigal brother. Others may discuss the duty of a Christian community to welcome outcasts such as slaves, prostitutes etc. by following the example of

45 See a systematic overview of the concrete figurative domains in Zimmermann, 2007, p. 36-39. Further on the sociological-geographical localization, for example Rohrbaugh, 1993; Herzog II, 1994; Bösen, 2002; Beavis, 2002.

46 For example see the parable of the entrusted money (Q 19:12-26) or the parable of the defendant going to trial or punishment (Q 12:58f.).

47 See Herzog: "(The parables are seen as) a codification designed to stimulate social analysis and to expose the contradiction between the actual situation of its hearers and the Torah of God's justice." See Herzog II, 1994, p. 28; again Labahn, 2011.

the father. In any case, the parables stimulate the process of finding an identity; parables create sense by means of their mimetic function.

2.3 The Parable of the Wicked Tenants (Mark 12:1-12) as a Case Study

In order to flesh out these ideas I would like to analyze one example in detail. Through a consideration of the Parable of the Wicked Tenants from the Gospel of Mark it is possible to demonstrate how "sense was created" within the early Christian remembering process:

Mark 12:1-12 (the parable of the Wicked Tenants)

Greek Text (NA^{28})	English translation (NRSV)
Καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν·	Then he began to speak to them in parables.
ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν πύργον καὶ ἐξέδετο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν.	"A man planted a vineyard, put a fence around it, dug a pit for the wine press, and built a watchtower; then he leased it to tenants and went to another country.
[2] καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῷ καιρῷ δοῦλον ἵνα παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος·	[2] When the season came, he sent a slave to the tenants to collect from them his share of the produce of the vineyard.
[3] καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔδειραν καὶ ἀπέστειλαν κενόν.	[3] But they seized him, and beat him, and sent him away empty-handed.
[4] καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλον δοῦλον· κἀκεῖνον ἐκεφαλίωσαν καὶ ἠτίμασαν.	[4] And again he sent another slave to them; this one they beat over the head and insulted.
[5] καὶ ἄλλον ἀπέστειλεν· κἀκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς μὲν δέροντες, οὓς δὲ ἀποκτέννοντες.	[5] Then he sent another, and that one they killed. And so it was with many others; some they beat, and others they killed.
[6] ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν· ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων ὅτι ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱόν μου.	[6] He had still one other, a beloved son. Finally he sent him to them, saying, 'They will respect my son.'
[7] ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶπαν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται ἡ κληρονομία.	[7] But those tenants said to one another, 'This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours.'
[8] καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος.	[8] So they seized him, killed him, and threw him out of the vineyard.

[9] τί [οὖν] ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος; ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις. [10] οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε· λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· [11] παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν;

[12] Καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον.

[9] What then will the owner of the vineyard do? He will come and destroy the tenants and give the vineyard to others. [10] Have you not read this scripture: 'The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone; [11] this was the Lord's doing, and it is amazing in our eyes'?"

[12] When they realized that he had told this parable against them, they wanted to arrest him, but they feared the crowd. So they left him and went away

Indeed, this is a unique, surprising, and strange story. How could it transport meaning? How does it "create" sense? Let me, once again, take up the three dimensions mentioned above:

a) The Tradition-Creating Function: The Jewish Background

This parable takes up motifs from Jewish tradition: The vineyard is a well-known metaphor for Israel (see Isa 5:1-5, the so-called "song of the vineyard").[48] Furthermore, the slave sent by the Father may recall the motif of prophets sent to Israel. The Hebrew word *ebed* (slave) is used in the expression *ebed YHWH* for the prophets. This allusion is even more convincing because the killing of the prophets is a motif within Old Testament theology.[49] The fate of the tenants must have been provoking against this traditional background. In this way the parable is part of the conflict between Jesus and the Jewish leaders (in the plot of the Gospel it is told near Jerusalem, where Jesus was crucified).

Within early Christian writings, this parable itself has a history of tradition: It occurs four times: Following Mark, Matthew (Mt 21:33-41), Luke (Lk 20:9-19) and Thomas (Saying 65) tell the same story with slight, but important differences. They reflect and influence different communities, which can be reconstructed behind the various occurrences. This leads me to the next point:

48 See WEREN, 1998.

49 See e.g. O.H. STECK, 1967.

b) The Community-Creating Function: From a Peasant Revolt to Antijudaism
The story reflects a conflict-laden socio-historical background within first-century Judaism. Taking Verse 7 as a key verse, William R. Herzog marks the general conflict of ownership, inheritance, and heir. The story wishes to undermine the credibility of the social system as known in first-century Judaism. The tenants want to kill the son of the landlord, because they are the lawful heirs and owners of the land. The text therefore might reflect the summons for a violent revolt by a suppressed class of Galilean peasants.[50] However, violence brings about a violent reaction, as we can read in the story. Thus "the parable may codify the futility of armed rebellion."[51] It appeals to avoiding violence even among those who suffer from this "spiral of violence".

Within the Gospel of Matthew the setting has changed. He locates the parable in the final section of his Gospel where an internal conflict between traditional Jews and "Christian" Jews is reflected. Still being part of or not far from the Jewish community, the congregation of Matthew is searching for a new identity beyond the border of Judaism. The death of the "son" is clearly interpreted as the crucifixion of Jesus,[52] and the destroying of the vineyard refers to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. by the Romans. Taking the vineyard as a metaphor for Israel into account, the violent tenants are those Jews who don't believe in Christ. Accordingly, the concluding verse in Matthew 21:43 says: "Therefore I tell you, the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people that produce the fruits of the kingdom."

The people addressed are no longer the people of Israel, but a community defined ethically (by "the fruits") and with Christian terminology (kingdom of God).

Within the ongoing parting of the ways between Christianity and Judaism in the second century, this interpretation, an example of which can clearly be seen in Irenaeus, was the most prominent.[53] In the late fourth century, John Chrysostom, patriarch of Antioch, interprets the Parable of the Wicked Tenants as a text "wherein he exposed the whole chain of events by which God abandoned

50 See e.g. the revolts arising in or out of Galilee, e.g. peasant revolts as described in Josephus, *Vita* 66.375) or revolts led by rebels such as Judas the Galilean (see Josephus, J*ewish War* 2.433; *Antiquities* 18.1-10; 18.23).

51 See Herzog, 1994, p. 113.

52 This interpretation is also in mind behind the expression "beloved son" taken from Mark, see Mark 1:11; 9:7, see also 15:39.

53 See Kloppenborg, 2006, p. 22-25.

Israel and transferred His blessings and inheritance to the Christian Church."[54] In his homily on the parables Chrysostom states: "That for the crucifixion, their crime, they (i.e. the Jews) were to endure extreme punishment: the calling of the Gentiles and the casting out of the Jews."[55] The anti-Judaist interpretation of the parable has been brought to the fore – and at the same time the Christians, as a religious community of their own, could define their collective identity.

c) The Identity-Creating Function

For the last aspect – the identity-creating function of genre – I would like to leave the environment of the first century and consider a modern or postmodern reader. How can this parable be interpreted today? Does this text still make sense?

New Testaments scholars have struggled with this parable. Especially the anti-Jewish impact of this story was, and is, a challenge for any reading. How can Christians involved in the Jewish-Christian dialogue understand this text? Two examples: Luise Schottroff – a German feminist scholar – considered this parable to be a "Horrorgeschichte"[56] ("horror story"). This text cannot be a parable for the kingdom of God. The profit-orientated and violent owner of the vineyard can hardly be a metaphor for the merciful God, as preached by Jesus. Thus, the parable must be regarded as an anti-parable, it presents an opposing account to the parables focussing on the kingdom of God.

According to Schottroff the stone-saying is the key verse for an eschatological meaning of the text. God is turning the rules of violence upside down and acts contrary to human convention. In this way, the text is a "Hoffnungstext für das leidende jüdische Volk".[57]

A different interpretation is presented by Richard Q. Ford. He proposes that the Parable of the Wicked Tenants is a story for our time, and when he wrote his article, "our time" was the time of the second Iraq War (2003). According to Ford, the landowner in the parable, carefully living within the laws of his time, honestly believes in his right to claim the lease of the vineyard. It is because of this conviction in law and order that he was able to send his son, with no protection at all, into the grasp of obviously dangerous tenants. However, the law was not just at all, therefore it causes violence.

54 Milavec, 1989, p. 83.

55 Quoted after ibid.

56 Schotthoff, 2005, p. 17.

57 Ibid., p. 37 ("a text of hope for the suffering people of Israel.").

Along these lines, he compares the United States occupying Iraq with this landowner. Like him, the USA was so confident in the lawfulness of their imperialism that they were blind to the more complicated cultural background and even more to their own interest in "one-fifth of the world's remaining supply of oil".[58]

The identity stimulating reading is most obvious in the following parts. Ford writes:

> At the very moment we are reading these lines, our own children, in a far country, are being killed. …] Just as the son's innocence had no effect on the tenant's hostility, so our soldiers' good intentions have no effect on Iraqi opposition. […] But soon *our* reason will be overtaken by our rage; then, as it is so easy to do when first hearing Jesus' parable, we will simply turn upon the killers we have provoked.[59]

In this way Ford interprets not only the story, but follows Ricœur's hermeneutics: it is the story which interprets the reader's present reality. The story has an identity-creating function.

3. Shaping Genre and Creating Sense – Some Concluding Remarks

Collective memory requires media and forms. To interpret the past, forms that are well-known and recognized in a community will be utilized. In this way "forms of re-use" are employed in order to shape the memory in a certain way.

However, in the memory process of early Christians, well-known linguistic forms such as wisdom sayings, chreia or Meshalim were not only used, they were also reshaped and reinvented in the collective memory process. For example, the Meshalim/parables experienced an unprecedented boom.

As linguistic forms themselves are subject to a history of origination and modification and are tied to a certain *Sitz im Leben,* I am convinced that genres play a central role in the process of creating sense in early Christianity tradition. There were, however, no pure and fixed forms and genres at the beginning. Instead forms were shaped, modified and reinforced only in the process of transmission. A genre thus proved and established itself during transmission.

58 Ford, 2003, p. 1.

59 Ibid., p. 4.

From a dynamic point of view, a decisive step in the fixation and literalization of memory can be seen in the linkage to genre. The form-bound memory is no longer completely free.

In this, a process of interaction takes place. Certain forms shape memory. Additionally, memory is shaped by these forms within this very process.

To mention only one example: The fact that the narrator remembered Jesus in parables also shaped the process of Christological interpretation. In the end, Jesus himself was able to be regarded as a "parable of God" or in New Testament terminology as "the image of God" (see Col 1:15; John 1:18).

In this way we detect a "semantization of the form", or in the light of this conference: a "making sense through genre".

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Social Groups, Personal Relations, and the Making of Communities in Medieval *vita monastica*

Christina Lutter

To entitle a volume *Making sense as a cultural practice*, means to stress the dynamic, process-related and performative aspects of symbolic constructions of meaning – a key topic in cultural history and analysis during the last decades.[1] It suggests a critical reflexion on static concepts of coherent meanings to be found in cultural phenomena, texts and artefacts, and the alleged possibilities of hermeneutically "reading" them from a text as a representative for a given cultural setting. Drawing on this idea of "deciphering" meanings, cultural historians tended to quite reductively appropriate much more nuanced anthropological models such as the *Interpretation of Culture*, proposed by Clifford Geertz.[2] In

1 Cf. editors' introduction. This text was written in the frame of the special research programme *Visions of Community* (SFB 42 VISCOM, funded by the Austrian Science Fund, FWF) which aims at relating historical perspectives to approaches developed in social and cultural anthropology and thus connects to some of the strands in cultural history the concept of "making sense as a cultural practice" is committed to (cf. http://www.univie.ac.at/viscom/index_viscom.php?seite=home, 28.02.2013). At this interface I try to sketch some conceptual thoughts and test them on a few model cases. Given the limitations of space, references to the different bodies of research drawn upon will be kept brief and shall rather serve as "sign posts" than as a comprehensive documentation. I am grateful to the members of VISCOM for comments and criticism.

2 Geertz, 1975; influential criticism of this reductionism e.g. in Hunt, 1989. On the theoretical paradigms underlying recent German *Kulturgeschichte* see e.g. Daniel, 2001.

the introduction to her seminal anthology on what had come to be called *New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt pointed out that the question is much less what a text means than how it works: "The point of the endeavour was to examine the ways in which linguistic practice, rather than simply reflect social reality, could actively be an instrument of (or constitute) power. [...] Words did not just reflect social reality; they were instruments for transforming reality."[3] With this approach as a starting point, I want to explore some questions raised by the editors and relate them to aspects of my current research: How do social groups and constructions as well as practices of community relate to one another?

This question thus addresses the general subject of the volume – making sense as cultural practice – connecting it to the broader framework of the research program *Visions of Community* that aims at analysing how religious identities shape the construction of particular communities in order to explore the interaction between religious and political visions of community.[4]

Conceiving of the construction of meaning as a process that evolves by means of cultural repertoires and practices, I now want to consider vocabularies and other indicators of "community" using some prominent early medieval mo-

3 Hunt, 1989, p. 17. The constructionist paradigm underlying most of the theoretical considerations connected to this shift of focus from "text" to "practice" was e.g. articulated by Berger/Luckman, 1966, and has been widely adopted in the social sciences, humanities and cultural studies. Here, I will draw on concepts reflecting on the relations between cultural representations and social practices, as developed by Bourdieu, 1985. For a historical perspective e.g. Chartier, 1988, and Burke, 2005; introductions to performative approaches from different disciplinary perspectives provide Wirth, 2002; Martschukat/Patzold, 2003; Fischer-Lichte, 2012; Korom, 2013.

4 My own project concentrates on processes of community building and their political significance between the mid-13th and the 15th centuries in Central Europe. Here, social affiliations resting upon kinship and personal networks of different kinds can mostly be assessed in local and regional contexts. We therefore focus on those social spaces where the sources allow grasping forms of often ambivalent identification and belonging: monasteries, cities and courtly/noble environments. They are constituted within social relations and interactions and thus provide the framework for groups becoming communities. Which models of identification can be traced in sources originating from these milieus? And in how far is "community" a means to make sense of people's social attachments within these environments? Cf. Pohl et al., 2012; Lutter, 2010; on the concept of social space cf. Bourdieu, 1985; Löw, 2001.

nastic rules and an exemplary didactic text from the 13th century that reflects both pastoral theory and practice. I will take them as a starting point to discuss community both enacted in regulated religious community practice, including personal relations within monastic space, and connecting it to the world "outside". I will argue that visions of community not only bestow meaning on social groups but also that they in turn confirm, and also change them in and through social practice. Thus, community shall not only be defined as a symbolic construction, but also and significantly as a social practice. Monastic *vita communis* is a particularly strong case in point as it is *per se* characterised by regularity and discipline to train community in a performative way in order to achieve specific spiritual goals with important social effects, among them to strengthen the unity within a group, whose members are trained on a daily basis to feel attached to it.[5]

Analytical differentiations between the two concepts *group* and *community* and the phenomena they refer to, or attempts at relating them to each other, have been rare.[6] Often, the terms are used synonymously. Roughly speaking, social historians, esp. in German medieval studies, draw rather on the concept of *groups*, as systematically developed by Otto Gerhard Oexle, whereas prominent Anglo-American representatives of cultural history and cultural anthropology tend to work with the concept of *community*, perhaps most prominently represented in the phrase *imagined communities* coined by the political scientist Benedict Anderson. For preliminary working definitions the work of Anthony Cohen and of Otto Gerhard Oexle proved particularly useful.[7] Oexle developed his concept of social groups to overcome rigid analytical categories in traditional historical research, such as estates, strata, or classes.[8] Comparably, Cohen's title *The Symbolic Construction of Community* was programmatically opposed

5 Derda, 1992; seminal is Klaus Schreiner's work, part of it reprinted in id., 2013. Literature on the significance of monastic regulation is abundant: See the *vita regularis* series, ed. by Gert Melville, at http://www.fovog.de/vitaregdt.html, 27.02.2013, and Id., 2012.

6 Pioneering is O.G. Oexle's work, cf. his essays (re)printed in Oexle 2011, section *Soziale Gruppen in der Gesellschaft*, p. 441-687; most helpful for the approach presented here is id., 2011a. I am grateful to Stefan Esders for pointing me to this recent article. The relative dearth of the discussion of groups as related to communities is opposed to the vast debate on the relations between "individual" and "community", e.g. the seminal article by Bynum, 1982, at p. 59-81; and the contributions in Melville, 2002.

7 Anderson, 1983; Cohen, 1985; cf. also Burke, 2004; Oexle, 1998.

8 Ibid., p. 38.

to functionalistic and structural approaches in social anthropology.[9] According to him, community as a symbolic construction is an expression of belonging to a social group. Yet, community also refers to social practices resulting in the construction of social relationships. This set of definitions contains an explicit, if vague, conception of the relation between groups and communities: Community derives from the situational perception of a boundary which marks off one social group from another, but also from the feeling of belonging to a social group. To define this relationship in greater detail, Oexle's approach offers important help. He conceives of social groups as modules of society. Individuals form groups in conflict and consensus and sustainably connect to them to realise their values and goals. These groups are based on specific group cultures including norms, concepts and mentalities as well as forms of social practice that eventually may lead to institutionalisation. Simultaneously, groups are social actors.[10]

Both definitions explicitly link representations or symbolic constructions of belonging on one hand to practices of social relationships on the other. Relating the two models to each other, I shall refer to groups both as a category of classification which can be marked and identified within contemporary texts, and as a category of social actors. By contrast, communities are here conceived of as symbolic representations of belonging that are imagined, narrated, enacted and felt. Community, thus, refers not least to an affective category. Successful constructions of community, though, have effects on groups, as the latter eventually adopt the quality of community themselves. Thus, community can be defined as a group with specific qualities, forms and practices of belonging, togetherness and solidarity.[11] Visions of community, expressions of belonging and practices of community interact and affect the coherence of social groups, their norms, institutions and models of thinking and acting – their ways of making sense of the world.

But what were contemporary notions of belonging? In which ways were community and belonging narrated and enacted? How did strategies of representation operate, e.g., forms of emotional imagery and its moral-political significance? More simply put: How do we find "markers" of groups and symbolic constructions or enactments of community in our sources? Whereas *group* is not a term we will find in medieval texts, either Latin or vernacular, the vocabulary

9 A good orientation in the field provides Korom, 2013. For a recent synopsis cf. Rapport, 2010.

10 Oexle, 1998, p. 38, 40 and 43, and Oexle, 2011 (see also note 6).

11 Burke, 2004, p. 5.

and imagery of *community* refers to one of the key concepts of Christianity.[12] Thus, one might first approach written sources exploring *community* as a term, as well as the specific vocabulary of *community* in its semantic environment. Second, one can look for indicators of belonging, specific uses of personal pronouns such as "we", as well as markers of "others" and their attributions to groups, and finally trace hints at social practices constituting social relations.[13]

The Christian key concept of *vita communis* draws on the model of the biblical *vita apostolica* as described in the Acts of the Apostles: The crowd of the believers was one heart and one soul and had all things in common (*erat cor unum et anima una* [...] *erant illis omnia communia,* Ac 4, 32ff). They were equal [...] and shared everything according to their individual demands (Ac 2, 44). According to Giles Constable, this description "set the standard for Christian community life."[14] Its most important conceptual elements are a sense of unity, commonality and equality as well as shared instead of individual property. At the end of the 4th century, Augustine (†430) drawing on the biblical model coined the idea of a *vita communis* as a theological reason for monasticism as a form of people sharing their life in groups.[15] The first sentence of Augustine's *Praecepta* thus reads: *Primum, propter quod in unum estis congregati, ut unanimes habitetis in domo et sit vobis anima una et cor unum in Deum*.[16] The key idea of his rule – the concept of community – became normative for monasticism, its key symbols "one heart and one soul" stressing the intimacy of community life. Elements of this "living together unanimously" are a common, structured space, the shared maintenance of property including food and clothes and a common daily routine including prayer and liturgy, eating, learning and sleeping.

About the same time, this way of life is called *coenobiotarum diciplina* in John Cassian's (360-435) Rule; and in the earliest known monastic rule by Pa-

12 On etymology cf. Derda, 1992, p. 6-10; semantic approaches e.g. in Blicke, 1996; Münkler/Bluhm, 2001. In this text I will confine myself to textual sources; on images and material culture e.g. Bynum, 2011; Schmitt, 2002; Wenzel, 2009.

13 Following this model several case studies drawing on different types of source material (charters, historiographic and hagiographic accounts, pictorial representations such as in wall paintings, etc.) are undertaken in the project sketched above (cf. note 1 and 4), e.g. Maria Mair's PhD thesis on narrations of community in 13th c. Austrian historiography.

14 Constable, 1996, p. 125. The following synopsis draws on Derda, 1992; Schreiner, 2002; Oexle, 2011a.

15 Oexle, 2011a, p. 482.

16 Verheijen, 1967, vol. 1, p. 417.

chomius (292-348) the term is *ordo disciplinae*. Pachomius' concept draws on commonality, its key terms being *koinonia/communio* and *koinos bios*, but nevertheless it is based on discipline. For example, *ordo disciplinae*, a methodological conduct of life, stresses the regulated and disciplined way of life, the trained habitual commonality of working and eating, prayer and liturgy. If all early rules prefer a coenobitic life to individual asceticism as a model way to spiritual perfection, they also share a sense of *ordo disciplinae,* highlighting obedience and control necessary for constituting and stabilising community.[17] Thus, common to all three rules are the significance of *vita communis* according to the Acts of the Apostles, shared property and a common "disciplined" way of life. As Oexle stresses, the common ground of the early monastic rules was their group-based concept of community. This explains their at first glance paradoxical inclusion of relations to the world outside as opposed to a total withdrawal from the world. *Vita communis*, Oexle argues, was both theoretically and practically related to urban culture in late Antiquity: How would all the long-lasting achievements of medieval monasticism in the world have been possible, if it were rooted in the principle of a total withdrawal from the world? Drawing on Max Weber, he posits that its long term success is rather grounded in a specific way of life, a norm of people living together in groups. This explanatory model of how medieval groups make sense of their social organisation through constructions and practices of monastic community, connecting it to the world outside the monastic walls, is applicable to other periods and regions during the Christian Middle Ages.[18]

However, Augustine's Rule has a special focus on the foundation of community life in the spirit of love and fraternity.[19] It became one of the most influential models of coenobitic life. In the comparatively open organisational framework of his *Praecepta,* the ideal of biblical *vita apostolica* was adopted in the statutes and constitutions of quite different spiritual reform movements and religious orders, ranging from regular canons to Dominicans, for many centuries to come. It provided an exemplary normative, yet adjustable instrument for adaptations to diverse specific contexts, spiritual values and practical demands of religious communities in their making. The guiding principle of community as articulation and enactment of true apostolic life is thus represented in the vocabulary and metaphorical imagery of numerous foundational texts of religious reform movements, at once reflecting parts of their institutionalisation. In these texts

17 Oexle, 2011a, p. 488f.; Derda, 1992, p. 86-92.

18 Oexle, 2011a, esp. at p. 479f.; cf. Brown, 1996; Weinfurter, 2013.

19 See the contributions in Melville/Müller, 2002; Melville, 2010.

community is variably, but constantly, conceived of as *societas sancta*, their *vita communis* held together by unity of concord (*unitas concordiae*) and unanimity (*unanimitas*), love (*caritas*) and fraternity (*fraternitas*), socially articulated by sharing everything (*omnia communia*) and symbolically by being one heart and one soul (*cor unum et anima una*).[20]

If we compare these terms and metaphors to those in the *Regula St. Benedicti*, which had a comparable impact on visions of monastic community in medieval Europe, it turns out that the explicit discussion of community is much less an issue. Benedict (†547) also stresses the importance of community life as opposed to individual asceticism, but within the coenobitical frame he clearly focusses on the spiritual progress of the individual soul. The training of the "inner self" became a fundamental task in medieval monastic life: discipline constitutes *ordo*.[21] Accordingly, *ordo* and *disciplina* in the said sense of a regulated, disciplined and habitualized performance – *disciplina regularis* – are among the key terms of Benedict's Rule. Its seventh chapter connects the twelve grades of humility with exercises of practical ascesis leading from fear of God to love for God. Asceticism again is a means of mastering the tasks of individual human existence within the community of one's order.

But otherwise, Benedict does not discuss *vita communis* as such: In his *regula* the term is never used at all. In c. 33 there is one single reference to the biblical demand of shared property, and at times the text refers to the liturgical meaning of *communio*. By contrast, the vocabulary of *excommunicatio* – the exclusion from the shared table (c. 24,3-7) or the monastic body (*corpus monasterii*) referred to as a whole (c. 44,5) – is frequently used. Above all, community is expressed by communal life, i.e. via concrete instructions for common daily routines, for *disciplina regularis*. Regular practices of repeated and shared daily routine – prayer and liturgy, learning and joint meals – affect that people having come together in a monastery and subscribed to specific concepts of communitarian life, thus forming a social group, eventually by regularly and performatively adopting a specific *habitus,* become an imagined community.[22]

But what is more: If Benedict talks about individual progress within the environment of the monastery, he rarely raises questions of concrete personal interactions between its members. For instance, edification by mutual example

20 Detailed examples provides SCHREINER, 2002, for a comparative assessment see IBID., at p. 14f. and 43.

21 BYNUM, 1982, esp. p. 59 and 76f. *Regula St. Benedicti* (RB), ed. by HANSLIK,1960.

22 Cf. DERDA, 1992, p. 86-93, 120-123, 171-178 on social control with reference to E. Durkheim and G. Simmel; cf. BOURDIEU, e.g. 1985 on *habitus*.

is not an issue. No examples are given how pride and humility work in daily community life. As Caroline Bynum argued, the abbot in his eminent hierarchical function is the sole teacher *verbo et exemplo*; and accordingly community is "a school for the service of God" (prol. 45), but not a space for learning from one's neighbour or by compassion with him or her. In her work on monastic treatises from the 11th and 12th centuries, Bynum showed how religious reform movements connected to broader societal changes are reflected in shifts of perception of community, most particularly in concepts developed by regular canons drawing on Augustine's *Praecepta* and Cistercians drawing on Benedict's rule.[23] For both, an increased focus on pastoral practice affected on a conceptual level an integration of monastic withdrawal from the world to serve God with the service for one's neighbour. Thus, personal growth in virtue is achieved not only via obedience, but also through service and the practice of imitating the good example of others. Personal relationships, love and compassion become important for the learning of humility. Particularly Cistercian thought stresses the importance of examples to stimulate desire to learn not just from books, considering learning by sensual and affective experience to be more effective than intellectual learning.[24] Still, Bynum holds that these new affective aspects of monastic theory were less integrated into the very concept of community, as most monastic thinkers of different orders kept highlighting the individual spiritual progress within the community as the utmost goal. In fact, differences and similarities cutting across the borders of orders are manifold.[25]

But the lack of emphasis on interpersonal relations is also a question of genre. Rules and learned treatises written in monastic environments necessarily concentrate on unity as a primary issue and thus do not allow for many glimpses at concrete human relations, even if they stress love and service of one's neighbour as a moral and pastoral issue. As much as religious reform writing was concerned with the progress of the individual soul within community, as little it enlightens personal relationships between religious women and men.[26] Yet, they were there. During the last decades, research on medieval monasticism has started to explore them by taking into account a wider range of source material that

23 Bynum, 1982, p. 22-81; cf. Constable 1996 and 2004; Schneidmüller/Weinfurter, 2006; Weinfurter, 2013.

24 Leclercq, 1957. These issues are currently discussed in attempts to write a history of emotions: Rosenwein, 2006 and 2012; Boquet/Nagy, 2009; more specifically Boquet, 2005.

25 Bynum, 1982, esp. p. 69-77.

26 This point was also made by Brian P. McGuire, 2010, and id., 2002.

was produced in and by pastoral practice: hagiographic texts of all sorts, above all exemplary stories told by teachers and preachers inside monasteries, but also and increasingly directed at larger audiences from the 13th century onwards.[27] What is more, some of the collections of this huge body of edifying, but also entertaining moral *exempla* allow to trace at least part of their sources not only to the key texts – the Bible, monastic rules, the writings of the church fathers and other ecclesiastical authorities – but also to oral sources who left their traces in exemplary stories in sermons and liturgy, didactic manuals for spiritual advice and miracle collections.[28]

Brian P. McGuire was one of the first to reconstruct written and oral sources in the so-called *Dialogus miraculorum*. This work, penned by the Cistercian monk and teacher Caesarius of Heisterbach in the 1220s, reflects on the community practice in his monastery.[29] It will serve as my final model case for narrations of monastic community and the relations of its members within it, but also to social groups outside the monastery. Caesarius' text was a popular and widely spread didactic guideline for a good spiritual life. It presented itself in the form of a dialogue between his *alter ego* and a novice and was written in close relation to Caesarius' pastoral preaching and to daily monastic life within the community. 746 miracle stories organised in 12 *distinctiones* are meant, as Caesarius puts it, to instruct "more by means of examples than by words". He thus draws not only on exegetical explanations, but also on lived experience.[30] Most protagonists of his stories are people who chose a religious life, most of them in a Cistercian community. Still, Caesarius' examples represent a broad social spectrum reflecting the profound change of religious as well as secular institutions at the beginning of c. 13th.[31]

The fourth book on temptation (*de tentatione*) provides interesting insights into spiritual, but also social ways to make sense of monastic life. It is dedi-

27 Id., 2002; Bremond et al., 1996; Heinzelmann, 2002; Bynum, 2011.

28 On the relations between written and oral communication see e.g. Utrecht studies in Medieval literacy, ed. by Marco Mostert, at http://www2.hum.uu.nl/Solis/ogc/medievalliteracy/, 28.02.2013, e.g. Vanderputten, 2011.

29 McGuire's seminal articles from 1979 and 1980 are reprinted in id., 2002. A recent bilingual (Latin-German) issue of the *Dialogus miraculorum* (DM), ed. by Nösges/Schneider, 2009, provides a comprehensive introduction and bibliography.

30 DM 5,7, vol. 3, p. 984, and 8,1, vol. 4, p. 1506; cf. recently Breitenstein, 2011, on oral education, at p. 220-224 on the DM. Bynum, 2011 on the mutual relations between theological theory and spiritual practice.

31 Felten/Rösener, 2009; more general Constable, 2004.

cated to the discussion of the human battle against the vices. Vices in turn are represented with a number of similarities to passions.[32] Thus, Caesarius explains and assesses passions, at the same time deliberately emotionalising by means of dramatic narrations, and he stresses the importance of community: On one hand, the community of one's religious fellows in a monastery is one of the most effective disciplinary means against dangerous passions, whereas separation from the community is defined as one of the most important reasons for spiritual failure, as also the early medieval rules repeatedly point out. On the other hand, as we have seen, Cistercian theology made a particularly strong case of affect being a constitutive element of community building and maintenance. Caesarius' work displays these related aspects in differentiated terminological, narrative, and rhetoric ways.

The importance of common daily liturgy, of praying and singing together, of a life in shared simplicity of eating, drinking and clothing is a recurrent theme throughout the fourth book and the Dialogue at large. Thus, religious people fail by falling asleep during prayers due to physical weakness, but also, if – driven by unduly ambition – they replace the common ascetic discipline by exaggerated "private" exercises, until their brains wither and they fall either mad or desperate (4,45). Even a monk referred to as "holy" suffers from not being able to participate in the common prayers due to his severe illness: "When I am standing outside the choir and am hearing the others sing the psalms, I am hurt in my heart not to be able to join them knowing the joys with which God delights my soul when among the others."[33] Even more: Separation from the community deprives him of the visions of Jesus and the angels that he had in the choir when singing the psalms.[34] Thus, even in this case of advanced spiritual progress, individual spiritual achievements are not conceived of as separate from the community, but as an integral part of it; it is community that enables the monk's visionary experiences. Eventually and importantly, it is common prayer that raises individual chances of redemption, as in the dramatic account of a recluse who, in danger of losing her faith, is finally saved by the intense special prayers of the members of the Cistercian monastery responsible for her spiritual salvation.[35]

Such connections between the spiritual consolations of and within the community on one hand and the social aspects of living together on the other are drawn by many examples bearing on the "socially motivated" vices of anger and

32 Newhauser, 1993.

33 DM 4,30, vol. 2, p. 742-753, at p. 746f.

34 Ibid.

35 DM 4,39, vol. 2, p. 766-771.

envy, greed and avarice. Caesarius presents a then current metaphor of the positive affective connotation of the monastic community as a family. The *familia* in a socio-economic sense simultaneously builds and stabilises emotionally defined bonds: Not only is the abbot imagined as father, but also the prior as mother. Both are responsible for "carrying, holding together and supporting the convent representing the *corpus Christi*." They should carry it by means of prayer, hold it together by means of discipline and support it by means of consolation.[36] If Benedict stressed the prior's subordinate position in terms of hierarchical relations and was concerned with avoiding conflicts over authority and subsequent discord within the community, Caesarius' use of the family metaphor seems rather to be an extension of the imagery of family relations outside the monastery. Religious people remained integrated in their network of kinship and friendship while in the process of becoming members of their new spiritual communities. Their physical separation did not cut off these relations, did not even intend to do so, but redefined them, most importantly as members of the religious *ordo* of both genders were, by definition specialists of memory and prayer for those men and women, they were connected to inside and outside the monastery's walls.[37]

Avarice and greed is another case in point to show the interrelations between spiritual and social aspects of Caesarius' understanding of community and the connections between the monastic environment and its surroundings. Avarice was held to be the root of all evils (1 Tim 6, 10), thus competing with pride for the first place in the hierarchy of vices. Therefore, Caesarius explains, not only secular, but also religious persons are tempted by it. Immediately, the novice raises the question why secular people blame the Cistercians for being avaricious.[38] This is an ambiguous issue, and in his answer Caesarius argues that what some call avarice has to be understood in fact rather as provision for the community's obligation to hospitality. In the following fifteen stories Caesarius gives a wide range of examples for conflicts of interests between different aspects of community: May those responsible for the economic well-being of a monastery cheat on secular people to appropriate property? In chapter 61 Caesarius argues against this, and he takes a similar position in the case of a cellarer who cheated on a widow (4,59). In another example, the righteous provost of a Premonstratensian community even reproaches the lay brother in charge of the monastery's administration who is too successful in augmenting its property that he should better spend his time bemoaning his sins. Even he, the provost, would rather

36 DM 4,18, vol. 2, p. 718-721.

37 RB, c. 65; Derda, 1992, p. 146-148; cf. Schreiner, 1989; Geary, 1994.

38 DM 4,57, vol. 2., at p. 812-815.

care for the souls of the community's members than for its possessions (4,62). On the other hand, asked if it is right to drive peasants out of their land to build a monastery on it – which was quite common for early Cistercian practice – Caesarius argues for the just cause of displacing impious people in favour of pious ones (4,63). Still, charitable acts and alms for the poor as well as hospitality even or particularly in times of economic shortage are a prime commandment of *caritas*. Thus, Caesarius gives a number of examples of religious communities being punished for not living up to this demand of extending the principle of love to one's brothers and sisters beyond the monastery's walls to the community of Christians (4,60; 65-72).[39]

Hence, the communities addressed by Caesarius are heterogeneous. They comprise his immediate environment, the monastic family and the community of the Cistercian order, but beyond it the community of all religious people, i.e. those leading a monastic life and eventually the community of all Christians and saints with God. These communities can be characterised by shared values and affective expressions, comparable forms of belonging and attachment, similar social and spiritual practices – but they can also be differentiated against each other by these means. The cultural repertoires Caesarius' examples draw on to make a practical sense of complex theological matters were at least partly shared beyond the environment of monastic communities; models were mutually communicated orally and transmitted in script and thus confirmed as well as changed. In these processes existing repertoires of norms and concepts, as well as practical routines, were negotiated in the very practice of living together.[40]

Visions of communities hold social groups together. They are symbolic representations of belonging, binding together sets of norms and values, orientations and practices, used by people and groups to make sense of their lives. Representations of belonging in texts can be differentiated in terms of their conceptual and metaphorical specification (*cor unum, animam unam; corpus monasterii*), but more often via narrations of performative enactments of community, such as the family model or stories of personal relations and conflicts. Concepts of community provide social groups with meaning, who in turn confirm, but also change them in and through social practice. Monastic *vita communis* is realised by concrete persons coming together at defined places, affiliate (*congregatio, societas*) and together enact normative ideals of religious life. In that, regularity and discipline play an important role: Community is constituted performatively, trained in habitual practice; *doing community* strengthens the ties within the

39 Roesener, 2009 on Cistercian economic practice; Melville, 2010 on charity.

40 Vanderputten, 2011; Lutter, 2012 on emotional repertoires.

group one decides to belong to, but also provides means to differentiate it from others.

Religious communities were deeply embedded in medieval society, as they were formed out of its constitutive social groups, and less resulting from prescriptions of the ecclesiastical hierarchies.[41] The tension between "vertical" and "horizontal" models of *vita communis* was also genuine to community building, e.g. through kinship, friendship and urban corporate bonds in the world outside these communities. Even more: at least in medieval Europe, members of social groups entering a monastery from "the world" outside brought hierarchical as well as egalitarian concepts of social *ordo* into this specific social space, most significantly via the enactment of memorial, donation and property practices. Thus, a clear-cut separation between community inside and world outside does not make sense. On the contrary: The relations between religious communities and the groups (per)forming them seem to have been as constitutive for their lasting, as were their internal rules for and reflections about living together. Meanings of community were permanently reconstituted within discourses and power relations cutting across defined social spaces. Thus, representations of belonging that seem most obvious may rely on especially deep cultural constructions, constantly trained in social practice.

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Knowledge

Writing a Life

The "family book" by Bartolomeo Dal Bovo

Paolo Perantoni

The Research

The object of this research is to understand the mechanism of cultural diffusion in the early modern age through a study of an enigmatic egodocument (a sort of family book) conserved at the Civic Library of Verona (Biblioteca Civica di Verona – BCVr) and finally its description (see the appendix) and the edition of memorial texts.[1] This egodocument (the main primary source) is very complex: to better understand the document we used an interdisciplinary method of research.[2]

Egodocuments and Family Books

In the mid-1950s, the Dutch historian Jacob Presser invented and introduced a new word in the vocabulary of history: egodocument. The term was used in order to indicate autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, personal letters and other texts in which an author writes about his or her own acts, thoughts and feelings. Initially, this word did not meet with success in the academic world; however, from the 1980s the new cultural history returned to egodocuments because they are 'privileged sources' to examine, for example, emotions, feelings, passions,

1 BCVr, manuscript ms. 827.

2 Among other primary sources, see two testaments by Bartolomeo Dal Bovo conserved in the Historical Archive of Verona (Archivio Storico di Verona – ASVr), *UR*, *Instrumenti*, mazzo 81, n. 12; m. 79, n. 27.

insights of persons and other important issues investigated by cultural and social history.

Family books are a particular type of egodocument: among them one can find peculiar elements from diaries, chronicles, travel writings or account books; all these texts were used by merchants during the latter half of Middle Ages. Merchants started to write personal information about their family in particular on the pages of the account books.[3]

From the Renaissance Age onward, these particular types of texts had a wide distribution due to the increased literary skills among the middle class population. A new era of literacy, started by notaries, secretaries, lawyers (the birth of humanism), begun to involve the middle-class in terms of cultural diffusion which egodocuments show to historians.

Some (pre)humanists lived and worked in Verona, a very important cultural center during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, with its cathedral library (*Bibliotheca Capitularis Veronensis*) and its *scriptorium*. Here, for example, in 1345 Francesco Petrarca found a *codex* with unknown letters by Cicero (*Epistulae ad Atticum*).[4]

Not as many family books are preserved in the Veneto: we can find only one book in Padova and Belluno, five in Venice, none in Treviso and Rovigo, but there are ten books between Verona and Vicenza.

In 2002 James Grubb, an American historian, published his research on these books; he refuted the dominant hypothesis about the family books' diffusion in Veneto. According to Grubb, the poor diffusion was not caused by a bad diffusion of literacy in the north of Italy (in comparison with Tuscany where there were many of these books) or a poor fiscal policy by the Government of Venice; the overwhelming cultural difference is caused by the probative value of private documents in Florence/Tuscany.[5] In controlling the private life of its citizens, the Venetian power reduced the space available for personal scriptures.

Another interpretation is focused on the city's élites; in the Veneto the élites were closed, stable and there was internal cohesion. For example, in 1478 lists

3 A famous case is that of Francesco Datini, a medieval merchant from Prato (near Florence); his archive is made by 150.000 texts. In this archive there are also 250 personal letters from him to his wife.

4 Other (pre)humanists in Verona include: Giovanni de Matociis, also known as Giovanni Mansionario, (middle XIII sec.-1337), Guglielmo da Pastrengo (1290-1362), Guarino Veronese (1370-1460). See e.g. Da Pastrengo, 1991; Sabbadini 1885; Simeoni, 1903-04.

5 Grubb, 2002 and 2009.

of noble families (*zentilhomini e optimi zitadini*) appeared in Venice, Verona and Vicenza.[6] These sumptuous memoirs and the solid power of government were sufficient to conserve the public interest, the memory and history of city. These few family books come from marginal families and are designed to build an artful image of them in order to enter in the élites (the books of Verità and Fracastoro, old noble families, are exceptions for Grubb).

In general, one has to agree with Grubb when he says: "compared to the better-known Florentine accounts, that is, the *libri di famiglie* of Veneto are laconic, sparse, short, without judgment, undefined in purpose, disinterested in genealogy, seldom overtly didactic, inclined to broad tropical horizons and not focused exclusively on the family";[7] but nevertheless, the family book by Bartolomeo Dal Bovo has a specific interest for its genealogy.

Bartolomeo's Family Book – the Manuscript 827

In the Civic Library of Verona there is an interesting manuscript, a sort of notebook (though it most probably is a family book), which contains a mixture of different texts (literary miscellany).

There is no logical order in the succession or sections or notes; we can see a progressive numbering of the pages, though; in addition, a section of them is missing (from 87 to 110).

The texts are predominately religious (prayers, sermons, hymns, the lives of Saint Roch and Saint Agapitus Martyrs, apocryphal letters of Lentulus and Pontius Pilate, part of the Book of Psalms, a moral text by Pope Innocent III), but there are also medical prescriptions, calendars/almanacs, a magic ritual, and other heterodox texts, and at the end one finds memoirs about family history.

These kinds of texts are frequent in the Renaissance family books because they permitted a very important fund of knowledge to survive. In particular the religious text was expected to have an apotropaic power, allowing to lead a quiet life.

Three times Bartolomeo Dal Bovo addressed a long prayer to the image of a crucified Jesus; he particularly focused his prayer on the seven last utterances.[8] These prayers cannot be associated with late medieval Christocentrism, though in fact, our writer had different intentions; Grubb says: "the Passion had

6 Ibid., p. XX.

7 Ibid., p. XXXVI.

8 Ms. 827, cc. 27^{v}; 28^{v}.

happened once and for all, and Christ was now dispenser of favor rather than model for imitation".[9] In fact Dal Bovo only desired relief from tribulations, persecutions, and the wrath of his enemies: "he asked protection from external threats rather than cure of his own vices".[10] A similar pragmatic spirit pervades his prayers to saints: for example he twice copied a poem on Saint Lucy that "stressed her healing of incurable illness";[11] in the same way he recited Psalms and the Athanasian Creed (the *Quicumque vult*) over women in childbirth to protect them from death.[12]

A very interesting practice is recorded by Dal Bovo at the end of page 46: to keep away storms for a year, one should write down the Gospel for Ascension Day, slip the paper under the altar cloth before that day's Mass, retrieve it afterward, and tie it to the clapper of the church bell. Thus, the power of the Mass was infused into a material object: "Jesus sacrificed combined with Jesus ascended (the Gospel text) to protect crops and town".[13]

Bartolomeo wrote his family book to make sense of his world; Grubb says, in fact: "Memorialists wrote to give order to their world".[14] The memorialists found meaning and reassurance by sifting through temporal aspects of existence: history and genealogy taught right lessons from the past. Divination, prophecy and prognostication were highly developed in the family books of the Veneto.

The manuscript includes the 'Egyptians Days', copied by Dal Bovo:[15] these numbers were two dozen unpropitious days for a long list of activities, for example bloodletting, building, planting, buying, selling, and the penalties were dire: "those who fell ill on these days would not rise from bed; an infant born then would not live, or would live in poverty; a man who took a wife would have no good thereby or would remain with her for a few days only or would live with her in poverty; anyone traveling to a foreign land would perish or not return".[16]

Also almanacs and calendars were used to control the future and maybe an enigmatic mathematical game which is written near a calendar in the family book by Dal Bovo.[17]

9 Grubb, 1996, p. 185f.

10 Ibid., p. 186; see also Niccoli, 2011.

11 Ibid., p. 186.

12 See Shahrar, 1990, and in particular, p. 33-36.

13 Grubb, 1996, p. 187.

14 Ibid., p. 199.

15 Ms. 827, c. 4^{v}.

16 Grubb, 1996, p. 200.

17 Ms. 827, c. 13^{r}.

The Making of the Book

The manuscript 827 is not a simple notebook (*zibaldone*) nor does it correspond to the model of family books. It has two 'souls' which produce a very strange complexity within the pages. In fact, there are some texts (or parts thereof) typical of family books but others are not.

For example, the sign of the Cross or the abbreviation of the name Jesus Christ (ICHS) in the headline is a typical form in family books: it is used to create a sacred ritual in the scripture, a sort of liturgical invocation of the Holy Spirit.[18] Also the dating of events, the use of a strict formulary to remember the important family dates (births, deaths and marriages), and finally the use of merchant scripture (called *mercantesca*) are standard elements in all family books.

All of these elements are present in manuscript 827, but there are others which are not ascribable to the family books genre: calendars, almanacs and in particular many important religious texts.

A paleographical study on the making of this book can explain both natures of the book. In the beginning the book was composed of specific pages which created a sort of modern notebook for merchants (*agenda*). In fact the first page of the initial book's binding (as page color confirms) is distinguished by a sort of time control scripture: for example, a Christian calendar, an almanac, or an enigmatic wheel used to determinate the day of the Jewish Easter.[19]

This first project, however, was abandoned; Bartolomeo Dal Bovo probably decided to create a prestigious book for his family with important religious texts written by professional scribes (*copisti*). In the meantime he decided to incorporate into these texts a fund of knowledge to be preserved, a sort of 'household of knowledge' (*masserizia di conoscenza*), and so he started to create a family book. Finally, when he was eighty, he started to write his memoirs in the second part of the book (page 51 of 119), and inserted a number of prayers and medical recipes in the first part. Thus, he created a particular second section for the memories; however, his son Antonio did not use this section: he simply wrote his formulary onto the first blank page he found.

18 See Cicchetti/Mordenti, 1984, p. 1117-1159.

19 Ms. 827, cc. 7^{v}; 13^{r}; 14^{v}.

The Author(s)

As paleographical analyses proved, the texts are written by thirty different persons and we have been able to recognize only two of them: Bartolomeo Dal Bovo (a merchant) and his son Antonio (a notary). Certainly some persons responsible for the writing of other texts were professional writers (they probably worked in a *scriptorium*): they had beautiful handwritings, but remain unknown.

The main author of the book is Bartolomeo Dal Bovo: he wrote the major part of the texts and probably commissioned numerous others; but who was Bartolomeo?

Bartolomeo Dal Bovo was born in Verona in 1403; his family came from Bovo, a little village situated in the countryside of Verona (*campanea maior*). Here he had a country seat and probably a farm; in fact, he was also a medium-size landowner: his family possessed many lands in the province of Verona. His principal occupation, however, was dealing in wool and other textiles: he called himself a textiles merchant (*scapizzator*); he was related to Andrea da Garda, a very important merchant.

His family was a 'new comer' in the civic nobility; for example, a member of the family, the notary Celestino de Bovis, was implicated in Fregnano Della Scala's conspiracy in 1354.[20] From the XIV century, the family was settled in the center of Verona, in the quarter of San Pietro Incarnario; here, in a house near the church, Bartolomeo lived and worked with his family.

As his memoirs show, Bartolomeo wanted to enter into the city nobility but his profession was an impediment because trade was not considered to be a noble occupation. For this reason he initiated his son Antonio and Zenone into a notary career. At the same time he claimed the right to be a feudatory; he succeeded in snatching a fief from the hands of distant relations.

Bartolomeo's Memoirs

In the second part of the book an eighty-year-old Bartolomeo Dal Bovo noted down all the memories of his family. Only one memory is located in the first part, but "when Bartolomeo Dal Bovo traced a previous generation's service to the Scaligeri, he did so not to prove glorious antiquity but to set the context for the family's discovery of an excellent cure for dog bites."[21]

20 Varanini, 1984, p. 9-66.

21 Grubb, 2002, p. XXXIII.

His memoirs are written for the necessity of their time: he wanted to give (to) his family some instruments in order to enable them to reclaim the property of home, fief and Bovo's church.

For example he remembered when he bought his home in San Pietro Incarnario with all the changes of ownership from the first buyer (up) to him and showed us a view of real life in a Renaissance city (he remembered when he served on a three-person committee of *fabricadori* that oversaw the physical plant of the church).[22]

Moreover, he also wanted to give nobility to his family through the memory of past public office: for example, he was a *vicario* in Soave, a town near Verona, in 1452. For this reason he described the story of his fief, changes of ownership and the approval by the bishop.[23] These memories represent the largest section of all texts in the book: Bartolomeo considered the fief as the most important means to becoming a nobleman.

For the same reason he re-founded the church of Bovo, from simple family chapel to church; he "was pleased when Verona's suffragan laid the first stone of a family chapel, and was further honored that Bishop Matteo remained to share a meal and chrismate neighborhood children."[24] Finally the church was decorated by an image of Saint Bovo on a horse with a flag.[25]

In front of this church Bartolomeo built a monument to celebrate the history of Bovo and his family. In this monument, now repositioned near the church, two episodes from local annals are written (*Chronicon Veronense*), within which Bovo is nominated in two wartime notes.[26] In this monument there is also the Dal Bovo family's coat of arms: five waves and six stars.[27]

Finally he wrote memoirs about his family (marriages, deaths, births, etc.), with the help of his father Antonio;[28] "these *Memorie* provided the genealogical, political and moral resources for future solidarity and survival."[29]

22 Ms. 827, cc. 52^{r}-54^{r}.

23 Ibid., cc. 65^{v}-69^{r}.

24 Grubb, 1996, p. 212.

25 In the flag there is an ox (= bue/bove).

26 Ms 827, cc. 57^{v}; 64^{v}.

27 Ibid., c. 55^{r}.

28 Ibid., cc. 3^{r}-3^{v}; 67^{r}; 115^{v}-116^{r}.

29 Grubb, 2002, cit., p. XXXIII.

Conclusion

Among the pages of this family book one can find a cross-section of the culture in middle-class Renaissance. Within the book there are texts which came from a high culture center (perhaps from the *scriptorium Veronensis*) associated with knowledge derived from popular culture. In order to explain such cultural hybridism there are two possible explanations: either the book travelled from hand to hand and eventually got back to its first owner, or it stayed in the house all the time and different guests wrote down their knowledge; the first hypothesis, though, is more probable.

Whatever the case, Bartolomeo and other authors of this enigmatic family book assigned their memoirs and knowledge to writing in order to make sense of their world; this cultural practice was reassuring: the future is less frightening if you allow the cultural background of your family to survive.

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Knowledge Making and Authorization Strategies

A Study of an Eighteenth Century Norwegian Manuscript Culture

Ane Ohrvik

How do you treat gout or a toothache? What is the procedure for making ink? How do you get a woman to love you? What components are needed for making the colour yellow? Or how do you protect your livestock against witchcraft or treat a bewitched cow? These were among the many questions which preoccupied Norwegian households during the early modern period and thus led to the production of domestic manuscripts containing remedies, recipes and formulas solving the needs and challenges of everyday living. From the recovery of over hundred individual manuscripts from all over Norway dated between 1650-1850 and written by people from highly different social and cultural backgrounds ranging from parish ministers, military personnel, non-educated medicine practitioners to peasants, these works illuminate not only what was considered important and valuable knowledge to acquire but also what type of knowledge was actually circulating among Norwegians during this period.[1] The specific manner in which these manuscripts were manufactured, the variations in subjects and content along with the titles they were given are all elements contributing to making them a specific type of literature. That they commonly were entitled *Kunstbog* (Art Book), *Cyprianus Konstbog* (Cyprian's Art Book) or *Svartebog* (The

1 Many of these manuscripts are digitalized and are available through the *Witchcraft in Norway* database developed by the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo, see: http://www.hf.uio.no/ikos/tjenester/kunnskap/samlinger/norsk-folkeminnesamling/trolldom-i-norge/svarteboeker/, 27.02.2013.

Black Book) or even a combination of these titles in one and the same work indicates that the writers were well aware of the genre in which their work belonged.[2]

When comparing the different manuscripts, a specific *modus operandi* of knowledge making appears from the material which seems to have governed the production from the choice of material to the paratextual apparatus. How were the manufacturers making sense of the knowledge they presented? What strategies were utilized in the authorization of the works? This article argues that the *modus operandi* was far from contingent but served as a key strategy in the authorization of the knowledge presented. The manufacturing mode of these works illuminates how their makers relied on norms and conventions belonging to the printed medium in the choice of format, writing styles, and authorship.[3]

Before turning to the Norwegian manuscripts and the questions of sense-making and authorization strategies, a historical contextualization is needed. The implicit and explicit literary references made in the Norwegian material point towards a relationship with specific genres of printed literature which circulated in Europe during the early modern period and which were decisive for the form and content the manuscripts received. This literary relationship contributed to form the content of Norwegian black books. Furthermore, specific conditions for the Danish-Norwegian printing press were decisive factors for the construction of black books as a specific manuscript culture.

The Printing Press and Books of Arts

The fact that the introduction of the printing press in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century had a huge impact on the distribution of books and of knowledge in Europe during the early modern period has repeatedly been stressed.[4] Print spread texts at a speed and in quantities that defeated and outnumbered script. The diffusion also made texts available to new groups of readers, expanding previous social and geographical boundaries. The new availability was closely linked to the fact that printed books in vernacular languages appeared on the book market, making it possible to offer new readers literature formerly restricted to the privileged and learned groups. Accordingly, the printing press is often regarded as a "revolution

2 In the following, I will generally refer to these works as black books.

3 These topics are treated more extensively in Ohrvik, 2012, p. 71-151.

4 See e.g. Febvre/Martin, 2010, p. 216-332; Eisenstein, 2005; Walsham/Crick, 2004, p. 1-26.

in communication".[5] The new communication medium became an important tool for the development and diffusion of both traditional and new knowledge.

A branch of this new book market was the production of vernacular technical handbooks, books of recipes connected to the household, various crafts, medicine, and natural philosophy which can be seen as the earliest versions of "popular science" in printed form. Italian and English *Books of Secrets*, German *Kunstbüchlein* and European *grimoires* were all genres exposing this type of knowledge which now were directed towards a broader and more diverse group of readers.[6] The first Italian book of this kind was *Opera Nuova intitolata Dificio di ricette* (A new work entitled the house of recipes), printed in 1525, containing general household recipes. Others, such as *Opera nova nella quale ritroverai molti bellissimi secreti* (A new work in which you will find many very fine secrets), a book of medical recipes published in the 1540s, points to what many of these books claimed to hold, namely secrets, hence the term *books of secrets* which was commonly given to them.[7] These books took advantage of the associations connected with the term "secret" by claiming in the titles that the books contained knowledge previously hidden to the public. Their primary goal was to make available tools and eventually increase self-education in "how to", exploring the practical field of knowledge.[8] As such, the books had a conventional structure and format for the recording of the technical processes, and they usually consisted of a recipe, a list of ingredients followed by a set of instructions describing the procedure. With a focus on practical knowledge, these books contained numerous recipes for whatever one would need in domestic management: making medicine, preparing ink, colour, cosmetics, food, and chemicals in addition to, for instance, alchemical recipes.[9]

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5 Hellinga, 2009, p. 207.

6 For a comprehensive presentation of these genres, see the works of Eamon, 1996; Kavey, 2007; Davies, 2009.

7 In Italy they were also referred to as *libri di ricette*, *ricettari* (recipe or "receipt" books), or *rimedi* (remedies), all terms indicating what kind of knowledge the books contained and how this knowledge was presented.

8 In addition numerous booklets were printed and reprinted and sold in the piazzas of the major cities. For a more comprehensive list of Italian booklets of secrets between 1520 and 1643, see the list provided in Eamon, 1996, p. 361-65.

9 For a closer look at how these books were structured in addition to what kind of knowledge they presented, I recommend the online and searchable database developed by Dr. Tessa Storey and hosted by University of Leichester, see https://

Likewise, German printers made available technical handbooks with craft recipes which revealed previously unavailable knowledge. Commonly called *Kunstbüchlein*, the German handbooks set out to remove the traditional preconditions for possessing the secrets of the arts: namely, membership of a guild or a formal apprenticeship. Now, literacy and the means to buy a copy of "a book of arts" was, in principle, the main obstacle to knowing "how to". The first *Kunstbüchlein* appearing in 1531 was entitled *Rechter Gebrauch d'Alchimei* (The proper use of alchemy) and of the original *Kunstbüchlein,* altogether four books were printed between 1531 and 1532 offering practical knowledge of various kinds.[10]

Both English *Books of Secrets* and European *Grimoires* shared the same interest in natural philosophy and magic. Unlike Denmark-Norway, other European countries like France and Germany experienced a peak in the printing and dissemination of magic books during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Books like the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* flourished on the German book market, first as copied manuscripts, later as printed works. In France, the number and variety of chapbook *grimoires* exceeded that in most European countries, and books such as *Le grand Albert* and *Le petit Albert*, *Grimoire du Pape Honorius*, *La chouette noire*, and *Abracadabra monumentissima diabolica* were published in huge numbers for a hungry market.[11] A shared feature of the *grimoire* literature was the diversity in the content which they encompassed. The books presented knowledge about how to arm people against witches and evil spirits; they revealed secrets about how to succeed at cards and other activities, how to heal illnesses, how to get people to love you, how to alter one's destiny and much, much more. The similarities in content to the black books are evident, and testify to the very close relation between the printed *grimoires* and the Norwegian manuscripts.

The desire to reveal arts and crafts also reached the Northern countries. The concrete influence of the Italian *Secreti* literature and the German *Kunstbüchlein* is quite obvious when one looks at the copies of art books appearing in print in Denmark during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Particularly interesting is the series of eight books called *Oeconomia Nova* which were translated from German to Danish and offered recipes, advice, and guidance comprising topics such as housekeeping and farming, cooking, herbs, how to prepare dye and ink, how to succeed in fishing, and how to prepare vinegar, beer, and candy.[12] The books were

lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/4335, 07.03.2013. For a detailed description of the database, see the online article by Storey, 2008.

10 Eamon, 1996, p. 114.

11 Devlin, 1987, p. 165-171.

12 See e.g. Hake, 1648; Jugel, 1648.

obviously popular and filled a need on the book market and were reprinted along with other books that sought to fill yet other subject fields within the "know-how" literature.

Apart from the medical literature and the Danish art books mentioned, the printing press in Denmark-Norway never produced art books similar to the Italian and English books of secrets or grimoire genre. In more than one sense, it is fair to say that it was the handwritten black book which most resembled these genres and were obviously inspired by these genres.[13] The question of why these genres of books, which received great popularity in the rest of Europe, did not reach the printing presses in Denmark-Norway needs to be answered.

From 1536-37 to 1814 Norway was under Danish rule with succeeding Danish kings as head of the union and with Copenhagen as the governing capital of the kingdom. This also included the establishment of printing presses in the sixteenth century which were exclusively connected to Danish parts of the kingdom and first and foremost Copenhagen. The first printer documented in Norway established his printing press in Christiania – now Oslo – in 1643, but it was not until the 1660s that Christiania received its first permanent printing house – which makes Norway particularly late in a European context.[14] Apart from one other temporary printing press in Fredrikshald, the next press established was in Bergen in 1721. In the decades to follow, a few more presses were established in Trondhjem and Christiansand which – in theory – made printing possibilities somewhat more accessible. This was theoretical since the censorship connected with the printing in Denmark-Norway during most of the early modern period was strict. The censorship of printing was put in effect as a result of the Reformation in Denmark-Norway in 1536-1537. Catholic beliefs and practices along with religious teaching promoted by the Catholic Church were banned. As one of the effective means to control the implementation of the new reformed church a monitoring of the new communication medium – the press was created. By the Church Ordinance of 1537-1539 this control was given a concrete tool which, among other things, required that no books in Latin, Danish or German could be published before they had been subjected to thorough perusal by the theologians at the University of Copenhagen or the bishops in the kingdom.[15] The publishers had to submit to the rules since their royal privileges were tied to the prohibition of printing any material that in any way

13 Recent studies of what types of printed works that were circulating among different social and cultural groups in Norway show both variety in genres and a strong influence of German speaking literature, see Dahl, 2011.

14 Bastiansen/Dahl, 2003, p. 31-39; Fet, 1995, p. 45-46, 304.

15 Bastiansen/Dahl, 2003, p. 54.

went against the true Christian Religion, the Ordinance or other given decrees. The regulations were obviously effective against any statements that could be interpreted as religious or political resistance, and were also reinforced and strengthened by a new regulation in 1667 instructing once again all potential books for print to be censored in Copenhagen. It is a fair conjunction that most black books simply would not have passed the censors in Copenhagen with these strict regulations. Even though they contained art inspired by printed literature such as the German *Kunstbüchlein*, Italian *Secreti* books and medicine books revealing prosaic recipes for making colors and ink and curing stomach diseases, they also reflected magical beliefs and practices that would not sit well with the theologian in Copenhagen. This, I believe, were the main motivations for making black books as manuscripts and the reasons for the development of a specific Nordic manuscript culture.

The Manufacturing of Black Books

In understanding the *modus operandi* in the manufacturing process of the Norwegian material and which authorization strategies the makers employed, the essential question is how these manuscripts present themselves as works of knowledge. As such, the concept of paratexts developed by the French literary theorist Gerard Genette can be a fruitful approach. According to Genette, paratexts are "what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public".[16] The elements that facilitate the text in this process are those verbal or other products which surround and extend the text, not only in order *to present* it, but *to make present* the text. Paratextual elements such as titles, author's name, introduction, preface, diaries etcetera constitute what Genette labels:

> an 'undefined zone' between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text), an edge, or, as Philippe Lejune put it, 'a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text'.[17]

As such, paratexts are "an array of liminal forms", as Helen Smith and Louise Wilson points out.[18] In addition to those textual features Genette includes in his

16 Genette, 1997, p. 1.

17 Ibid., p. 2.

18 Smith/Wilson, 2011, p. 2.

paratextual apparatus, he also highlights the appearance and effect of the material construction of the book as equally contributing to present and make present a book.[19] Genette's concept of paratexts thus serves a double purpose in this context; as a guide in the reading of the Norwegian material and as a directive towards the function and meaning of what the material holds.

From the basic standpoint that meaning is produced both in the manufacturing of form and when an object is met by an observer or potential user of the object, it is interesting to see what characterizes these books and investigate the possible motivations for giving them the form they received. Here, both the format of the books, their binding and the writing styles applied in them all serve to identify the black books *not only as proper books* – but also to *determine the response mode* within the literary context. The material form and the visual aesthetic qualities of the black books are what first meet a potential reader of the book and are all contributing to determining the response.

From the investigation of 51 individual Norwegian black books a total of 42 works appear in either quarto or octavo formats, placing the Norwegian black book in the larger formats of books in general. As book historian Charlotte Appel points out, the use and intended readership were decisive factors when formats were chosen for printed books in Denmark during the seventeenth century.[20] For instance, books intended as handbooks, such as psalm books, prayer books, and catechisms and often produced for women during the seventeenth century were printed in huge numbers in small formats in accordance with the needs defined by the reading situations as "books at hand", which were easily transportable. Learned works comprising subjects such as history, theology, and medicine would in most cases be printed in the larger formats of octavo, quarto or even folio, indicating their more stationary use.[21] Judging from the quite consistent choice of larger formats in black books, a reasonable interpretation is that the choice of format communicates what type of book their makers wanted to produce or the category they perceived they were. Presenting knowledge in octavo or quarto formats communicates an affinity to the stationary, more expensive and learned works which accordingly could supply authority to the works.

The somewhat costly and ornamented binding given some of the black books communicates in similar ways what value the owner put on their books and what material status they wanted to give them. Even though only a handful of the 51 books studied have the binding intact, it is interesting to observe that those books

19 See GENETTE, 1997, p. 16-36 for a more detailed discussion on this topic.

20 APPEL, 2001, p. 613-635.

21 HORSTBØLL, 1999, p. 273-354.

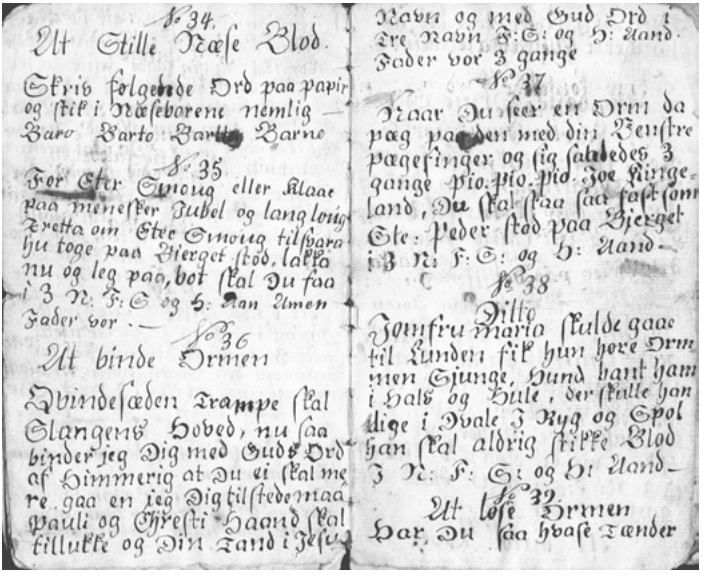
which received a professional binding signal an upgraded material status and an explicit affinity with other literary works. This is, however, even more self-evident in the few cases of material where the manufacturer in all probability was without the means to upgrade the book in a professional binding technique, consequently applying uneven and simple sewing in the spine to bring the papers together and decorating the front covers with illustrations found in printed books resembling a costly relief embossing. Also here we find an explicit affinity to other literary works and possibly a desire to upgrade the works in order to authorize its content.

The last and final point in this context is the writing styles applied in the books. Even though the books demonstrate conventionalized handwriting styles connected to the different periods – from older to younger gothic, from the late sixteenth century onwards to the Latin style in nineteenth century – the books also show extensive use of fracture (or fraktur), a version of the gothic style belonging to the printed medium. When studying the paragraph headings in the black books, almost all books use fracture in their headings. There are also some books written exclusively in fracture. What were the writer's reasons for mixing these styles, and what did they want to accomplish by using fracture?

The use of fracture was highly uncommon in other Norwegian manuscript productions during the early modern period. Even though there are cases in other types of manuscripts where a writer applied fracture in his or her manuscript, it is chiefly connected with a lack of reading or writing skills in the gothic style either in the writer or intended reader. However, insufficient writings skills are probably not a suitable explanation for the application of a conventional style used in printed literature as the combination between gothic and fracture occurs in most black books. Based upon the sum of material and textual similarities between black books and printed books, it is my opinion that the fracture style was applied out of a desire to produce literary works. The use of fracture was not a mere expression of "imitation", but an active part of an authorization strategy which was meant to help the books ascend on the literary ladder. It is obvious that the writers and manufacturers of the black books intended to make books. Observing the application of fey features belonging to the printed book, it challenges our very notion of "what a book is" and how we expect books "to behave".[22]

22 See Margaret Ezell's discussion of "Invisible Books" in Ezell, 2009, p. 53-69. Ezell observes that in several modern works in book history "print" and "book" exists as interchangeable nouns.

Figure 1



The picture shows a Norwegian black book from Fron in Oppland County from the last half of the eighteenth century written exclusively in fracture. As is the case with many black books, it has few provenance records and no traces to who wrote the book or owned it. The manuscript is incomplete and lacks both beginning and end. The book is part of the Moltke Moe collection at Norwegian Folklore Archive, University of Oslo.

Attributing Authorship

Another striking feature of the Norwegian black books is how they make use of the author's name. The determination of who the sender of a text, an utterance, is enables a reader to place a text historically, socially and individually, and to understand and interpret it.[23] Despite critics within modern literature theory of the role and relevance of authorship, especially that instigated by Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault in the late 1960s and which challenged interpretations of texts associated with authorial voices because of the potential of undermining

23 GUNDERSEN, 2008, p. 226.

the words and the language of texts, I believe that the origin of the texts, its authors or the notion of the author is essential for the understanding and interpretation of the Norwegian black books.[24] The way in which the authorship is explicitly underscored and repeated indicates an understanding where the origin of the text has been perceived as particularly important in relation to how those who wrote the books wished them to be read, understood, and interpreted. As books of knowledge, the references to the origin of the texts have thus played a key role in the authorization of this knowledge.

The use of an author's name is, as Gerard Genette points out, linked to the credibility of the testimony given, or of its transmission. The degree of importance of this function rests on the identity of the witness or the person reporting it.[25] In those cases where writers of the black books identify themselves by name in the books, they never claim authorship. Expressions such as "compiled", "correctly copied from", "correct copy", and "written together" are frequently found in the titles or introductory statements, and signal that regardless of whether or not their names are explicitly given, the writers take on a compiler function and a role as mediators between the alleged originator(s) and the actual black book text. As such, the black book writers take on the classical roles of *scriptor* and *compiler*.[26]

The mediator role is sometimes multiplied by additional names in the books in what can be viewed as an authorial hierarchy, such as the following title from a late eighteenth century black book:

> A little book of Arts
> Or a
> Summary of Cyprian
> which was written by bishop
> Johanes Sell of Oxford
> in England
> AD. 1682.[27]

24 For a discussion of the author's role, see IBID., p. 222-260; BARTHES, 1988, p. 167-172; FOUCAULT, 1988, p. 197-210.

25 GENETTE, 1997, p. 41.

26 Cf. GREPSTAD, 1997, p. 82.

27 "En Liden Kunstbog/ eller et/ Udtog af Selve/ Sybrianus,/ som var skreven af biskop/ Johanes Sell til/ Oxford/ udi England/ A:a: 1682.-", see RUSTAD, 1999, p. 1.

In this title, the name Johanes Sell functions as a mediator between the alleged original source of Cyprian and that of the writer which is the last authorial voice in the textual mediation process.[28] Evidence that can explain why Johanes Sell appears in the title can be subtracted from the title itself. The title implies that he was a bishop in Oxford, probably around 1682, and searching for him in records yields a very interesting find: From 1676 a man named John Fell (1625-1686) served as Bishop of Oxford. Not only was he a man of the church, he was also a productive writer, and in 1682, fully and correctly referenced in the black book, Fell published the book *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani Opera recognita* in collaboration with a colleague. Why he appears as a mediator in the black book as the compiler of a work by Cyprian leads us to the final and most important authorial voice in the authorization of the black book. Fell's book, which was a learned book written in Latin portraying the holy martyr St Cyprian's life and work resembles next to nothing of what the black book actually contains. However, the fact that Fell had published a book about Cyprian nevertheless gives credibility to the testimony that the black book actually stems from Cyprian even though, in all probability, it is quite a different figure with contradictory qualities that the writer of the black book had in mind, namely the sorcerer Cyprian.

One set of stories tells of the powerful magician and sorcerer Cyprian of Antioch who lived around 200 AD., and who had made a pact with the Devil in return of earthly powers in the black arts. Upon meeting with the pious woman Justina, whose Christian faith was so strong that she found the power to reject his advances, Cyprian freed himself from his diabolic pact, was received into the Church and later became a bishop.[29] This legend has probably later been mixed up with the historical bishop Cyprian of Carthage who lived at the same time and suffered martyrdom approximately 258 AD. The question of why Cyprian is attributed not only this particular book but most Norwegian black books still remains to be answered.

28 This type of mediation can be compared to Richard Bauman's oral mediation model which he calls "Mediational Routine" and which function is to highlight a specific type of communication process where the message itself is received and communicated forward, by replication, through mediators to the recipient(s), see Bauman, 2004, p. 133.

29 Butler, 1993, p. 87-91.

Figure 2

This black book from the mid-eighteenth century clearly illustrates the attribution practice where Cyprian is given the ultimate authoritative voice. At the bottom of the title page, the text even claims that the book is "printed in Stavanger in Norway in 1699." Stavanger did not have a printer at this time and the book is handwritten and not printed but the fact that the book claims it illustrates what inspirations and aspiration their manufacturers had. The book is part of the manuscript collection at the National Library in Oslo.

Generally, this attribution practice is based on a widespread practice from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, where the attribution of books to well-known theologians and scientists as well as legendary figures was quite common within certain genres. To some extent it was looked upon as homage to whomever the work was attributed. The main function of attribution, however, was the significance these particular names gave the work in which they appeared. They served to provide legitimacy to the work due to the reputation they had already acquired. The formerly mentioned grimoire and secreti books were printed genres which made extensive use of attributions during the Early Modern Period and ascribed works throughout Europe to both legendary figures such as Faust and historical persons such as Albertus Magnus (1193/1206-1280), Philip von Hoenheim/Paracelsus (1493-1541), and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535).[30] When Cyprian is thus attributed the Norwegian black books, it can be seen as an *authorization strategy* where the writers seek to benefit from the associations and qualities linked to Cyprian. As such, we can identify a classic attribution to a mythical sorcerer whose identity first and foremost was shaped by legends circulating throughout the Middle Ages as well as the Early Modern Period. The connection made to Cyprian not only communicates the form and content of the black books as containing magical knowledge and the black arts, but also points to the magnitude of power of the knowledge.

Authorizing Knowledge by Time

Following the paratextual scheme of the Norwegian black books, another common component to that of the attribution to Cyprian is how the titles are formulated. Or rather, the title narratives which occur in the majority of the books and are crucial for the understanding of how the writers valued the knowledge presented. Through a specific allegorical "biography" of the knowledge, the knowledge is positioned in time, space and in connection with material features. With minor variations, it is presented in the following manner:

30 Davies, 2009, p. 44-70.

the Black Book
Was first found at the Wittenberg
Academy
in the year 1529
in
A Marble Chest written on
Parchment.[31]

This title narrative contributes to be able to situate the book and its knowledge by connecting the origin of the knowledge to a specific geographical locality (place), history (time), and to link the book to particular material objects. When appearing as it does in many books, the title can be seen as a traditional formula specifically tied to the Norwegian black book genre. Furthermore, and more importantly, the title serves what Genette labels a designating function by symbolically connecting to the book's subject matter.[32] As such, the title does not primarily represent a factual designation but rather creates a symbolic relationship where the main purpose is to situate the knowledge in a landscape where the past and present is illuminated and past wisdom and practice can – through the book – be reactivated and become functional.

When the books connect to Wittenberg as the primary location of the book and the black art containing it, it might be explained by the connotations this place produced as an old and traditional place for knowledge and teaching linked to the University of Wittenberg. Wittenberg University was – for obvious reasons – an important training institution for the Protestant students of Northern Europe. Due to the lack of a Norwegian university, which was not established until 1811, Wittenberg was, in addition to the University of Copenhagen also the preferable choice for Norwegian students during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[33] As the place where the great reformer Martin Luther resided as professor, Wittenberg undoubtedly received a special religiously symbolic position in Protestant Norway, especially among those in charge of executing Lutheran reforms. More importantly, however, was the reputation Wittenberg received as a "city of magic". It was fueled by the connection made between the legendary Dr. Faust and the city portrayed in the anonymous work *Historia von*

31 "Sortbogen/ Blev först funden paa/ Wittenbergs/ Ackademie/ Aar 1529./ i/ En Marmorsteens Kiste skrewen paa/ Pergament.", see NB Ms 4 1819 in Ohrvik, 2012, p. 117.

32 Genette, 1997, p. 76-81.

33 Kolsrud/Valkner, 1962, p. 88f.; Helk, 1987, p. 40-44.

D. Johann Fausten which was published in 1587 and saw numerous editions and was further strengthen by oral legends placing the origin of magic books such as the Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses in the heart of the city.[34] Whether the choice of Wittenberg was grounded in educational connotations, or whether it was the occult and esoteric qualities which gave the city its place in the Norwegian books is hard to determine. What unites these qualities is nevertheless the attention placed on knowledge. Be it religion or occult, Wittenberg serves as *the* place for the origin of knowledge where wisdom could be obtained. Placing Wittenberg in connection with the knowledge presented in the black books thus serves as the ultimate quality assurance.

When the title historically links the knowledge to a specific time, in this case to 1529, I believe this to be first and foremost a symbolic construction. The different manuscripts present a number of different dates apparently without any internal or external consistency and point towards an understanding where the actual year is of a lesser importance. Instead, the year chosen in the text contributes to place the books in the past where the year itself represents *time*. By pointing backwards in time, age itself serves to legitimize and qualify the knowledge presented, a wisdom which at the same time has survived and become a symbol of time. As such, the writers do not intend to refer to specific events connected to specific years because the idea is to connect past knowledge to present reality, making time a more *fluid* state. Thus, the black book and the knowledge it holds does not represent *a* past but *the* past. Under this aspect, past is created as a place to which the book gives the reader access. The "Marble chest" serves as a similar symbol in this way. As an object connected with storage, preservation, and constancy it plays a key role in the interpretation of how past knowledge has survived the spans of time and can still be accessed. When the knowledge is rediscovered in the chest of marble we are witnessing a rebirth and reactivation of the wisdom.

We know from history that age, "the past" and tradition have served as important qualifying elements when people have valued the importance of knowledge. Most notable is probably the European rediscovery and translations of "ancient" texts in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, especially connected to the discovery of *Corpus Hermeticum* which allegedly was ancient wisdom from the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos.[35] In our context, however, it is quite surprising to find age and tradition used as means in the authorization strategy of the books, especially considering the fact that many of the books were written during the

34 Butler, 1998, p. 5; Hermundstad, 1961, p. 93.

35 See e.g. Yates, 2001, p. 30-41.

last half of the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment – generally characterized by defending common sense instead of faith and tradition, and emphasizing science and philosophy as the right means to true enlightenment – is contrasted by the universe of knowledge in the black books. Instead of pointing forwards when authorizing the knowledge – they point backwards – leaning symbolically on old authorities and time itself.

Conclusion

The first Danish-Norwegian black book to actually be printed was *Sybrianus P.P.P.* which reached the book market in 1771. It comes as no surprise that this happened during the three years of freedom of the press during the short reign of the personal physician of King Christian VII, the German Johann F. Struensee (1737-1772). By that time, numerous handwritten black books had been produced during the centuries in both Denmark and Norway, where bookish and traditional knowledge regarded as valuable and useful had been interpreted, adopted, and given a physical and textual form as black books. And in this adoption of texts and ideas, the very expression of the books, how the knowledge was ascribed, and the situating of the knowledge was crucial for how the writers wanted their works to be received. Essentially, this process was a cultural exchange of knowledge and illuminates what Peter Burke calls "the 'cultures of translation'" revealing the rules, norms or conventions governing the translation process.[36] The strict censorship in Denmark-Norway was one of the initial motivations for the manuscript production of black books; the specific genre of books of knowledge circulating in Europe served as inspirations while specific norms and conventions connected to the printed book governed the manufacturing process and the attribution of authorship. As this article shows, the norms and conventions applied to the black books were, however, not merely replications or imitations of the printed medium but expressions of a specific communication mode enhancing the authorization of the knowledge presented. The writers of black books were simply making books!

36 Burke, 2007, p. 11.

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Making Sense of Europe

Anne Eriksen

Travel writing very obviously is a cultural practice of sense making. It implies making sense of the places and people one encounters, as well as of oneself. The dimension of sense making applies even more so when the aim of the travel is education, as it was with the "Grand Tour" during the early modern period: Young men, mostly from Europe's northern countries, spent as much as three years travelling in Europe to complete their education. Apart from formal study and visits to acknowledged attractions and sights, polished manners and a more sophisticated knowledge of the world where the aims of the tour: Making sense of oneself and of foreign people and places.

In his book on travel writing, literary critic Carl Thompson points out that "all travel requires us to negotiate a complex and sometimes unsettling interplay between alterity and identity, difference and similarity."[1] He goes on to argue that because all travel involves some kind of encounter between self and others, "all travel writing is at some level a record or product of this encounter, and of the negotiation between similarity and difference that it entailed".[2] The written account, be it a dairy or journal, travelogue or guidebook for subsequent travellers, is the product of these procedures of interpretation, selection and organization of experiences and facts.

This chapter will discuss a travel journal from the late seventeenth century. It was produced by the young Johannes Lilienskiold's on his Grand Tour through Europe during the years 1668-1671, and has been preserved as a hand-written manuscript in two parts. The manuscript has been little researched, and invites a number of questions concerning the tradition of educational travel as well as

1 Thompson, 2011, p. 9.

2 Ibid., p. 10.

the biography of Lilienskiold himself.[3] My investigation will nonetheless concentrate on a few main questions: What sense did this journey make? How did Lilienskiold carry out those negotiations between identity and similarity that his travel writing expresses? How did he proceed to make sense of the Europe he visited, what methods did he use? And what was their outcome?

My theoretical starting point for exploring the journal is the ambiguity that is intrinsic to all travel writing.[4] On the one hand, travellers are supposed to present experiences that are new to themselves and their readers. A travel text has failed its aim if it has nothing new to tell. On the other hand, travel texts normally rely heavily on commonplaces and general ideas. They also have a strong intertextuality, and tend to refer to each other, either implicitly or explicitly. They draw on conventions in the culture of their authors, building on them and confirming them, or questioning or subverting them, but nonetheless relating to them. One reason for this somewhat paradoxical conformity is that travellers to a destination tend to follow the same route and visit the same attractions. In the contemporary world, even backpackers seeking the most remote and exotic destinations tend to meet each other, *Lonely Planet* in hand. In the early modern period, in a Europe far scarcer in roads, routes and means of communication than the present, practical reasons as well as the need for safety made people follow "the beaten track" – if such a thing happened to exist. More complex reasons for the conformity of a genre confessing to novelty are to be found in the interpretational procedures themselves: For how does one experience things that are absolutely new? How do they make sense, or rather, how does one go about to make them make sense? Furthermore, how does one describe such novelties to others, who have not been there to see them? A common solution is to compare new things, new experiences and new phenomena to those already known and described. This can be done explicitly, saying that this animal, or this town, or this kind of headdress resembles something already known to the writer and intended reader alike. Even more fundamental, however, are the implicit comparisons, by which I mean making use of well established categories and patterns of meaning and evaluation.

These are general points, applying to travel writing in general, but some significant extra points can be made for early modern texts: Travel writers of this period did most often not seek originality. As has been pointed out by critics, they were not out to present their own, personal interpretations of what they saw,

3 See http://www.ntnu.no/ub/spesialsamlingene/digital/05a030477.html, 11.02.2013. http://da2.uib.no/cgi-win/WebBok.exe?slag=lesbok&bokid=lillienskiold, 11.02.2013.

4 Cf. Eriksen, 1997.

and even less of what they felt. Their aim was to describe the world, to make sense of it, and to make the world known to others. The claim to novelty, then, was not so much related to the traveller's personal experience and individual interpretation of places and sights. It rather concerned information about parts of the world that were not (yet) well known to the public "back home". For this very reason, early modern travel writing has in some cases been judged inferior to that of later periods.[5] Compared with travel writing from the romantic period onwards, the early modern texts appear strikingly impersonal, un-autobiographical, and often lacking in colour and detail. More recent research, on the other hand, has drawn the attention to the historical variations in travel writing, and to the fact that the travel text is always shaped by ideals and conventions from its historical context.[6]

Early modern travellers, and especially young educational travellers, were often influenced by the so-called *ars apodemica*. This literature, nearly forgotten until researched by the ethnologist Justin Stagl in the 1980s, were manuals in the art of prudent travelling (Stagl 1995). They partly resembled modern guidebooks, giving practical advice and information concerning what to see, where to stay, and how much to pay. But they also instructed their readers about *how* to collect and process information during their travel. They prescribed ambitious programmes of note-taking, diary-keeping and the making of lists and tables. They did not merely tell what to see, but *how* to see it, and what to do with the knowledge thus gained: How to describe a town, how to organize lists of sights. The books were pedagogical tools, intended not merely to help the young man make the most of his travel by leading him to the best inns and the most interesting sights, but also to make the travel improve and educate him. The practices and systems presented in the book reflect ideas about the gaining and shaping of knowledge, about how to transform experience into reliable and useful information. Carrying out these practices, the traveller would not merely find his new knowledge neatly arranged according to systems that made it all easy to remember and assess, he would also find himself the competent user of effective systems of processing, organizing and presenting information.

5 Cf. Fussell, 1980.

6 Cf. Buzard, 1993 and Thompson 2011.

Going South

The "Grand Tour of Europe" is a rather general term, including a variety of agents, projects, and aims. During the sixteenth century, the "Grand Tourists" mostly were extremely wealthy young English nobles who made the tour of the continent to gain accomplishments and education that was not available at home. In the next century, the main aim of the travels was still educational, but the activity seems to have been somewhat less restricted to the absolute elite travelling in the grand manner. Nonetheless, a Grand Tour still demanded considerable economic resources. Englishmen were still in majority, but a Grand Tour could also be part of the education for young men from other North European countries, who sought universities and institutions of learning in central and southern Europe. In addition to their studies, the young tourists were expected to acquaint themselves with the ways of foreign peoples, to polish their manners and acquire a social or professional network. The aims of these tours were not cultural, historical or aesthetic, but practical: The young men sought an education that was not available at home, and aimed to acquire competences and skills useful for their future careers.[7]

During the eighteenth century, going on a Grand Tour seems to have grown less practical and instrumental and more oriented towards aesthetic education, collectionism and experiences of art and history. While the Grand Tourists of the former centuries were very young men, even mere boys who travelled with their tutors, eighteenth century travels included more mature men, who travelled together or – if resources and social position permitted – with servants and secretaries.[8] From this period onwards, the travel texts that where produced also tended to change: they became less focused on cataloguing information or bring new knowledge about little known places, and more concerned with the travellers' personal and emotional responses to what they saw and experienced. The Grand Tour of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was turned into the Sentimental Journey of the eighteenth and nineteenth.

Johannes Lilienskiold was born in 1650 in a wealthy bourgeois family in Bergen, Norway's then largest town. He was educated at home until he embarked on his European trip together with his younger brother Jonas in January 1668. The first part of the journey took them to the capital Copenhagen with its university, where they arrived after one month of travel. They were examined by the Dean, Erasmus Bartholin, and then inscribed as students. They also met

7 Cf. Helk, 1991.

8 Cf. Black, 1985 and Eriksen, 1999.

Niels Stub, the man who was to be their preceptor during the three and a half years of European travel. At the age of 31, he was already an experienced traveller, with two longer stays at European universities behind him. Before leaving Copenhagen in late May, the company secured a pile of introductory letters from the King himself, which were to give them access to people, courts and collections throughout Europe. They then went by post coach to Hamburg.

The route they followed through Europe to Italy was conventional one.[9] From Hamburg they went to Leipzig, were they arrived in early April. They were inscribed at the university and stayed there as students for nearly one year. In January 1669, they continued and left for Dresden, where they visited the *Kunstkammer* and took part in the festivities in celebration of the birth of a young prince. In March, the travel to the south commenced, leading over Wittenberg via Frankfurt to Italy. The first stop here was Venice, where they arrived in May. Then followed Vicenza and Verona, and later Padua and Bologna where the boys where once again inscribed at the universities. They did not stay for long however; after a mere two days in Bologna the travel continued, and the company arrived in Rome in October. The winter was spent there, with numerous visits to monuments and collections. In early spring trips were made to Naples and to Tivoli, before starting on the way back north.

The return trip took them via Genova and Turin. They then crossed the Alps to Switzerland and stayed for a couple of months in Geneva before passing through Mainz and Köln on their way to Paris. The third winter was spent here, probably as students at the university. Next spring took them to London and then back to Brussels and Antwerp – were the travel journal comes to a very abrupt halt. However, it is known that both boys and their preceptor arrived safely in Copenhagen in 1771. The Lilienskiold brothers then passed their final exams at the University of Copenhagen in 1772. They both embarked on successful careers in state administration. Both ended up as local governors of Norwegian counties.[10]

Lilienskiold is a noble name. The ending -skiold (lit.: shield) is typical for the names of the new nobility created in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. When the two brothers set out for their journey in 1668, they were still plain Hans and Jonas Schmidt, sons of the powerful Hans Hanssøn Schmidt in Bergen, holder of a number of public offices and owner of a large fortune. His wealth as well as his services to the monarch probably counted when he, with his entire family, was elevated to nobility in 1676. This was the time when the

9 Cf. Helk, 1991, p. 54ff.

10 Cf. Brandt, 2000.

family took the name Lilienskiold. Between Schmidt and Lilienskiold lies also the difference that the journey of the two boys made, or at least contributed to.

Absolute rule had been established in Denmark-Norway in 1660. One effect of the new political system was that positions of higher state officials were no longer reserved for the nobility, as had traditionally been the case. Absolute rule weakened the position and power of the old nobility, and made room for new men from new families. Moreover, a growing bureaucracy created a demand for competent persons to fill the posts. To compete for such positions, however, a good education was required, preferably in law and politics. The university in Copenhagen long remained primarily a school of theology. This was the reason why ambitious and wealthy men – like Hans Hanssøn Schmidt in Bergen – sent their sons abroad. The relevant education was not to be had within the limits of the realm. Attending the University of Copenhagen was necessary merely to get the exam, while the "real" education happened through travel and study abroad. In Copenhagen, Hans changed his name to the Latinized Johannes when he was first inscribed at the university. The journey was about to begin.

As the noble name on the title page of the manuscript indicates, the travel text was produced some time after the journey. It was long believed to be the work of Lilienskiold's friend, the rector Christian Paus, but has later been correctly identified as made by Lilienskiold himself.[11] Its two parts are today kept at the University Library of Bergen and the library of The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters in Trondheim respectively. It is a beautiful manuscript, even if blank pages show that it was never completed. As already pointed out, the work ends rather suddenly with the three travellers' arrival in Antwerp. Moreover, the blank pages interspersed in both parts of the manuscript indicate that more drawings and watercolours of the kind that are already embellishing the work must have been planned. The level of detail and precision indicates that the work is a transcript of a diary that was kept during the journey itself. Nonetheless, the Lilienskiold manuscript represents far more than the personal memories of a youthful traveller. It must be seen as a monument to its author's success, but also as part of his credentials. It is a compendium of the experience he gained and the knowledge he collected, as well as an expression of his diligence and skills as a traveller. As all travel writing, the manuscript reflects the process of making sense of novelties and new experiences while travelling. But the elaborate and embellished work also gives a glimpse into the way Lilienskiold made sense of himself and presented himself as a man of experience and competence.

11 Cf. Nissen, 1937.

Making Lists

What particularly interest me about the manuscript are the numerous lists. All sights and attractions that were visited are presented as lists, sometimes short and sometimes spanning a considerable number of pages. Within these main lists there are other lists, quoting for instance the altars and chapels within a church, the costly objects in a treasury, or the items of a collection. The lists are far more than random insertions in the text; they rather make up its main structure. The manuscript does hold some descriptive passages, of which the most extensive is about the government of the republic of Venice. Among the very few that directly report personal experience are two narratives about attempted robberies and a deceptive host at an inn outside Poggibonsi in Tuscany. Nonetheless, lists referring to sights and objects are the absolutely dominant element. Even the celebration of the newborn prince in Dresden (above) is presented in the guise of lists, presenting the distinguished guests, enumerating the figures in the parades and mentioning the entertainments that were given: theatricals, hunts, dances and so on.

This type of lists is quite common in early modern travel writing and an important reason why such texts have often been dismissed as an uninteresting and inferior type of travel writing (cf. above). Scholars have dismissed the lists as mere enumerations, sadly devoid of those stamps of the author's personality or sensibility that have been held to distinguish travel writing proper.[12] I would rather suggest that the lists represent a historically specific response to the ambiguity that is intrinsic to all travel writing: They are attempts at making sense of novelties and new experiences by means of the formulas, categories, and conventions that were available to the observer-writer. The lists are collections of information and experience, built up by the traveller and processed or organized reflecting his personal competence as well as more general ideals about the production of knowledge. They may not betray the emotions and personal impressions of a sentimental traveller, but they nonetheless present historically significant conventions of knowledge gathering and practices of information processing. Lists are not self-generating, any more than sentimental portrayals are. They refer back to deliberate choices of composition and reflect distinct principles of organization. The making of lists, therefore, must be seen as epistemological tools that Lilienskiold made use of in his work to make sense of Europe. From where did he get his tools, and what kind of sense or knowledge did they actually produce?

12 Helk, 1991, p. 33; Brandt, 2000, p. 30.

Carl Thompson has argued that all travel texts will have to accord to what he calls "epistemological decorum". He points out that the plausibility of travel texts has depended on different kinds of authority in different historic periods. Important changes took place in the early modern period. New ideas about relevant and reliable knowledge during this period meant that "new protocols of 'epistemological decorum' took shape over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and these protocols influenced in turn the activities and accounts of many travellers."[13] During the Middle Ages, the reliability and plausibility of travel texts were assessed by their correspondence to acknowledge authorities, most prominently the Bible, the writings of the Church Fathers and the classical philosophers. The new ideals did not only favour observation and experience above references to texts and traditions. Even the literary style changed. Thompson points out that "abstract and metaphysical speculations were to be kept to a minimum, as were the subjective impressions and personal thought and feelings. Instead, writers were advised to prioritize the observation of measurable, material phenomena in the external world."[14] Moreover, the language was to be kept simple and precise, unadorned by rhetoric and ornament. Thompson is emphatic that these ideals not merely correspond well with the epistemological ideals of the new natural philosophy, but in very concrete ways were advocated by the *Royal Society* (from 1660). To promote the Baconian principles in science and knowledge, the Society issued numerous directives to travellers, seeking to regulate what sort of information they gathered, and even more important: To control the methods used to collect and present information.

I will suggest that when it came to travel journals such as that of the young Lilienskiold, the new epistemological decorum with its emphasis on observation and experience merged with more traditional methods for processing and organizing knowledge in educational contexts, as they had been developed by the humanists of the 16th century. The *ars apodemica*, mentioned above, represented a programme of information management for travellers that kept its popularity in educational contexts until late 18th century. Justin Stagl argues that the system was invented in Basel by Theodore Zwinger and his Dutch friend Hugo Blotius in the 1570s, both strongly influenced by Ramist thought. Even if a number of other manuals came to be published, the methods go back to these two (or three, including Ramus).

Ann Blair, in her book on information management in early modern times, is more critical to the idea of a specific Ramist influence, and argues that organiz-

13 Thompson, 2011, p. 73.

14 Ibid., p. 76.

ing knowledge in lists, diagrams and tables represent older and far more general techniques. According to her, tables "which arranged material in columns and rows had the older pedigree, thanks to the continuous diffusion of Eusebius' chronological tables starting in the fourth century."[15] Such ways of organizing material were known from reference works, *florilegia* and commonplace books, which were collections of quotations and bits of information, elegant phrases, and arguments for speeches, letters and so on. Commonplace books could be produced by a student himself, who was supposed to apply systematic techniques of note-taking and collation. In early modern Latin schools, composing commonplace books by note-taking and extracting from authoritative texts held a central position in the educational programmes. Ann Moss has described the commonplace-book as "a probe and an instrument for redistributing text so as to ensure maximal retrievability and optimum application", and points out that "by collecting quotations and ordering them in his common-place-book the student constructs for himself a well-labelled and well-organized store of material, internalizes it by memory and constant use, and has it at the ready to reproduce, recycle, and recombine in compositions where authorial control is most evident in the choice and deployment of quotation".[16] Commonplace books could also be bought, however, and in this way represented early modern reference books or encyclopedias. This leads back to the same Theodore Zwinger, whose large *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* dominated the genre due to both popularity and size. Originally published in one volume 1565, an extended version appeared in 1586 and was reprinted after Zwinger's death in 1604. A yet larger version, now in eight volumes, was issued in 1631 and saw five editions without major changes by 1707.[17] Whether the predilection for lists and tables reflects a specific Ramist inspiration, then, or rather should be regarded as a more general trend in Humanist processing of knowledge, there is no doubt that it formed a strong tradition, still vital in the late seventeenth century, and important in both educational contexts and reference works. This tradition also shaped Lilienskiold's work with his journal, making him fashion his reports of objects, sites and even events as entries in a commonplace book. These conventions intersected with the new epistemological decorum.

In the travel journey, the new decorum most fundamentally asserts itself in the fact that Lilienskiold enumerates only places, attractions and objects that he has seen for himself. His short and dry entries are without the anecdotes, par-

15 Blair, 2010, p. 144f.

16 Moss, 1998, p. 423.

17 Blair, 2005, p. 270f.

allels or analogies that are characteristic of, for instance, older reference works and natural histories. Moreover, Lilienskiold never quotes authoritative authors or works that have described or discussed phenomena similar to those he has experienced. The style might be without a personal note, and the autobiographical information is scarce, but there is no doubt that Lilienskiold's own observations are presented, unaided by references to any corpus of classical texts and interpreting voices.

The entries also contain very few explicit evaluations or judgments. They mostly are plain descriptions of what can be seen, concentrating on material and size, at times with some information about use or function and origin. In a limited number of cases words such as "fine", "costly" or "beautiful" are added or the object is reported to be "held in high esteem" or to be "valuable" to its owner. There are also small ink drawings inserted in order to make things more clear, mostly when it comes to weapons or machinery and technical installations.

As already argued, the dryness of the entries and the relative lack of interpretations, either by Lilienskiold himself or by the aid of some previous authority, can be seen as the outcome of an epistemological choice, based on an understanding of knowledge as the product of observation and experience, and thus conforming to the ideals of the new natural philosophy. Whether the choice was of the young Lilienskiold himself, or made by his preceptor, who probably supervised the work with the original dairy, cannot be known. It should however be noted that it is very consequently carried out throughout the entire work, even those parts describing the initial trip the two boys made from Bergen to Copenhagen to meet their future teacher Niels Stub.

Making the lists, Lilienskiold generally enumerates churches and palaces in the order he has seen them. This also applies to the descriptions of the treasures that can be seen inside, thus producing a system of main and secondary lists. The heading of a main list is typically a town, whose attractions and sites are enumerated, or a church whose chapels and altars are listed. Within each, secondary lists are composed, enumerating, for instance, what can be seen in each room of a palace or a collection, or the pictures, paintings and objects of a chapel. It is not easy to judge whether this system of lists provides a complete descriptions of the places visited. Do they enumerate all that could be seen, or do the merely represent what Lilienskiold saw – or perhaps what he cared to mention of what he saw? Even if they should happen to be complete and exhaustive lists, it is important to note that they – despite the absence of personal commentaries – clearly reflect Lilienskiold's presence and perspective: They recount what *he* saw, they are *his* observation. The simple fact that makes them stand out in this way is that they so clearly correspond to his movement, through the church or col-

lection, through the city, and through Europe. The text is punctuated by phrases such as "is here to be seen" or "one will see". Moreover, in the presentations of palaces, churches and *Kunstkammer* or collections, Lilienskiold gives lists of one room or chapel after the other, frequently marking the passage with "in the first room", then "in the next room", and so on. The observations are made by a real subject, seeing and moving through the chapels of the church, the rooms of the palace, and following the routes and roads through Europe. Taken together, the system of main and secondary lists reflects the topography of the places visited, as well as Lilienskiold's own movement through it – be it a single building or Europe as it appears when one travels from Bergen to Naples.

With this method of turning topography into lists, and objects and buildings into entries, Lilienskiold transformed them all into items resembling those of a commonplace book. Collecting them all in his book, in the shape of well-ordered lists of easily accessible information, Lilienskiold turned what he had seen and experienced into items of his own possession at his own disposal. In doing so, he built up a collection he could bring home with him and present later as part of his credentials: The competence gained by the Grand Tour. Lilienskiold is not known to have built up any other kind of collection from his travel, neither of art nor of natural history items. Nonetheless, in the same way as commonplace books were intended to work as a useful collection of extracted information, bits of wisdom and well-turned phrases, Lilienskiold's commonplace book was a well-ordered storehouse of useful knowledge. Arranging the experiences and observations in his journal did not merely make sense then and there, it also made this sense transferable and convertible. The knowledge itself, as well as the painstakingly demonstrated competence in processing knowledge according to cultural norms, was turned into a currency that could be used to acquire a position and secure a career back home.

The aspect of transformation and the similarities with commonplace books is even more pronounced in the tables that fill the last pages of the first half of the manuscript. They were probably made during the winter in Rome, and contain information about objects and places seen during this first part of the journey. For the second part, including the return through France and England, no corresponding tables can be found, possibly due to the abrupt ending of the manuscript. In these tables, the information and observations have been further processed and itemized. It starts with a "survey of ruins of the ancients", organized as a table with the three columns, reserved for the three categories cities and palaces, temples, and "ancient structures" respectively. Another main table cites the "curiosities" seen in museums and collections during the journey from Copenhagen to Rome. Here, the columns are marked "precious", "inventious"

and "nature changed". Other tables present columns of, for instance, mountains, rivers and islands; the tombs of saints, kings and emperors; or weapons and manuscripts, idols and antiquities. Under each of the thematic headings follow columns of alphabetic lists, citing the relevant object, places and so on. In this case, the sites and objects have no relation whatsoever to topography or to their own original context. They are organized according to the alphabetical order created by their initials. Even topographical elements such as rivers and mountains are treated as items of a certain category and placed under that heading. Rivers are listed with rivers, mountains with other mountains. This itemization strongly serves to enhance the impression of a collection of movable goods, readily available to be arranged in patterns that are not determined by their circumstances of origin, natural location or even history, but imposed on them by the collector's systematic work and his tools of tables and alphabetization.

Turning objects and buildings into observations, and observations into lists and tables, Lilienskiold made sense of Europe. He turned Europe into items that could be collected, and the items into a collection that could be moved. What he brought home with him, as an asset to his future career, was the knowledge he collected on his travel. This included his language skills and his competences as a man well educated in law and politics, but also his journal containing observations and demonstrating the skills he had acquired in processing information and knowledge – in making sense.

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Politics

How to Create Political Meaning in Public Spaces?

Some Evidence from Late Medieval Britain

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In this paper I would like to make some remarks about the methods that had been used to create political meaning in late medieval Britain. Furthermore I will show the relevance of the public spaces for the creation of political meaning. This creation was for example particularly necessary in regard to the inauguration of new monarchs. Thus I will present some political settings which had been used to introduce a new king to the public. This introduction was – as we will see – sometimes compounded with the intention to evoke a certain political meaning. In most cases this meant to convince the public that the new monarch was also the legitimate one. My examples are from Scotland in the middle of the 13th century and from 1399, 1461, and 1483 in England.

Political settings are interesting because they open up a perspective of political action which is not restricted to examining the decision-taking actions of political leadership groups.[1] In this perspective, the communication about rule is also meant by politics which is expressed not only in discourses, but also in the form of symbols and representations. If one were to assume that political (and social) orders are constituted through communication of the individuals participating in them, then political institutions cannot be presumed to be a given. Institutions such as the monarchy, for instance, only achieve stability and durability through permanent communication of their concrete organisation. In principle, all interested parties can participate in this communication.

In the perspective just sketched out, the political aspect is thus a scene of communication and action in which it is a matter of collectively bringing about

1 SCHORN-SCHÜTTE, 2006, p. 86.

and implementing binding decisions. These settings can be constituted both in the places envisaged for them (rooms, places) and spontaneously through gatherings of groups of persons. And in the case of the constitution of political order categories, institutions, claims to recognition and rule, communication in the form of symbolic practices and discursive structures played a fundamental role. What are the consequences of such considerations now for the research practice, especially with regard to political meaning?

One can, for example, examine how claims to power were put up for discussion in political setting, examined for acceptance or rejection and finally – possibly in a modified form – made collectively binding. In order to examine the degree of importance of communicative practices in these connections, cases in which competing claims to power clash with one another and open conflicts of interpretation break out are especially revealing.

I.

Until the end of the thirteenth century, the coronation stone (Stone of Destiny) located in Scone, in or near an Augustinian abbey, was the most important object in the inauguration of Scottish kings in their office.[2] This stone was at the centre of a ceremony in which, apart from the king, representatives of the higher nobility (earls of Fife and Strathearn), the higher clergy (bishops) and a poet, the "king's poet" were actively involved.[3] The earls had the task of setting the king on the stone draped with silk cloths. Afterwards the bishop of St. Andrew's and the abbot of Scone would clothe him. Then the king would pledge loyalty to his subjects and promise to defend the faith. However the candidate only became the lawful king of the Scots with the subsequent act. The poet would hand him a sceptre, then recite his royal lineage and become the first to wish him good fortune and blessing.[4] The poet presumably spoke Gaelic and – beginning with the current king – would enumerate all his predecessors back to Iber, the son of Gathelus, a son of a king of Athens and Scota, an Egyptian pharaoh's daughter, who are said to have lived at about the time of Moses (thus around 1200 BC).[5] The recitation of the names of all predecessors on the throne back to Scota and

2 A description of the stone by AITCHISON, 2000, p. 39 and HILL, 2003, p. 11.

3 BARROW, 2004, p. 380; BANNERMAN, 1989.

4 A Report of the coronation of Alexander III in 1249 is published in the annals in the appendix to Fordun's Chronicle, p. 289f.; BANNERMAN, 1989, p. 133.

5 Detailed account of this in MATTHEWS, 1970, p. 291f.

Gathelus was of the utmost significance. The dynastic classification of the new king was comparable with a legal document and proved the legality of the claim to rule. And even more: through the custom of sitting on the stone (attested to since the 6th century in Ireland) the king was wedded to the tribal soil and the deity inherent in it by symbolic physical contact.[6]

The coronation stone thus stood for Scottish sovereignty and the king's independence, dating back to biblical times. At this place – in Scone – it became clear that political order in the island of Britain included an independent kingdom in the north. However, this order was permanently unsettled after 1286, when the Scottish King Alexander III had been killed in a fall from his horse. Alexander had no direct heirs and so several candidates contended for the throne based on their relationship with Alexander. Among them, John Balliol and Robert Bruce were two of Scotland's leading nobles.[7] A decision had to be made among the applicants under the supervision of the English king, Edward I, as arbitrator.[8]

In September 1292, Edward I. pronounced his decision for John Balliol who, after being placed on the throne in Scone on 30th November 1292, swore an oath of fealty to the English king for the kingdom of Scotland. King Edward thus carried through his conceptions of the relationship between the two kingdoms, namely English supremacy over Scotland. On account of this overlordship, Edward I expected John Balliol to appear in person before his court and vindicate himself, as well as perform military services for his actions in Gascony in the following years. This policy became the reason for Scottish opposition and resistance. In 1295, the Scots concluded an alliance with King Philip IV of France and refused military service.

For Edward I this was a breach of the oath of fealty and he marched into Scotland in the spring of 1296. His troops took the important border town of Berwick, wreaking a bloodbath among its inhabitants, beating a Scottish force

6 Barrow, 2004, p. 380; a further aspect was that there was still a tribal or clan structure in Scotland and the feudalisation of society has still not been completed. In this context the king embodied the people (the community) and stood for the common identity of the people; on this Webster, 1975, p. 14f.

7 Barrow, 2005, p. 494. The claims of John Balliol and Robert Bruce were particularly well founded, because both were descended from King David I (1142-53) through Earl David of Huntington (d. 1219).

8 Watson, 1998, p. 9-11. In July 1290, it was agreed that Alexander III's six-year-old granddaughter, a Norwegian princess, would marry Edward I's son. However, Scotland's freedom, rights and customs were not to be restricted by this. But in September the girl died during the crossing from Norway to Scotland.

at Dunbar and finally capturing King John Balliol. Edward deposed of Balliol and had him publicly divested of his symbols of power (his seal was broken into pieces, the royal coat of arms cut out of is his mantle). In addition, Edward I had the coronation stone removed from Scone and brought to Westminster Abbey as a gift for his patron saint, Edward the Confessor.[9]

As a result, on one hand, Edward had taken away the symbol from the Scots which represented their connection with the past and origin; the stone upon which Scottish kings had been officially legitimated for their rule since time immemorial and which showed the nation's independence. On the other hand, Edward I placed the stone in Westminster Abbey in a different tradition, inserting it into the English variant of the history of the Anglo-Scottish relationship. In 1301, the stone was incorporated into the English kings' coronation chair so that, at the time of their coronation and inauguration as English king, the rulers would at the same time also sit on the Scottish coronation stone, thus being simultaneously inaugurated to rule over Scotland.[10] The new use of the stone thus demonstrated that the English king would also be the king of Scotland.

II.

The second example for a throne seat as the place for the illustration of political order and the creation of political meaning comes from England. On September 30th 1399, the lords spiritual and temporal of the realm of England and a significant number of further persons assembled in the great hall in Westminster around a vacant throne that was ceremoniously covered with a cloth of gold.[11] On the day before, King Richard II had accepted the renunciation of the throne that had been forced upon him. He had been brought as a prisoner to the Tower of London, by his rival Henry, duke of Lancaster, and with reference to serious offences against his coronation oath, the law and jurisdiction, had been compelled to abdicate by the lords spiritual and temporal.

9 Barrow, 2005, p. 95-97; Brown, 2004, p. 229; Rogge, 2012, p. 88.

10 Edward I would have most liked to have also removed the abbey and Moot Hill from Scone; especially after Robert Bruce had been enthroned there in 1306, Barrow, 2005, p. 196.

11 *The record and process*, in: Given-Wilson, 1993, p. 172. On this see also Strohm, 1998.

Archbishop Thomas Arundel asked the assembly whether they consented to the deposition, whereupon all called out loudly "Aye, Aye!"[12] As a result, the kingdom of England was considered vacant at the moment when the persons assembled around the throne. However this state did not last long. Because Henry, duke of Lancaster rose from his seat and declared his claim to the vacant realm. He referred to his lineage (thus hereditary right) and the help in his attempt to gain the throne and the kingdom accorded to him up to then by God. The assembled lords and representatives of the estates knew that Henry would officially declare his claim to the throne – and were not surprised. But Henry could not be certain that all the magnates would accept his claim to power. He had to wait and see how the lords spiritual and temporal would answer the appropriate question by the Treasurer, John Norbury. One after the other, the lords declared that they accepted Henry's claim to the throne. But the verbal declaration of consent – the duke knew – said little about the assembled persons' real attitudes. Therefore he said: "I ask you lords spiritual and temporal here assembled to assent to my claim not only with your mouths, but also with your hearts. But if some of you do not assent with your hearts, that is no great surprise for me."[13]

Once those present had accepted Henry's claim to rule and thus assented to the change of dynasty on the English throne – from the Plantagenet to Lancaster – this decision was communicated symbolically. The Archbishop of Canterbury took Henry's right hand, kissed it and led him in front of the throne. Henry knelt down before it and said a prayer. Then he made the sign of the cross in front of and behind the throne, and finally the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to the applause of the assembly in the hall and also of those standing outside, set him on the throne.[14] The vacancy of the kingdom shown by the empty throne was thus ended; Henry IV now filled it with his person.

III.

Now I would like to present political settings or spheres of political action in London, which were constituted, among other places, at preaching crosses in 1461. During the fifteenth century it can be observed that political settings also

12 Mortimer, 2007, p. 189.

13 The *Manner of King Richard's Renunciation*, in: Given-Wilson, 1993, p. 166. Given-Wilson believes this is a report of an independent eye witness, and no propaganda of the Lancastrian party, ibid., p. 162.

14 ibid., p. 185f., somewhat divergent version in: ibid., p. 166.

came into being outside of Westminster Hall. Since the late Middle Ages, public urban settings in London played an important role for the assertion of claims to power and maintenance of political order.[15]

The connection between a successful assertion of a claim to power and the support of a public urban setting can be shown particularly clearly during the so-called Wars of the Roses. In February 1461, Queen Margaret, King Henry VI's wife defeated an army of the York party at St. Albans (February 17th). But the Londoners refused her and her army entry to the city. Rather, on February 28th they opened the gates to Edward, the son of Richard, duke of York, who had fallen on the battlefield at Wakefield in December 1460.[16] Edward had his claim to the throne and power disseminated by intensive preaching activity in London.[17] On March 1st the chancellor and bishop of Exeter, George Neville (Warwick's brother), preached before 3000 to 4000 people in St. John's Field outside the city. On this occasion the listeners learned that King Henry had violated the realm, namely – according to the bishop – because Henry VI had disdained the articles of the *Accord* of October 1460 with Richard of York. The king had allowed for his contractually accepted heir to be attacked in combat. And this heir had not survived the battle. Was this man – the bishop asked – still worthy to rule the realm? "No" the crowd cried out. Then he asked further whether they wanted to have Edward (of York, earl of March) as king. The answer was "Yes". Thereupon a delegation informed Edward *that the people had chosen him as king*.[18]

After Edward's claim to power had been accepted in this setting, it was important to communicate this decision symbolically. At nine o'clock on the morning of March 4th, the Londoners were invited to meet him at St. Paul's Cross, the most important meeting place in London, at the churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral. At the given hour, the pretender to the throne came to St. Paul's Cross in a solemn procession with the clergy. A countless number of Londoners had already gathered there. Once again, the bishop of Exeter spoke to the meeting. At the close of his sermon, he explained to those present why Edward's claims to the throne were legitimate and asked whether they wanted to have him as king. After their vociferous assent (i.e. the people now acclaimed him), those

15 Gransden, 1982, p. 125.

16 Ross, 1974, p. 32. Edward was expected as a kind of rescuer/redeemer who would bring peace and prosperity. In London a rhyme circulated: *Let us walk in a new wine yard, and let us make a gay garden in the month of March with this fair white rose and herb, the Earl of March*.

17 Report in the *Six Town Chronicles*, in: Myers, 1969, p. 288f.

18 Ibid., p. 289.

present were invited to march with Edward and the clergy to Westminster in order to watch how Edward would take possession of the realm (*to see him take his possession*). In the Hall of the Palace of Westminster he was clad in the royal mantle and set on the royal throne (Marble Chair). Then they went into Westminster Abbey in order to celebrate a solemn high mass. The coronation proper took place later on 28th June 1461.[19]

The example of Edward shows that in the second half of the fifteenth century, one prerequisite for the assertion of disputed or contested claims to power was to spread the same by sermons in London and to have them approved in various settings. Once again becomes clear that in fact communication of the question who should rule was as important for Edward's success as the decision of leading political groups for his candidacy or even his actual or alleged hereditary right.

IV.

This assumption is further supported if one considers the circumstances surrounding Richard III's accession to the throne in 1483. The eight weeks from Edward IV's death in April 1483 until his brother's accession to the throne as Richard III on 26th June 1483 are undoubtedly among the most stirring periods of English history. We are going to examine more carefully how Richard employed sermons and speeches in order to achieve his goal, i.e. to ascend the throne with the Londoners' assent.

As so often in the past, on 22nd June 1483 a large crowd of people had assembled at St. Paul's Cross in London. They were waiting for a sermon by the Augustinian Hermit Ralph Shaa, a brother of the mayor of London. Richard and his closest helper, Lord Buckingham, were also present. The Londoners will probably have hardly believed their ears and would have been shocked when they heard Shaa's sermon.[20] The preacher informed the dumbfounded audience that Edward IV's sons had no hereditary right to the throne because the late king had, even before his wedding to Queen Elizabeth Woodville, made a promise of marriage to a certain – and in the meantime deceased – Eleanor Butler and had

19 Ross, 1974, p. 41.

20 Myers, 1969, p. 334f., Dominicus Mancini, in: Armstrong, 1966 and the Crowland Chronicle, in: Pronay/Cox, 1986, p. 161 agree on this matter. See also the compilation of sources in: Dockray, 1988, p. 76-83; Wood, 1975, p. 271; Gairdner, 1898, p. 79f.

betrothed himself to this lady. Edward's generally known second marriage was thus invalid and the children of this marriage – the heir to the throne, Edward V, and his brother Richard – were therefore not legitimate heirs. Therefore, only Richard of Gloucester, as the last representative of the direct line of the House of York, was qualified to become king. Richard's claim was thus substantiated by scandalising Edward's marriage and the sons born of it. However at first he failed to gain any acceptance for this matter. Therefore his intimate friend – Lord Buckingham – spoke on 23rd June before an assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal.

And on 24th June 1483 he gave a speech before the mayor, aldermen and many other burgesses of London who had assembled in Guildhall. According to the report in the *Great Chronicle of London*, he confirmed once again that when Edward married Elizabeth he already had a wife. Thus all the sons of this second marriage were illegitimate. Prince Edward, whom all had considered being the heir to the throne until then, was not entitled to inherit.[21] Richard's right to the throne resulted as a political consequence of Edward IV's moral transgressions. He was the only living rightful heir to the throne. Buckingham then expanded his argumentation by stressing Richard's capabilities and his services for the realm. He emphasised his intention to secure peace and to guarantee property. He finished his address with the reference that the kingdom needed a man at its helm, and not a boy, such as the twelve-year-old Edward V. This roughly half-hour speech was said to have been a previously unheard elegant and rhetorically polished address which sent the listeners into raptures. In response to the question whether they wanted to have Richard as king, the persons assembled cried out "Yes! Yes!"

Richard's claim had thus received assent in an important political setting. And not just that – the supplicant became a bidden guest. The burgesses of London, together with the representatives of the lords and commons in parliament drafted a petition which was read out in parliament on 25th June 1483. In it they called on Richard to accept the crown. His capabilities as ruler were emphasised, but also the reasons for not taking Edward IV's sons into consideration were repeated.[22] On the following day (26th June), Buckingham read out the petition before the Protector in Baynard's Castle and requested him to take the sceptre. After a moment's hesitation, Richard agreed to this. On the very same day he took his place on the Marble Chair in Westminster Hall and declared

21 Ibid., p. 83. The late king was said to be in fact a womaniser: *No women, rich or poor, young or old, were safe from the king's attentions.*

22 German translation in: Winter, 1998, p. 95f.

that his reign would begin on that day.[23] It was not possible to ascend the throne against the will and without the consent of the Londoners (or even of the people of England).

V.

In conclusion it is worthwhile to summarise some observations which make it clear that political structures and claims to power were indeed articulated at places specially marked for the purpose. At these places, settings could be formed through the presence of spectators where these claims and concepts of order could be discussed, reviewed and either rejected or collectively accepted as binding. Such settings came into being when the lords spiritual and temporal gathered around the Stone of Scone or in Westminster Hall at and around the (sometimes empty) throne, when people forgathered in the open air – at St. Paul's Cross for example – in order to hear sermons.

Furthermore, the significance of the throne as the material incarnation of the kingdom and as the medium for symbolic communication is to be stressed. The idea of a Scotland free and independent of English supremacy was linked with the Stone of Scone. Pretenders to the throne made their claim to power public by speeches and gestures at the throne. And if the collective acceptance of a claim was to be communicated after the recognition of a claim to power in a setting, then the pretender to the throne would be accompanied by bishops to the throne and would then be allowed to take his place there. Political legitimating was thus produced at these places and in the spheres of political action (settings) – admittedly, it was not a matter of the foundations of power. The constitution and the monarchy as the form of government were not questioned. It was rather a matter of making clear who occupied which position in the political order or who was able to assert which claim to the highest position, the realm.

In this context, the importance of the spoken word is to be emphasised, in particular the sermons at St. Paul's Cross in London. Already at the end of the 14th century, Thomas Brunton, bishop of Rochester, had recognised the importance of the meeting place. Brunton thought highly of the effect and influence of sermons at the cross because he felt the people in London to be more sensible than elsewhere. Thomas Brunton evidently already knew that one can let the facts of a matter become real within the context of sermons, so to speak, by mentioning them or preaching them. Thus, in 1461 and 1483, the preachers

23 Dockray, 1988, p. 82.

attempted to influence Londoners' ways of perception in accordance with the wishes of Edward IV and Richard III. The residents, who gathered at the crosses for the sermons, were intended to agree with their definition of "political reality" in each case and to recognise the claims to power linked to them.

In actual fact, the prerequisites for the redistribution of power were created by the sermons, because the sermons created and named effective reasons for the validity of asserting a claim. For that reason, even ten years after his accession to the throne (1471), Edward IV still stated that his right to the throne had been proved by Bishop George Neville's sermon and the crowd's reaction at St. Paul's Cross in 1461.[24] I would like therefore to conclude that the aim of the practices on, before and around the stone, throne and pulpit shown in this paper was to evoke a specific political meaning which was designed to stress a new monarch's right to rule even though his claim to the throne was disputed.

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24 ARMSTRONG, 1948, p. 57.

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Making Sense of Autocracy

The Example of Ivan the Terrible

Jan Kusber

Ivan IV (1530-1584, reg. 1533-1584) is one of the most prominent rulers in Russian History and the first to be crowned as Tsar (1547). Historic sources, professional historiography and popular traditions present disparate accounts of Ivan's complex personality: he was and still is described as intelligent and devout, yet given to rages and prone to episodic outbreaks of mental illness. On one such outburst, the Tsar beat and unpremeditatedly killed his groomed and chosen heir, Ivan Ivanovich. This left the Tsardom to be passed to Ivan's younger son, the weak and intellectually disabled Feodor I, and led to the famous times of troubles, perhaps the biggest crisis of autocracy up to its end at the beginning of the 20th century.[1]

Ivan's legacy is complex: he was, at least in the beginning of his reign, an able diplomat, a patron of arts and trade, founder of Russia's first Print Yard. Like his grandfather Ivan III (reg. 1462-1505),[2] he was considered a reformer in the interest of a centralized state. But he is also remembered for his paranoiac suspiciousness and cruel persecution not only of the high nobility and but also of other subjects, such as those from the hierarchy of the church. Therefore memories on Ivan IV differ through times and contexts and were used for various purposes. Ivan stands for the long lasting discussion on the periodization of Russian History – his reign represents a transformation period from the Middle Ages into an Early Modern Period.[3]

1 Overviews of his life and reign: Kämpfer, 1995; Pavlov/Perrie, 2003; Madariaga, 2005; Skrynnikov, 2006; Florja, 2009.

2 A still topic account of his reign in a western language is Fennell, 1961; with an emphasis on the concept of his rule: Zimin, 1982, p. 55-75.

3 Cherniavski, 1968; Martin, 1995, p. 327-371.

The example of Tsar Ivan is therefore worth considering when the 'making of sense' as an analytical category is being discussed in a connection between cultural political history and on a biographical approach:

1. Ivan as an individual and ruler in his "Lebenswelt"[4] tried to give meaning and sense to his actions and his life as a whole.

2. As a ruler, he perceived all his actions as part of being Tsar and the concept of autocracy which he and his advisors developed in the mid-16th century. Ivan reflected intensively on his practices and crucial points of his life, to put in modern terms, on his biography *in toto*. He did so in his correspondences with other monarchs such as the Polish king Stefan Bathory or the English Queen Elisabeth.[5] He discussed essentials of faith and belief in public disputations, as with the Jesuit Antonio Possevino or the Bohemian Brother Jan Rokyta. Ivan was the first and the last Tsar who did so up to the Peter the Great at the beginning of the 18th century.[6]

3. Ivan and his advisors used various and interrelated media to communicate their sense of rule embodied in the chosen practices. They initiated chronicle writing. The first prominent example is the "Stepennaja kniga", the "book of steps", which made Ivan the telos of the Rurikid-dynasty, founded not by the Viking Rurik, but by a legendary brother of the Roman Emperor Augustus, called Prus. The main "steps", i.e. rulers up to the rule of Ivan were Vladimir the Saint, who is said to have baptized the Rus' in 988, Alexander Nevsky who fought successfully against the Latins – the Swedes and the Livonian branch of the Teutonic knights in 1240 and 1242 – and Ivan III as the Unifier of the Russian lands and ender of the so-called Tatar yoke.[7] The second prominent example is the Book of tsars, "Carstvennaja kniga", to which I shall return later. Ivan also used icon-painting and the newly imported technique of printing to spread his sense of rule and self-representation as a ruler.

4. Thus, Ivan communicated with his subjects and – this was new for Muscovy – with Monarchs and representatives, with powerful and economic elites all over Europe. All communication partners and addressed audiences reacted in specific ways: the peasants and urban dwellers within the Tsarist realm cre-

4 Vierhaus, 1995.

5 Lubimenko, 1914.

6 There is a long lasting controversy on the question whether the correspondence between the Tsar and his former trustee prince Andrei Kursbky is original. Whether true or not, there can be no doubt, that Ivan was much more learned then his predecessors.

7 Hunt, 1993; Hecker, 2003 and, recently the monumental work of Usačev, 2009.

ated popular folk songs, tales and myths which differed by regions and which contributed to an image of an autocrat of great persistence.[8] European men of war, envoys and merchants produced accounts and handbooks for travelling Muscovy or, especially a mass of leaflets during the Livonian War (1558-1582), giving a vivid and deliberately crucial picture of Ivan as a person and a ruler. Ivan became well-known as Grozny i.e. the Terrible among his contemporaries.

On the basis of these brief considerations I shall discuss three fields of self-shaping and sense making of Ivan to conclude with the legacy of the Tsar in what we call "Geschichtspolitik", that is the construction and use of history by the state.

The First Example: The Coronation of an Autocrat

Since 1533, at the age of the three, Ivan was Grand duke of Muscovy, a state which took shape in the second half of the saeculum before. This Ivan, under the influence of the strong Metropolit Makarij, was crowned with Monomakh's Cap at the Cathedral of the Dormition at age 16 on 16th January 1547.[9] He was the first person to be crowned as "Tsar of All the Russias", hence, claiming the ancestry of Kievan Rus. Prior to that, rulers of Muscovy were crowned as Grand Princes, although Ivan III the Great, his grandfather, styled himself "tsar" in his correspondence. This was the denomination for the Tatar khans as well as for the Byzantine Emperors. Therefore, the long lasting discussion about the roots of Russian autocracy seems to be somewhat artificial.[10] Both types of rule relied on the total subordination of the subjects, but were both in part suitable to function as a model for the Muscovite-like autocracy. Here, Ivan IV undertook a new step.

By being crowned Tsar and implementing the new proceedings, Ivan was sending a message to the world and to Russia: he was now the one and only supreme ruler of the country, and his will was not to be questioned. The new title not only secured the throne, but also granted Ivan a new dimension of power, one intimately tied to religion. He was now a "divine" leader appointed to enact God's will; "church texts described Old Testament kings as 'Tsars' and Christ as the Heavenly Tsar." The newly appointed title was then passed on from gen-

8 Perrie, 1987.

9 In Detail on the circumstances and the ceremony: Nitsche, 1972, p. 259-268; see also Miller, 1967.

10 Comprehensive interpretation by: Klug, 1998.

eration to generation, "succeeding Muscovite rulers [...] benefited from the divine nature of the power of the Russian monarch [...] crystallized during Ivan's reign," to quote the Russian Historian Sergei Bogatyrev.[11] This self-perception of his rule and divine leadership caused Ivan conscious to discuss his faith and his opinion of rule with Habsburg envoys such as the aforementioned Antonio Possevino.[12]

As for the title and the concept, one can state that the ceremony, as were others, was a mixture of byzantine and tatar elements with features of the coronation ceremonies at the court of the Habsburg Emperor. He was the one whom Ivan considered to be the main political rival, whereas the kings of Poland or the Khan of the Crimea were perceived as dangerous but not of equal rank.[13] These eclectic mixture of elements in the coronation were not combined by chance, but, as already Peter Nitsche found out without using the wording of cultural history,[14] created a unique form of symbolic representation to be followed by the Tsars up to Peter the Great.

The Second Example: Making Sense through Reform and Expansion

The early part of Ivan's reign was one of peaceful reforms and modernization.[15] Ivan revised the law code (sudebnik), created a standing army with firearms (the so called streltsy), established the (Zemsky) Sobor or assembly of the land, a public, consensus-building assembly, the council of selected nobles (known as the Chosen Council), and confirmed the position of the Church with the Council of the Hundred Chapters, which unified the rituals and ecclesiastical regulations of the entire country. He introduced local self-government to rural regions, mainly in the northeast of Russia, populated by the state peasantry.[16]

On Ivan's order in 1553, the Moscow Print Yard was established and the first printing press was introduced to Russia. The 1550s and 1560s saw the printing of several religious books in Russian. The new technology provoked discontent

11 Bogatyrev, 2006, p. 263.

12 Nitsche, 1991.

13 This rivalry can also be seen in the adoption of the double headed eagle: Alef, 1966.

14 Nitsche, 1972, p. 268.

15 For this period still useful: Zimin, 1960.

16 Bogatyrev, 2006, p. 253-255; Martin, 1995, p. 340-347.

with traditional scribes, which led to the Print Yard being burned in an arson attack and the first Russian "Gutenbergs", the printers Ivan Fedorov and Pyotr Mstislavets being forced to flee from Moscow to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Nevertheless, the printing of books resumed from 1568 onwards. In a European comparison, Muscovy introduced Book-printing under the guidance of Tsar and church late and restricted, yet earlier then Norway, to name just one example.[17] Other events of this period include the introduction of the first laws restricting the mobility of the peasants, which would eventually lead to serfdom, persisting up to the middle of the 19th century.

The early one and a half decade of his rule was also a successful period in terms of expansion. While Ivan IV was a minor, armies of the Kazan Khanate, the Islamic Tatar-statehood from the Middle Volga, repeatedly raided the northeast of Russia. In the summer of 1552 Ivan IV led a strong Russian army towards Kazan. The last siege of the Tatar capital commenced in August. Kazan finally fell in October, its fortifications were razed, and much of the population massacred. About 60,000-100,000 Russian prisoners and slaves were released. The Tsar celebrated his victory over Kazan by building several churches with oriental features, the most famous of which is the Saint Basil's Cathedral on Red Square in Moscow.[18]

The hagiographic chronicle on the "History of Kazan", describing the conquest as a successful conquest of the autocrat Ivan as the leader of Christianity, became one of the canonic texts, in which the grandeur of the Russian Empire an of its Tsars was founded: A holy crusade, exercised by the first Russian Tsar, to protect Christianity.[19]

In fact, the fall of Kazan had as its primary effect in the outright annexation of the Middle Volga. The Bashkirs accepted Ivan IV's authority two years later. In 1556 Ivan annexed the Astrakhan Khanate and destroyed the largest slave market on the river Volga. These conquests complicated the migration of the nomadic hordes from Asia to Europe through Volga. As a result of the Kazan campaigns, Muscovy was transformed into the multinational and multi-faith state of Russia, the road to Siberia was open, and its conquest started in the last years of Ivan's reign. Thus, Ivan brought three more Tsardoms under his crown.

The 1560s brought hardships to Russia that led to the dramatic change of Ivan's policies. Russia was devastated by a combination of drought and famine, Polish-Lithuanian raids, Tatar invasions and the sea trading blockade carried

17 Bachtiarov, 1890, p. 73-81.

18 Pelenski, 1974.

19 Kämpfer, 1969; Kusber, 2010, p. 208-210.

out by the Swedes, Poles and the Hanseatic League.[20] His first wife, Anastasia Romanovna, died in 1560, and her death was suspected to be caused by poisoning. This personal tragedy deeply hurt Ivan and is thought to have affected his personality, if not his mental health.[21]

The Third Example: Making Sense through Terror with the Oprichnina

On December 3, 1564, Ivan IV departed Moscow for the some twenty kilometers distant Aleksandrova Sloboda, a very famous scene in the film of Sergey Eisenstein about the Tsar from the 1940s. From there Ivan sent two letters in which he announced his abdication because of the alleged embezzlement and treason of the aristocracy and clergy. The boyar court was unable to rule in the absence of Ivan and feared the wrath of the Muscovite citizenry. An envoy departed for Aleksandrovskaya Sloboda to beg Ivan to return to the throne. Ivan IV agreed to return on the condition of being granted absolute power.[22] He demanded that he should be able to execute and confiscate the estates of traitors without interference from the boyar council or church. Upon this, Ivan decreed the creation of the Oprichnina, a word that was used for a territory of a widow (of a ruler).

The Oprichnina consisted of a separate territory within the borders of Russia, mostly in the territory of the former Novgorod Republic in the north. Ivan held exclusive power over the Oprichnina territory. The Boyar Council ruled the Zemshchina ("land"), the second division of the state. Ivan also recruited a personal guard known as the Oprichniki. The Oprichniki enjoyed social and economic privileges under the Oprichnina. They owed their allegiance and status to Ivan, not to heredity or local bonds. They had special black forms, similar to those of monks. Their horses were decorated with dog heads.[23] One may say he formed an order, in which he acted within a community.

The first wave of persecutions targeted primarily the princely clans of Russia, notably the influential families of Suzdal'. Ivan executed, exiled, or forcibly tonsured prominent members of the boyar clans on questionable accusations of conspiracy. Among those executed were the Metropolitan Philip and prominent

20 On this in detail: Khoroshkevich, 2003.

21 Martin, 1995, p. 334, 348; Madariaga, 2005, p. 131f.

22 Pavlov/Perrie, 2003, p. 112f.

23 See the descriptions in: Epstein, 1964.

warlords. In 1566 Ivan extended the Oprichnina to eight central districts. Of the 12,000 nobles there, 570 became Oprichniks, the rest were expelled.[24]

Under the new political system, the Oprichniki were given large estates, but unlike the previous landlords, could not be held accountable for their actions. These men took virtually all the peasants possessed, forcing them to pay in one year as much as they used to pay in ten. This degree of oppression resulted in increasing cases of peasants fleeing, which in turn led to a drop in the overall production. The price of grain increased by a factor of ten. Conditions worsened due to the 1570 epidemics of plague that killed 10,000 people in Novgorod. The plague killed 600-1000 in Moscow daily.

During the grim conditions of epidemics, famine and the ongoing Livonian war, a war which lasted for 24 years and ended unsuccessfully for Russia with economic decay, Ivan grew suspicious that noblemen of the wealthy city of Novgorod were planning to defect, placing the city itself into the control of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1570 Ivan ordered the Oprichniki to raid the city. The Oprichniki burned and pillaged Novgorod and the surrounding villages, and the city was never to regain its former prominence.[25]

Casualty figures vary greatly in different sources. The First Pskov Chronicle estimates the number of victims at 60,000. Yet the official death toll named 1,500 of Novgorod's nobility and mentioned only about the same number of lesser people. Many modern researchers estimate the number of victims to range from 2000-3000 (after the famine and epidemics of 1560s the population of Novgorod most likely did not exceed 10,000-20,000). Many survivors were deported elsewhere.

The Oprichnina did not live long after the sack of Novgorod. During the 1571-1572 Russo-Crimean war, Oprichniks failed to prove themselves worthy against a regular army. In 1572, Ivan abolished the Oprichnina and disbanded his Oprichniks.[26] However, the terror did not stop. In the last decade of his reign, he continued to persecute, as he perceived it, traitors and enemies among the clergy, urban dwellers and others. On the other hand he begged for forgiveness for his deeds, bestowed the church with large donations for his savior – this especially when he murdered his son in furor after a quarrel in 1582.[27] In a way here was the edge of his concept as autocratic ruler. Some weeks before his death he became a monk, following Russian and other European examples.

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24 Martin, 1995, p. 340-347.

25 Ibid., p. 369.

26 Madariaga, 2005, p. 368-370.

27 Steindorff, 2003; Bogatyrev, 2009.

The Legacy: Making Sense of Ivan's Rule

In the centuries following Ivan's death, historians developed different theories to better understand his reign; but regardless of the perspective through which one chooses to approach this issue, it cannot be denied that Ivan the Terrible changed Russian history and continues to live on in popular imagination. His political legacy completely altered the Russian governmental structure; his economic policies ultimately contributed to the end of the Rurik Dynasty.

Arguably, Ivan's most important legacy can be found in the political changes he enacted in Russia. Alexander Yanov was of the opinion, that Ivan the Terrible and the origins of the modern Russian political structure were indissolubly connected.[28] Of course, this was a conclusion he made while the USSR still existed.

The title of a Tsar alone may hold symbolic power, but Ivan's political impact went further, in the process significantly altering Russia's political structure. The creation of the Oprichnina marked something completely new, a break from the past that served to diminish the power of the boyars and create a more centralized government. "[...] [T]he revolution of Tsar Ivan was an attempt to transform an absolutist political structure into despotism [...] the oprichnina proved to be not only the starting point, but also the nucleus of autocracy which determined [...] the entire subsequent historical process in Russia."[29] Yanov tried to put it in the terms which were used in the Enlightenment in the 18th century and in political theory hence. He concluded that "Czar Ivan's monstrous invention [i.e. the terror through the oprichnina] has thus dominated the entire course of Russian history."[30] One may doubt those long lines of essentialism strongly. But recourses on Ivan can be found in various contexts. Kevin Platt recently stated that not only Stalin was fascinated by the combination of terror and greatness, as one may see in Eisenstein's masterpiece Ivan the Terrible.[31] The autocrats of the 19th century as well as the elites within the Russian Empire were fascinated by this special mixture as the essence, the sense of autocracy.

The Russian contemporaries, as we can see from the sources, did not at all perceive Ivan as the terrible. The English word terrible is usually used to translate the Russian word grozny in Ivan's nickname, but the modern English usage of terrible, with a pejorative connotation of bad or evil, does not precisely represent the intended meaning. The meaning of grozny is closer to the original

28 Yanov, 1982, p. 31.

29 Ibid., p. 68.

30 Ibid., p. 70.

31 Platt, 2011; Platt/Brandenberger, 1999.

usage of terrible – inspiring fear or terror, dangerous, formidable or threatening. In this context one may compare Ivan IV to many other rulers of early modern Europe, as for example Henry VIII., who fought fiercely for the subordination of the church under his rule.[32]

By expanding into Poland (although a failed campaign), the Caspian and Siberia, Ivan established a sphere of influence that lasts until today. Ivan's conquests also ignited a conflict with the Ottoman Empire which would lead to successive wars.[33] The acquisition of new territory brought about another of Ivan's lasting legacies: a relationship with (Western) Europe. Although the contact between Russia and Europe remained limited at this time, it would later grow, facilitating the permeation of European ideals across the border. Peter the Great would later push Russia to become a European power, and Catherine II would make Russia the leader within the region.[34]

Contrary to his political legacy, Ivan IV's economic legacy was disastrous and became one of the factors that led to the decline of the Rurik Dynasty and the Time of Troubles. Ivan inherited a government in debt, and in an effort to raise more revenue instituted a series of taxes. The endless military campaigns were responsible for the increasing government expenses. To make matters worse, successive wars drained the country both of men and resources. Muscovy from its core – where its centralized political structures depended upon a dying dynasty, as Ivan hit his heir to death, to its frontiers, where its villages stood depopulated and its fields lay fallow – was on the brink of ruin.

This ruin stood in contrast to his lasting reforms. Ivan's political revolution not only consolidated the position of Tsar, but also created a centralized government structure with ramifications extending into local government. "The assumption and active propaganda of the title of Tsar, transgressions and sudden changes in policy during the Oprichnina contributed to the image of the Muscovite prince as a ruler accountable only to God."[35] Subsequent Russian rulers inherited a system put in place by Ivan. In the 19th century some representatives of the famous debate between westernizers and slavophiles on the path of Russia's history and future saw in Ivan the antitype to the west-orientated Peter the Great.[36] Therefore, scenes of the life of Ivan were very often chosen for historical paintings, not only by the famous Ilya Repin, but also in popular prints.

32 For an early comparative approach of analysis: Stökl, 1953.

33 Khoroshkevich, 2003.

34 On this: Kusber, 2005.

35 Bogatyrev, 2006, p. 263.

36 Platt, 2011, p. 164f.

Tsar Ivan opens the first "zemskii sobor", Klavdii Lebedev, 1894, National Library St. Petersburg.

Another interesting and unexpected aspect of Ivan's legacy emerged within Stalinist Russia.[37] In an effort to revive Russia's nationalist pride, Ivan the Terrible's image became closely associated with Joseph Stalin. Historians faced great difficulties when trying to gather information about Ivan IV in his early years because early Soviet historiography, especially during the 1920s, paid little attention to Ivan IV as a statesman. This, however, was not surprising because Marxist intellectual tradition attached greater significance to socio-economic forces than to political history and the role of individuals. By the second half of the 1930s, the method used by Soviet historians changed. They placed a greater emphasis on the individual. The way was clear for an emphasis on "great men", such as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, who made a major contribution to the strengthening and expansion of the Russian state.

From this time on, the Soviet Union's focus on great leaders would be greatly exaggerated, causing historians to gather more and more information on the great Ivan the Terrible. In the chronicles and other Russian sources they only found and find hints for an alternative narrative about his rule as an autocrat.

His contemporary advisors cleaned most of the sources perfectly. The western sources give a different bleak picture of the "rude and barbarous kingdom" and its Tsar, as the English merchant Jerome Horsey put it.[38] Some stereotypes,

37 For an excellent overview see Perrie, 2001; also Platt, 2011.

38 Berry/Crummey 2012.

as Andreas Kappeler observed some forty years ago,[39] were stereotypes borrowed from anti-ottoman propaganda, which put Muscovy into an Asian, even non-Christian context. Other traits were borrowed from own observation and were written with the objection to hide their diplomatic or economic defeat Ivan brought to his counterparts. Antonio Possevino, the Oprichnik Heinrich von Staden and others contributed to this picture.

It would perhaps have pleased Ivan that he caused a lasting impact on the memory and "Geschichtspolitik" through the times. The illustrations in this essay are a part of the attempts to make sense of the autocrat Ivan. Today, there exists a controversial movement in Russia campaigning in favor of granting sainthood to Ivan IV. The Russian Orthodox Church has stated its opposition to the idea,[40] but recently even President Vladimir Putin remarked that this may be a justification before history. The legacy of Ivan's autocracy is not a phenomenon without relevance for today's Russia, it still "makes sense" by the actors to use it as a historical argument.

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39 KAPPELER, 1972.

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The Dissemination of News in Early Modern Venice

A Walk in the Company of the Informer Camillo Badoer

Simone Lonardi

At a first glance, the attention paid to the relationship between politics and information may seem strictly an issue of the present. However, a deeper look at the records of the *Inquisitori di stato*, nowadays held at the *Archivio di Stato* of Venice, can easily contradict that impression. The institution of the *Inquisitori di stato* dates back to 1539, initially under the name of the *Inquisitori sopra li secreti*, who were first entrusted with the task of watching over the spread of state secrets; later, this initial duty would have been joined also by that of organizing the intelligence and counter-intelligence services of the Most Serene Republic of Venice. The surviving clues of their activity allow the historian to retrace with certain accuracy the stance of the Venetian government towards the world of communication *media*, as well as the extent and the inner workings of the dissemination of news in a city and in an early modern state.

The seventeenth century represents an essential turning point in the history of communication *media*. The rise of an information market and of a periodical press, the explosion of the circulation of news, the first gradual and unusual emergence of a public opinion and of the sense of contemporaneity: all these phenomena were generated or had a full implementation, almost simultaneously, in seventeenth century Europe.[1] A series of convergent factors, developed

1 For an analysis of the evolution of the listed occurrences in the main European countries, see Baron/Dooley, 2001 and Rospocher, 2012. On the relationship between the dissemination of news and the emergence of the sense of contemporaneity, in the same European perspective, see also Dooley, 2010. An essential reference bibliography on the history of information and periodical press

during the two previous centuries, was behind this peaceful revolution: the invention of the printing press, the establishment of regular postal services and of stable diplomatic representations, the improvement of communication lines, the colonial expansion of the European powers and the growth of the commercial routes, the creation of handwritten newsletters, already circulating in the sixteenth century through business letters.[2] With the passing of a few decades, the information burst into the public life of almost every city and every square of Europe, thus contributing to the creation of public spaces for political debate.

Venice, as other great European capitals, was one of the main centers involved in the development of this frenetic activity of production and circulation of news. Clearly, this novelty did not go unnoticed and the very first reactions of the Venetian government were under the sign of closure and repression; several times, in the attempt to stop or to control the publication of gazettes and handwritten newsletters, the Council of Ten fruitlessly legislated. The authorities quickly had to take note of the impossibility of a resolving intervention and had to adapt themselves to the new scenario: in fact, by that time the exchange of information was vital for the Republic's economic activities to be fully operational, as well as benefiting its politics.[3] Indeed, the Venetian political system was characterized by the centrality of the debate, by the relative breadth of the ruling class and by the balance between different assemblies and powers: for those reasons it required a prompt and efficient exchange of information. Venice also soon learned to take advantage of the use of the new communication *media*: the opportunity to employ the written word in the political arena for propaganda, in particular thanks to the printing press, appeared with all its potential during the Interdict of 1606-1607 when, under the wise leadership of Paolo Sarpi, the Republic engaged in a previously unseen battle of writings against the Roman papacy.[4]

However, the use of such a powerful weapon could not be left in anyone's hands. Venice remained loyal to an elitist conception of politics, which was considered an exercise destined to a few and which had to remain surrounded by as much mystery as possible. Encouraging the dissemination of certain pieces of information automatically meant to allow the subjects greater involvement in

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in Italy, among the others, I recommend, Castronovo/Tranfaglia, 1976 (in particular the essays by Valerio Castronovo and Giuseppe Ricuperati, through p. 1-66 and 67-116), Fasano Guarini/Rosa, 2001, and Infelise, 2005.

2 See Infelise, 2005, p. V-X and Briggs/Burke, 2009, in particular pages 25-132.

3 See Infelise, 2005, and Preto, 2010.

4 De Vivo, 2007a.

the Republic's political affairs. Thus, the *Serenissima*'s attitude considered from the perspective of political communication fluctuated between two opposite policies. If the need of an efficient exchange of information and the opportunity to take advantage of the use of communication *media* prevented taking repressive measures on one hand, the necessity to keep State secrets under control and to keep the masses away from politics, forced the government to carefully watch over the circulation of information under its dominions on the other, also due to the fragile balance between foreign powers that bore upon early modern Italy.

The task to keep the dissemination of news in Venice under control was mostly assigned to the informers at the service of the *Inquisitori di stato*. Their reports – the so-called *riferte* – are a precious instrument which allows us to shed light on the paths of the news and the mechanics of their spread, and can also contribute to integrate the traditional view 'from above' of political history with the perspective 'from below', typical of both social and cultural history. My analysis of Camillo Badoer's reports intends to follow this direction and provides insight into the utility of this type of source in search of those goals.

Camillo Badoer – alias Honorato Castelnovo alias colonel Costantino Castelnovo – appeared for the first time at the service of the *Inquisitori di stato* on the 23rd July 1671. We do not know much about him, apart from the fact that for almost twenty years he was one of the best informers in the business. He was a soldier, a literary man and a poet, and he was the natural son of the Venetian noble Alvise Badoer. His life sounds quite adventurous. Camillo, under the name of Costantino Castelnovo, was a veteran of the siege of Candia, where he stood out for his heroism to the extent that his deeds had a certain echo in the coeval chronicles.[5] He certainly was a well-adjusted man. During his youth he attended the Paris military academy and could also count on several acquaintances in many Italian courts. After the end of the war of Candia, he served under the Venetian army as an infantry captain for a few years while at the same time starting a career as a spy. Putting to use the bonds he had established during his stay in Paris, Badoer was particularly successful in sneaking inside the French embassy

5 Archivio di Stato of Venice (from now on ASV), *Inquisitori di stato*, file 566, report from fra' Costantino's dated 18 December 1671. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine. I have to add a curious note: in the same report it is written that one of those chronicles, the "Historie di Candia" composed by a certain "marquis Porone", assured public fame to Badoer, to the extent that the Spanish ambassador in Venice offered him and employment in case of war on the Italian ground. Unfortunately, I could not find any further evidence of the existence of that book.

in Venice. However, he was one of the family also at the court of the Duke of Savoy, where in 1680 he took refuge when he had to run away from Venice in order to elude his creditors. His masterpiece as an infiltrator, however, happened at the court of the last Duke of Mantua, Ferdinando Carlo of Gonzaga-Nevers: he became poet and dramatist of the court and even one of the Duke's closer friends and most trustworthy counselors. His literary production is not that popular and consists of a few theatrical pieces and some poetry; we also know that he dedicated a manuscript – nowadays lost – to the Duchess of Savoy, which contained a historical and geographical survey of the kingdom of Portugal but never appeared in print. What we know for sure is that he often took advantage of his literary skills to facilitate his work.

At the beginning, his relationship with the *Inquisitori* was discontinuous and frequently passed through the mediation of his brother friar Costantino, also an informer; it became constant in the late seventies of the century.[6] A reward of thirty ducats was his annual wage, which definitely was not a great amount of money. Up to July 1680 he used to write his reports under another false identity, signing himself as Honorato Castelnovo; subsequently he revealed his true identity to the *Inquisitori* and obtained the guarantee of anonymity.[7] After all, the craft of a spy could be a dangerous one. He kept writing regularly until the 26th February 1688, the date of his last report. Then he suddenly disappeared and from that moment I have completely lost trace of him.

Four voluminous files hold all of Camillo Badoer's reports that have survived the passing of time. They contain a wide range of topics. In every single report we can find a widely different kind of news: prostitutes and bandits share the written space with the greatest European monarchs, just like international politics, wars and diplomacy are shoulder to shoulder with the small facts of everyday life. He basically dealt with everything that could attract the attention of the *Inquisitori di stato*, turning himself into a precious guide for anyone wanting to understand what Venice was like at the end of the seventeenth century. Following his footprints, we can realize the main concerns of the Venetian authorities, as well as the dangers perceived by the community, the interests and the affairs of a large group of individuals that lived under the protective shadow of the institutions. Through his words we can also witness the first dubious footsteps

6 Badoer provided similar services also to other Italian courts: see Infelise, 2007 and ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, file 597, reports from Giovanni Fossali dated 2 August, 5 September and 28 November 1672.

7 ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, File 566, report from Honorato Castelnovo dated 31 May 1677; file 567, report from Camillo Badoer dated 7 November 1682.

of public opinion in its infancy; we can experience at first hand the relationships between sovereigns and subjects and between the universe of politics and the rise of the *media*. Without knowing it, Camillo Badoer was in the middle of the crux of the passing from the seventeenth century to the Enlightenment.

Collecting reliable information was the main task of a good spy. That meant, if we translate it into the daily activity, to cultivate interpersonal relationships and to mingle in a wide variety of ambiences. Looking through Badoer's reports, politics in seventeenth century Venice was in its raw essence the result of intense idle talk based on very articulated relationships networks. Sure enough, the oral as well as the written dimension played a significant part in the dissemination of information. Quoting Joseph Brodsky: Was not Venice the city whose life occurred according to "the immanent logic of gossip"?[8] In the information exchange the patricians, who by birth held the right to take part to the Republic's political life, were not the only social group involved: individuals of various social and professional ranks also contributed to a considerable degree to that exchange. Bureaucrats and servants, artisans and notaries, members of the clergy and intellectuals: almost everyone who could regularly come into possession of news could be part of one of the entangled networks of informers that spread information from the government palaces all over the city and vice versa.

In order to be well-informed, it was decisive to be able to reach the proper sources. For instance, treating the gondolier of an ambassador to lunch could be quite a simple way to know the ambassador's movements and those of his entourage; being friendly with one of his servants or secretaries often provided one with an open ear inside the embassy. And, of course, a love affair was not always a simple romantic matter. Thanks to Camillo Badoer's patient and meticulous work, the *Inquisitori di stato* were always up-to-date about the suspicious frequentations of the French ambassador. Consequently we are also kept abreast. Among his informers we will obviously not find prominent figures of the Venetian political scene nor shall we find traitors plotting against the Republic. The risk of being caught and charged for treason was real.[9] Actually, it was a less scandalous matter mainly concerning obscure individuals, often bounded for many different reasons to one or more patricians, clever enough to provide confidential information – or at least clever enough to make people believe that

8 Brodsky, 2010, p. 43.

9 That risk was actually high, at least considering the execution for treason of the patrice Antonio Foscarini, ordered by the Council of Ten in April 1622. One year later Foscarini had been posthumously proclaimed innocent because his trial was based on false testimonies. See Walker, 2007.

– and willing to put themselves to use for personal profit. For example, in the French embassy we meet with a certain frequency one of Venice's most talked-about writers of handwritten newsletters, Benedetto Giuliani, with his son and co-worker Paolo; a certain Valentino, a popular ball player, well-known in the city due to his sporting accomplishments and his illustrious acquaintances; father Mozzarelli, confessor at the Frari's monastery, who was used to associate with several Venetian nobles; a certain Alessandro Rizzo, an ambiguous wheeler dealer, who could count on various acquaintances inside the Republic's institutions and among the local aristocracy.[10] Through them and many other people, rumors and information regarding confidential political affairs could come to the ambassador's ears directly from the residence of some patricians or from the Republic's bureaucracy.

Women were not excluded from these relationships networks either. Usually, they were noble nuns or prostitutes. The noble Camilla Duodo, nun at St. Cosmas' convent, situated in the Giudecca, was an intimate confidante of the Spanish ambassador; Foscarina Foscarini, also a nun at San Cosmas', was the confidante both of the French and the Spanish ambassadors and had a solid reputation as an expert in the affairs of state. Even St. Lawrence's convent, where noble nuns were often accommodated, was the destination of continuous and strictly male pilgrimages; despite the prohibitions that regulated the nuns' life, the convent was usually frequented by trusted men sent, "with the order of pursuing", by the foreign ambassadors in Venice. Indeed, it was difficult to understand what exactly separated the seeking of information from the rituals of courtship. Much less complicated, instead, was the case of a certain "Angela Padoanina" or "Padana"; she was a notorious prostitute, lover of many Venetian noblemen and in turn of the French and the Spanish ambassadors, to whom she was regularly passing confidential information.[11] It is evident that the rivalry between the two crowns could also bring some advantages.

10 ASV, *Inquisitori di stato*, file 566, report from fra' Costantino dated 27 April 1673; file 566, report from Honorato Castelnovo dated 26 February 1676 *more veneto*; file 566, report from Honorato Castelnovo dated 24 November 1677. For a brief period, in 1679, Alessandro Rizzo himself also worked as an informer for the Venetian Republic: see ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, file 626.

11 File 566, report from Honorato Castelnovo not dated, but probably dating back to the beginning of 1676; file 566, report from Honorato Castelnovo dated 5 July 1677; file 566, report from Honorato Castelnovo dated 30 July 1678; file 566, report from Honorato Castelnovo dated 4 June 1679; file 567, reports from Camillo Badoer dated 19 November 1682 and 3 December 1682.

For the Venetian ruling class, secrecy represented the first safeguard of the Republic's freedom, cohesion and serenity, as well as a sort of collective form of respect due to the state. However, quoting Filippo De Vivo, "the control over political communication could hardly be complete in a ruling class where information was at the disposal of hundreds of patricians, each one surrounded by an often large household, as well as non-patrician servants, clients, and friends."[12] Even the Doge's Palace was not impenetrable. On the 22nd September 1684, Camillo Badoer informed the *Inquisitori di stato* that a Doge's servant, "the one with red hair", was known "by many in the square who bring news to the ambassadors and to other ministers of the foreign princes", reporting to them what he could hear "in the chambers of His Serenity".[13] Not bad for a Republic that considered secrecy as a supreme good to be preserved for the state's security.

Finally, there is one last aspect on which I would like to focus before concluding. By reading Badoer's reports we can immediately notice that, at the end of the seventeenth century, ordinary people used to discuss publicly and frequently in Venice. They discussed various topics: wars, politics, religion, or the events that impressed contemporaries and this was probably the only way to try to make sense of them all. They discussed routinely for delight, in order to spend time, to challenge the institutions and they did it almost everywhere. In the public squares, for instance, where pitchman used to sell books, pamphlets, almanacs, prints and flying sheets for a handful of money, which were passed from hand to hand, thus providing the raw material for the discussions.[14] It was not necessary to be able to read: it was sufficient to listen and be willing to voice one's opinion on the various facts of the world. By interacting within the public space, everyone could compare himself with other people and thus be part of the community.

Judging by the available sources, many people participated and not always in a pacific manner. A report from friar Costantino, Badoer's brother, is rather explicit in this regard. In 1676, writing to the *Inquisitori* about some contradictions between different handwritten newsletters, the friar wrote that in St. Mark's square "hundreds of people" used to form various "conventicles" of "factionists", and among them, "due to the opposite subjects of the news spread", "great mutiny, aversion, insults" often occurred, which sometimes were followed by

12 De Vivo, 2007a, p. 46.

13 ASV, *Inquistori di stato*, file 547, report from Camillo Badoer dated 22 September 1684.

14 See Bellettini, 2000.

"beatings, slaps and punches".[15] Military news mainly exasperated the contrasts and deteriorated the discussions, with the help of the defiant attitude of many lower class people.[16] In particular, the siege of Vienna and the war of the Holy League against the Turk gave Badoer the opportunity to record some odd behavior, as those illustrated by a certain Antonio Coi, who had previously lived in the Ottoman dominions as a renegade for twelve years. Naturally, Coi took the side of the Turk Empire in public, causing "the scandal and the hatred of the good Christians who hear him talking", and laughed at the Italian sovereigns, by saying that they were "assholes" and that they couldn't "wage war like the Turk does"; some eye-witnesses declared to Badoer that they would have wanted "to spit in his face and that they would have taken away his tongue for the cruelty of his soul."[17] Scenes like these were rather common.

A fundamental role in the dissemination of news was also played by some shops, where customers could regularly find various printed gazettes and handwritten newsletters. Pharmacists and barbers, in particular, used to supply this kind of service from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The prices of medicines were set by the government, thus the competition among the shops was evident in the offer of this kind of extra services, which could also include gambling tables, postal services and many more. Pharmacies and barber shops carried out an important role of mediation "between private households and the marketplace":[18] they were definitely spaces of socialization where people of different social status could collect information and discuss with other customers.[19] The crucial role of these shops in the dissemination of news in Venice is well exemplified by the case of the apothecary of the *Vigilanza*, at the *Procuratie vecchie* in St. Mark's square. It was regularly attended by writers and patricians and in its surroundings "different kind of very many people stay to discuss about all the peculiarities of the wars and about the interests of the princes." The pharmacy of the *Vigilanza* was so well-known in town as a center of communication that the foreign ambassadors, hunting for news, according to Badoer's reports, could not refrain from sending their own informers there.[20] It

15 ASV, *Inquisitori di stato*, File 566, report from fra' Costantino dated 19 December 1676.

16 See Infelise, 1997.

17 File 547 report from Camillo Badoer dated 30 August 1683.

18 See De Vivo, 2007a, p. 101.

19 See Id., 2007b, p. 505-521; Id., 2007a.

20 ASV, *Inquisitori di stato*, file 547, report from Camillo Badoer dated 6 August 1684.

seemed that also Antonio Coi, the Ottoman Empire's supporter, used to go there frequently, spreading his usual refrain and provoking the disgusted reactions of those present.[21]

In fragile junctures, especially concerning international politics or the national safety, Camillo Badoer frequently reported similar episodes and this is a clear indication of the concern that moved the Venetian authorities, as well as a sign of the vitality of the public space. However, every attempt to stop or hold down the flowing of rumors and news was unrealistic, and every measure came inevitably too late. During the summer of 1687, while the Venetian army was engaged against the Turk in the Peloponnesus, contrasting news on the war's issues incited the discussions among the curious public. On the 30th July 1687 Badoer reported the appearance in town of quite an odd "academy", located in a private residence. In the palace of the noble Quintiliano Rezzonico someone was debating "whether it would be more profitable to this Republic to win or to lose" in war; there were also printed invitations posted "everywhere in Venice, in the shops, on the bridges and in the most frequented streets." In fact, many people "from all nations" rushed there to hear the discussion, causing great scandal in town.[22]

The following week, Camillo Badoer was walking around from shop to shop and reading the newsletters. In a pharmacy he encountered a sheet where it was written that General Morosini, in command of the Venetian army in the Peloponnesus, was short of soldiers and that his dispatches brought bad news. Those present wondered how it was possible to write such damaging news for the Republic with impunity. Then, he moved to another pharmacy near Rialto, where he found other newsletters and he was startled by a detail. The sheet informed that during the previous week "at the house of the nobleman Rezonico was held a public academy where they discussed if it would be more useful for the Republic to win or to lose in war."[23] The circle was closed. It was evident that trying to stop the stream of words, written or spoken, was an impossible task, if not a foolish ambition. The public political debate, fed by the constant flow of news circulating in town, came from the oral dimension and went back into the written communication from which it had generated, in turn giving life to new infinite discussions.

21 File 547, report from Camillo Badoer dated 3 September 1683.

22 File 548, report from Camillo Badoer dated 30 July 1687.

23 File 548, report from Camillo Badoer dated 5 August 1687.

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Political Information and Religious Skepticism in Early Modern Italy

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The seventeenth century saw the unexpected revival of the classical debate concerning the theory of the political imposture of religion. The rapid reception of this intellectual conceit facilitated the subsequent introduction of a number of heterodox doctrines that came to typify religious dissent in that period. At the same time, traditional religious worship remained customary and firmly embedded within the social fabric. But by the end of the seventeenth century, its image had been radically transformed. Religion came to be considered, above all else, as the premier instrument of social control, whose vast collection of dogma, norms and prescriptions lay at the antipodes of belief in its pastoral responsibilities and its ultimately spiritual oversight of matters regarding the afterlife.[1]

The reformulation of religion as an instrument of political control, however, was little more than a small step on a well-worn path. The intertwining of politics and irreligion had a lengthy literary history, notoriously so since the work of Machiavelli early in the previous century. However, the particular connection which 17th-century writings stressed was between the implicit reciprocal meaning of the terms *politician* and *atheist*. Both limited themselves to questions regarding human matters, and no longer interpreted reality through God. Both viewed reality as the creation of human thought. Within this perspective, God was simply another human invention. If humans had thus been the authors of this idea, his function had been accounted for in its efficacy as a device for social control and seizing ruling power.[2] Not surprisingly, contemporary usage of

1 For a preliminary survey see Barbierato, 2012.

2 Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), *Miscellanea atti diversi-Manoscritti*, busta 65, *Del Pasquino esiliato. Parlata prima. Pasquino et il Gobbo di Rialto.* The pasquinade can be dated to the 1650s.

politician was in fact not limited to public office-holders or official leaders who ruled according to a predefined ideology. Indeed, the term *politician* commonly defined a broad swath of the general public irrespective of social class who cultivated a fervent interest in world events and state secrets. This pursuit served no functional purpose beyond the concerted effort to interpret every aspect of daily life, including religion, in strictly political terms. The proliferation of *avvisos* of current events and state secrets reinforced belief that *ragione di stato* was the dominant operative principle of all societies past and present.[3]

The polemics and discussion of Reason of State reached its peak in popularity between 1600 and 1650.[4] The diffuse practice of such public speculation was not necessarily located in particularly large urban contexts, but nevertheless was more prevalent in places such as Venice, a city characterized by the uniqueness of its infrastructure and boasting a seemingly preternatural ability to obtain important information. In these respects, Venice was most likely the leading city in Italy, rivaled only by Rome. Both were among the most political, i.e., surveillance-ridden cities in Europe.[5]

Material from newspapers, gazettes, *mercuri* and oral or written accounts created a sweeping vision of *politics* that was more open and more critical, at least in its initial stages.[6] Such material created a decisive change in the relationship between politics – or depictions of politics – and marginal sectors of the population, namely, an expanded and more varied section of the population, which, though excluded from power, remained interested in politics and was adept at discussing it. Yet, the type of political analysis they practiced often took the form of rudimentary and simplified contextualization of sudden outbreaks

3 The term *politichisti* was often used to define the group of people who read gazettes or heard them being read out and then discussed them, sometimes heatedly, cf. ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 567, report on 8 September 1681.

4 Villari, 1987, p. 27.

5 Haffemayer, 1999, p. 21-31.

6 Daniel Woolf claims that the spread of political information led to an affirmation of the sense of simultaneous events, the awareness of being part of a world in which other people were living at the same time in distant or unknown places. The consequence was a marked change in the perception of the present as a period of time rather than an instant. "News had not, of course, displaced history as a subject of discussion. But it had definitively established the present as a zone of activity, as narratable as the past, but distinguishable from it, and thereby constructed a public space within which events could enjoy their ephemeral life before slipping into the maw of history", in: Woolf, 2001, p. 98. See also Dooley, 2010.

of wars and conflicts. While their discussions sometimes broached a broader array of topics, discussions were often circumscribed by questions of military strategy, such as competing notions on the optimal means of mobilizing troops. Yet, rather than exercises in military strategy, these speculative analyses intended to constitute lessons in diplomacy when particularly eloquent or minimum rationales for the Reason of State. At times they also represented opportunities for pure social self-promotion.

In this light, the historian's task is not merely establishing how many people were effectively aware of the facts, or even comparing how accurately the various news sources reflected them. The real question is: what did these people think they knew? What kind of knowledge did they believe was being conveyed to them through news sources, and what kind of knowledge was conveyed from them to the next receiver?

Unfortunately, the answer to questions such as these can only be found in our recognition of the inevitable, indefinable gap between a text and its direct, concurrent comprehension. In 1666, Gregorio Leti observed that what readers found in gazettes and what they wanted to find were two different things, for while "people read them as they are written," nevertheless they "interpret them as they like".[7] Gazettes and journals, moreover, were hardly the only material paths for spreading news. A somewhat demotic education could be had on the affairs of state through the plethora of satirical works in prose or verse, whose vast diffusion could often be traced back to the inventories of gazetteers, who often produced them in their *botteghe*.[8]

Oral communication was also common practice in Venice where, in order to keep current, one merely had to stroll into a square or *bottega* and listen. Along with speeches, stories and songs, gazettes were read aloud and discussed in places frequented by people from every social sector.[9]

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7 Leti, 1666, p. 255.

8 Infelise, 2002, p. 157. See ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 650, report by an informer at the Nunciature on 9 November 1692. Texts in rhyme were popular: after being put up on walls and circulated in handwritten form, a 1695 defamatory composition against a rector from Verona had "become […] public entertainment for youngsters in song". There were references to other similar songs at the same time, in: ASV, *Consiglio di Dieci, Parti criminali*, busta 122, 15 December 1695.

9 As an eighteenth-century text said, "songs, stories, gazettes, reports, speeches" were part of "those […] little publications of not even three sheets and which circulate among the common people and the minority of insurgents, which are sung, talked about and sold in the street and in St Mark's Square", in: ASV, *Riformatori dello*

Such oral communication of news increased the likelihood that a single copy of a journal or gazette would reach a very large number of listeners, including some who could not read.[10] This posed potential dangers to orthodoxy, dangers which although neither immediate nor immediately perceived, nevertheless seemed to fuel dark fears. Such fears were fanned not merely because subversive print and oral news brought certain events to the attention of a huge audience, but also because they could easily encourage subversive attitudes. Gazettes, described as "delectable entertainment to delight gentlemen",[11] were fragments of text which seemed too many to be fragments of the world. Unlike historical works and religious revelations – each presenting an unchangeable past and a future free of speculation – gazettes described an evolving world, one updated with each new edition. Clarity meant the author simply had to proffer ambiguities: "today's news has pulled up something cold and tomorrow's will be something hot", making it seem normal to chance upon news which "when left in isolation for a while is discovered to be contaminated", or has turned into "rancid news".[12] Because the depreciation value inherent in the most current information, owed to the fact that the "latest" news was under temporal constraints as it vied to attract public notice, people found themselves constantly having to redefine their view of the facts, as well as their assumptions and conclusions that were based on their prior analysis of the events. The need to revise

Studio di Padova, busta 361, anonymous undated written document. Gazetteers themselves sometimes told the news orally in advance: ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 640, anonymous report on 26 December 1704.

10 Children often shouted stories and affairs around St Mark's. In general sales took place both from stands and by going around 'crying them out in Saint Mark's and at the Rialto'. If news turned out to be 'rancid', i.e., overtaken by events or publicly denied, the value of the publications diminished. In such case the seller did not stop his work but fixed the price in order to cover costs and unsold copies were usually distributed among *putelli* (children), who sold them around the city 'crying them out', cf. ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, busta 366, trial against Giovanni Batti, deposition by Giovanni on 11 September 1684.

11 *Pallade veneta da sabato 29 agosto a sabato 5 settembre 1716*, in: ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 713.

12 Muratori, 1901-1922, vol. 3, p. 1020, letter 906, to Carlo Borromeo Arese in Milan, dated Modena, 3 January 1709; also vol. 2, p. 580, letter 529, to Francesco Arisi in Cremona, dated Modena, 22 May 1702. For the 'rancid news', in: ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, busta 366, trial against Giovanni Batti, deposition by Giovanni on 11 September 1684.

and recast one's predictions caused by the fleeting validity of news, as one very astute commentator called it, has allowed "political astrologers to dominate the field of prediction".[13] The consequences and repercussions were of more than a little importance. First, once the most recent news had enhanced expectations of more, people demanded to know what happened next and to check the validity of their analysis. Hence, they waited for news to arrive – at times a spasmodic development. Secondly, people grew accustomed to the idea that the truth was something momentary and elusive, although this was not necessarily a conscious awareness. Multiple sources of news often kept awareness of subjectivity to a minimum. The newspapers arriving daily often reported the same events in significantly different ways. Sometimes even the gazetteers themselves drew attention to discrepancies by referring to varying versions "so that readers stick to whichever one they like."[14] As one keen observer noted in 1676: "the freedom of Venice, which allows the writers of news reports to plan them as they wish in their newsletters […] has made them so venal that they are no longer expected

13 ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 603, report by Giuseppe Antonio Gasparini on 22 May 1700. 'Everybody speaks about this turbulence of Mars, and they say that it's about to blow over, given that it can be seen that the planets involved are preparing for calmness', wrote an informer, Ranuccio de Baschi, from Rome in 1642, in: ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 550, report on 5 March 1642. The vocabulary of politics was often quite esoteric and referred to secret or reserved political knowledge, see Burke, 2010, p. ix–xx. The Marquis d'Argens preferred the term 'cabalists' to 'astrologers': 'Comme ils n'ont pas l'air assez riche pour qu'on croye qu'ils dépensent beaucoup en Couriers, on le figuereroit presque, si l'on ajoutoit foi à leurs discours, qu'ils ont des Esprits aèriens à leurs gages, et qu'il y a une étroite liaison entr'eux et les Cabalistes', in: d'Argens, 1737, p. 97f. Rumours and premonitions were combined in a letter sent by Lorenzo Tiepolo, the ambassador in Paris, to the Consiglio di Dieci in 1707: 'Everybody predicts misfortune coming from France, misfortune that could even affect the King's life. It is talk based on horoscopes drawn up in these times and on the planets. In this way the most rigorous surveys are conducted, but these are banks which cannot contain the flood of words uttered: it is true that credence must not be given to this type of forecast, but it is also true that such a widespread rumor cannot be ignored', in: ASV, *Consiglio di Dieci, Parti segrete*, busta 54, letter of 1 April 1707.

14 The matter in question here was the outcome of armed conflict between the French and the Spanish in Valenza in 1656. The episode is reported in Infelise, 2002, p. 93.

to write the truth, but to satisfy other people's tastes with regard to their interests."[15]

No longer focused on a single truth, readers and partisans had to shape their opinions based on the principle of pleasure. Besides, the world of the *novellista* was undoubtedly complex. In addition to its heterogeneous nature and problematic credibility of sources, this world was also connected to a multi-faceted situation. For example, the novellista's world was forced to consider the new political perspective and concomitant new levels of reality. With regard to wars, this meant recognizing all nuances, so that simple alternatives such as neutrality or siding with one party or another succumbed to a broad range of intermediate options. A state could rush into war or else show its disapproval, yet secretly support one or both sides. A state might just as easily support only certain members of a side and so on. Enthusiasts found themselves tasked with completing the puzzle in order to show off the plausibility of their critical finesse.[16]

The ease with which people soon dealt with notoriously false partial accounts led them to doubt the truth in general. This phenomenon led to the broad context of Pyrrhonism and the skeptical crisis that persisted throughout the seventeenth century.[17] The concept of historical truth experienced a particularly profound crisis in the second half of the century, continuing through the early decades of the eighteenth century.[18] In the end, the fields of historiography and information were not so far removed, given that the work of historiographers and gazetteers often coincided. Works of historiography were often based on the recent acquisition or interpretation of work by gazettes.[19] In any case, political information, now widespread at every level, undoubtedly played a vital role in spreading the skeptical crisis of the historiographical sector into the lowest manifestations of cultural life.[20] With conflicting newspapers and various oral versions of current

15 ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 566, report by Fra' Costantino on 19 December 1676.

16 On the aspect of the new opportunities introduced by concealment as a technique influenced by new scientific methodology, see Villari, 1987, p. 20f.

17 On this matter, see Dooley, 1999.

18 On the issue of Pyrrhonism and scepticism in general, in addition to Hazard, 1964, see Popkin, 2003; Borghero, 1983; the essays collected in Paganini, 2003 and Paganini/Maia Neto, 2009.

19 On this aspect, see Infelise, 2002, p. 65-78.

20 The rise of the news-sheet in the seventeenth century made the unreliability of reports of the "facts" more obvious to a much greater number of people than ever before, since rival and discrepant accounts of the same events – battles for example

events, individuals were not presented with objective or definitive situations, but rather with reports of events which had a rapid depreciation rate. These depictions of reality were subject to constant change and never assumed a definitive shape. Hence, the reality interpreted and then offered by gazetteers was very much a work in progress. Because reality, or at least the portrayal of it, was constantly changing, readers got used to redefining their definitions of what was real on a frequent basis.

With time, readers of news publications throughout Europe began to apply fresh analytical tools to the traditional assessment methods used for political and financial matters. This process contributed to the crisis of conscience which ultimately laid the foundations for the Enlightenment.[21] Readers and other consumers of news came to accept, perhaps unwittingly, that the truth had an expiration date, one ostensibly defined by gazettes or subsequent reports.[22] When the latter became available, it forced yet another re-ordering of events to adapt an overview that included the latest news. These changes also let people prognosticate in order to fill gaps left by uncertainty, thereby posing the question of whether some future event might or might not occur.[23] In addition to affirming, at least implicitly, new notions that truth might be just the sum of probabilities, such prognostication changed the focus of interest from the event itself to the interpretation of thoughts and principles. However, as Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino warned in 1644, these forecasting skills were inherently dangerous to the power structure because they inevitably fostered attempts to predict rulers' actions was as reckless as predicting God's will.[24] It was like "wanting to enter the cabinet of Providence", as Ludovico Antonio Muratori wrote a few decades

– arrived in major cities on the same day and could therefore easily be compared and superimposed, Burke, 2000, p. 202.

21 Dooley, 2001, p. 277. See also Dooley, 1999.

22 A true *novellista* was always attentive to dates, and the tension stirred up by current events was one of the most common elements in satirical works: 'si quelqu'un devant lui s'avisoit de tirer de sa poche une lettre, dans laquelle il fut fait mention d'une victoire, par exemple, remportée en Hongrie sur les turcs, il s'écrioit aussitôt à pleine tête: la date? Et si on luiu répondoit, du quatorze de ce mois, il ne manquoit de repliquer: cela est vieux; nous avons des nouvelles du vingt qui assurent le contraire', in: Le Sage, 1821, p. 211. The text was written in around 1740.

23 See Hacking, 1975 and Wootton, 1992, p. 50-53.

24 Pallavicino, 1644, p. 346f.

later.[25] Therefore, because the Catholic Church found itself unable to control the distribution of information, the best it could do was to limit the spread of subversive materials to marginal groups, for example by only using handwritten rather than printed forms.

The results must have been extremely marginal. It is clear, however, that religious dissent and political information found many means of collaboration and many forms of *disorder* which may well have been generated by this widespread passion for the current interpretation of events. *Novellisti* and *politichisti* made the most of the latest political news even though they were not directly involved in it and had no ambitions to foster change. Rather, politics became something to observe, reflect on and discuss, but not to take part in.[26] Events, upheaval and politics were all mere phenomena and were treated as such. Religion was also a part, becoming an aspect of political life as people started to investigate it using the same critical tools and applying the same skeptical spirit. Information and religious dissent were two stages along a path marked by discontinuity, yet the trends and consequences they spawned – the idea of religion as a political

25 MURATORI, 1901-1922, vol. 3, p. 925, letter 800, to Carlo Borromeo Arese on the Borromean Islands, dated Modena, 2 June 1707. It was pointless to try to be 'astrologers' because providence had 'secret mechanisms and master strokes, which can easily stun and mock those great minds, who think they have the upper hand over future times', in: IBID., p. 965, letter 850, to Carlo Borromeo Arese in Milan, dated Modena, 12 April 1708 and vol. 4, p. 1450-1451, letter 1252, to Carlo Borromeo Arese in Naples, dated Modena, 18 March 1712.

26 Seventeenth-century Venice 'had become a city in which consciences could consume experiences (even if set against each other) although they did not pass, in the full sense of the term, "through" them. Consumption was possible through representation: wars, conflicts, changes in states and religions all over the world and progress were read about, pondered over and discussed, sometimes with great verve, but the quiescence of destinies in which the Venetian state had become locked, the relativization caused in insight and reasoning by a city which was already at the time both one of the most stably unchanging cities and one of the cities most affected by foreign patronage, mainly exempted people from staking their lives on any item of news. When almost everything had been consumed through representation rather than experience, it tended to take on a new dimension and be recognized for the specific importance it could have in the Venetian context. Without hazarding too much, it was a climate after all in which one could find measures for concealment, compromises and a small amount of practical tolerance', in: SCARABELLO, 1982, p. 373.

invention – were already evident to people at the time. The primary influence of the information market on religious matters was therefore to change how reality was interpreted, increasing skepticism which also started to affect religion. The danger of switching from historical to religious skepticism was concrete, of which people were highly aware.

It has been said that the information market turned writers into philosophers, information into opinions and readers into critics, thus creating a skeptical trend that led to extraordinary consequences. In combination with other seventeenth-century intellectual developments, it generated widespread skepticism about the availability and reliability of all forms of historical knowledge.[27] Moreover, thanks to information's ability to penetrate the urban fabric and establish an extensive network of followers, this systematic skepticism inevitably impacted areas of experience beyond historical knowledge. The phenomenon was therefore not limited to the educated classes. As I have noted, anybody could either read or ask others to read second-hand reports and thus form their own opinions. Such ingestion of current information led to discussions, the creation of "a political language",[28] and often arguments about alternative readings of the event in question. In this way, discussions about politics and the *news of the world* created ideal conditions for new forms of religious dissent, spreading them to increasingly broad social circles. Meeting to discuss a variety of issues considering dissimilar opinions, and digesting contrasting reports inevitably fostered an embryonic form of critical consciousness, which was soon directed against religion in general.

The steady shift from state secrets to religion, fluctuating between political and religious matters, was the end result of political and religious spheres being perceived as "different aspects of reality […] different, but intertwined – or, to put it in a more precise way, mutually reinforcing by the means of analogy".[29] This pooled perception made religion and politics appear equally distant from people's everyday comprehension. Together with the mysteries of nature, religion and politics came to be perceived as knowledge that could not be investigated.

Throughout the seventeenth century, these changes led to a marked increase in the effort of learning about nature through experimental means. As the revolution in the information sector opened the door to the discovery of political

27 Dooley, 1999, p. 2.

28 ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 548, report by Camillo Badoer on 21 December 1687.

29 Ginzburg, 1976, p. 32.

secrets, it led to state secrets being revealed in discussions, groups and cliques. In *botteghe*, whether gazettes were read silently or aloud, they suggested the possibility of penetrating sovereigns' cabinets and standing apart from others through the skillful analysis of political events. Conceptual instruments such as Machiavellianism and more sophisticated theories of political science spread and became visible in political practice. Such ideas were therefore available for theoretical and critical use and were learnt not only in the academy, but by reading gazettes and discussing them at home and in public. The 'separate sphere' of lofty, unattainable knowledge was now within reach, bereft of the sacred nature that had set it apart. In the same way, religion was dragged to the ground, reaching the level of the common man and even coming to be considered man-made.[30]

The process that led political news to be circulated widely operated in parallel, although perhaps slightly out of synch, with the process that led skepticism to penetrate broad strata of Venice's population. The language of religious dissent certainly overlapped with political discussions even if the ideas did not; people at all levels of society started viewing reality with a more skeptical attitude, placing religion within the political sphere. In other words, they started to consider religion as an aspect of reality, enabling it to be approached in a new light. Religion and politics had always been entwined, but were now also linked in discussion, meaning that skepticism about one manifested itself in skepticism towards the other. A relentless link was created between political and religious skepticism in both attitude and content. The former somehow opened the door to the latter. Revealing the secrets of politics meant that many could question all historical structures and institutions. Once the most secret structure, the political use of religion, was also revealed, the process had come full circle.

In the 1650s Girolamo Flech, a Dominican from the monastery of San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, ably summarized this disposition for widespread incredulity. His words clearly and gracefully explain the connections between the opportunities for thought offered by multiple channels of information, and

30 It is difficult, if not impossible to establish which of these areas was attacked first and caused repercussions on the others. Traditionally, the definitive fracture between man and God was identified in the birth and development of modern science. I think that this explanation is highly plausible, but I think it should be underlined how the expansion of a feeling which widely discredited the case for religion as fact found a place in areas of experience which were perhaps closer to everyday matters and developed an extremely close link to the opportunities opened up by information and political discussion.

the growing tendency to question revealed truths. "The four Evangelists," Flech wrote, "were four poor notaries, who wrote what they heard people saying, and that they were like these news writers, in the sense that they contradict each other […] so much so that in order to make them coincide, the holy fathers needed to write a book De concordantii evangelistarum."[31] The need to reconcile conflicting Biblical texts by citing the *Concordantia evangelistarum* became evidence for the limited credibility of the Holy Scripture. But Flech's was a particularly vivid portrayal of a widespread idea, namely that it was possible to subject the Gospels and the Bible in general to the same critical devices used for gazettes, newspapers and reports of far-off events. Once the Evangelists were compared to common gazetteers, it became possible to find ample contradictions in scripture. Seen as the work of man, the Bible was basically desacralized. In 1693, Giorgio Cottoni charged that the Gospels "were written on tree bark and […] must not be believed."[32] Some seventy years later, Don Cristoforo Venier publicly claimed that the Bible was "a fable".[33]

Just as skepticism of the Bible's divine origins spread, traditions and opinions of ecclesiastical imposture tended to overlap or even merge. Don Carlo Filiotti was sure of this in 1651, when he explained that the dogmas "of the Church […] were opinions of men like him, and he did not take them into consideration, just as others would have done if he had had his personal opinions printed".[34] Less than 30 years later Carlo Cima, a priest, echoed Filiotti, writing of books penned by the Fathers of the Church: "anyone can write similar books in his own way, and say whatever he likes […] and he could still make books in his own

31 ASV, *Sant'Uffizio*, busta 108, trial against Fra' Griolamo Flech, spontaneous appearance by Fra' Santo Ponticolvo from Venice on 15 May 1657. Contrastingly, a few years later *reportista* Giovanni Quorli reminded that 'newspapers are reports and not gospels', in: ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, busta 714, undated letter (but later than 21 December 1669) from Giovanni Quorli to the Inquisitors of State. The implicit juxtaposition of gazetteers and evangelists is also found in Leti, 1685, p. 29.

32 ASV, *Sant'Uffizio*, busta 127, Cavalieri Domenico file, trial against Giorgio Cottoni, spontaneous appearance by Michele Mezario on 17 February 1693.

33 ASV, *Sant'Uffizio*, busta 148, trial against Don Cristoforo Venier, spontaneous appearance by Don Daniele Molin on 1 March 1763.

34 ASV, *Sant'Uffizio*, busta 107, trial against Don Carlo Filiotti, deposition by Don Giovan Battista Balduino on 26 November 1652, cc. 8*v*-9*r*.

way, and say whatever he liked."[35] And in the early eighteenth century, Paduan Tommaso Zattoni concluded that Scripture was founded on "abstract analogies" and was no more than a "holy novel".[36]

Thus the body of church dogma eventually came to be considered as just one option among many, a mere opinion which could be believed or not. To nurture their own skepticism, people merely had to choose their 'favorite' alternative. In any case, dogma that had once been widely accepted, at least in public, became a matter for discussion, rather like news of a battle or the political games of the Duke of Mantua with the King of France, or even the maneuvers of the conclaves. Religion was thus seen in the same light as royal and human affairs, just another evidence of everyday secrecy relating to men and power.

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36 ASV, *Senato, Deliberazioni Roma, Expulsis papalistis*, f. 22, letter by Captain of Padua Federico Venier on 5 December 1710.

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Emotions

How to Read a Renaissance Fool

Visuality, Materiality, and Symbolic Practice

Anu Korhonen

How did the people of the Renaissance look at each other and determine who they were looking at? What kinds of messages could the visual and material presence of the body give to those who were seeing it? How, in short, did people make sense of each other?

It is a well-known fact that what people looked like made many different kinds of sense in the Renaissance period. We could think of practices and conceptions emerging in areas as varied as sumptuary regulation, bodily beauty, or theatrical practice, where questions of status, identity and truth were manipulated in sometimes alarming ways by presenting something to the gaze of the spectators – all these instances relied on questions of seeming and knowing that involved the gaze and visual practice.

Habits of perception and of description were also of importance in health and medicine, in the creation of ethnographic knowledge, and of course in such a basic act as recognizing people in everyday human interaction. In material culture, possibilities were growing for both dressing and decorating oneself, and for developing symbolic differences based on these practices. In her recent study on clothes and dressing up in early modern Germany, Ulinka Rublack indeed suggests that the "growing attention to people's appearances must have had an impact on the very process of what people noticed when they looked at each other as well as on the sensation of being looked at."[1] Reading visual and material signs upon human bodies and making sense of what was seen were cultural practices that demanded considerable amounts of practical knowledge and skill. And yet those skills were seldom verbally articulated by people who nevertheless used them on a daily basis. To discuss these questions, I want to take

1 Rublack, 2010, p. 24.

a look at the fool, a figure whose cultural significance relied heavily on visual prompts and on his spectators' ability to read his body appropriately. How would this have worked? How did one recognise a fool and make sense of who he was? My evidence comes from England, where fools were apparently often seen, but not depicted in images as often as, for example, Germany, Italy or France. What fools looked like was often referred to in texts of the period, however.

I will suggest that reading people and bodies, as well as cultural symbols such as the fool, requires symbolic vocabularies and more or less logical frameworks of meaning that come to being only by being repeatedly performed in practice. Their performativity also means that these networks of meaning are always renegotiable and repeatedly contextualised in different ways when they are called upon to mean something, that is, when one encountered a fool, for example. There is no one framework of meaning in which the fool belongs; there are several. Recognizing a fool must have been more or less straightforward to his contemporaries, but many aspects of this interpretation were enacted without conscious effort, and so it left few traces that we historians could now follow. The way in which fools' looks were referred to is in fact further testimony to the mundane nature of the visual interpretation: visual prompts were called upon as details and variations that were supposed to be part of larger implicit networks of meaning, either confirming or deviating from a common norm. People had an idea about what fools looked like. Presenting a personalised fool figure in a text relied on implicit and explicit commentary on this norm.

The most traditional markers of folly are still familiar today: the asses' ears, the cockscombs, the baubles, and parti-coloured clothing are all part of the visual repertoire that announce the presence of the fool, and we still recognise them, even though the actual fools who sported these items have not been around for the last 400 years. For early modern people, the fool's visual presence could be much more varied, though, and its meanings were both more intricate and more apparent. This visual presence partly relied on his clothes, but bodies themselves were also crucial to the meanings of folly.

In early modern opinion, there were two kinds of fools, the natural and the artificial. Contrary to modern opinion, what early modern people were thinking about when fools were mentioned were not highly intelligent and sarcastic commentators who were whispering unpleasant truths in the king's ear, but people who were lacking in both intelligence and everyday skills, people with learning difficulties and cognitive disabilities. This was the primary type, referred to by the term natural fool. Artificial fools, those performing the fool's role although

not disabled themselves, were an extension of this primary meaning.[2] This has obvious effects on how fools were to be looked at, and what people saw in them.

The Fool and his Motley

Let us start with the fool's clothes. In early modern texts, the fool's costume is always called motley. What might this have meant? The word motley still refers to something that is put together of parts that do not fit together comfortably. And indeed the typical court fool's garb was a multi-coloured costume, consisting of a tailored coat and hose.[3] It was put together from several pieces of cloth of different colours, arranged on the fool's body axially and symmetrically, as we can see, for example, in Pieter Paul Rubens's 1620 portrait of the Countess of Shrewsbury, where her fool companion is dressed in a symmetrical suit of yellow and green. The illustration of the psalm 52 in the *Wingfield Psalter* displays an elaborate fool in a dress of pink, red, yellow, purple and blue. The ideal motley was a jumble of colours, but it was nevertheless made with care, so that a peculiar sense of order could be detected in the placing of the colourful patches.[4] Still, the dashing colours and the disjointed patchwork, even in their more stylised versions, were supposed to mirror the fool's jumble of emotions and thoughts, and mark him apart from those wearing normal clothes, as a comic symbol.[5] When conduct books warned against following fashion too closely, they evoked the image of the fool: parti-coloured and gaudy clothes were only fit for fools and apes.[6] Even though many people delighted in wearing brilliantly coloured clothes at the time, they were usually not quite as incoherently colourful as the fool's traditional motley.[7]

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2 Korhonen, 1999, p. 30-37.

3 Hawes, 1517, sig. L7^{r}; Billington, 1979, p. 41. Ruth Mellinkoff notes that the fool's parti-coloured costume goes back to Roman mimes and was familiar all through the Middle Ages, Mellinkoff, 1993, p. 16f.

4 This kind of motley was so familiar that it could be used as a popular metaphor. For example, Thomas Nashe described in *The Vnfortunate Traveller* a disputation in Wittenberg which to his mind was only compiled from a patchwork of phrases from Tully and was thus "no more than a fooles coat of many colours." Nashe, 1594, p. 251.

5 Mellinkoff, 1993, p. 30.

6 Fiston, 1595, sig. C3^{v}.

7 Rublack, 2010, p. 75f.

The fool's costume, then, was supposed to represent symbolically both its wearer's mental characteristics and his office. In early modern culture an official's gown represented his position and a servant's livery associated him with his master and his family's status. Associating costume with its wearer's position was a key visual practice in early modern culture.[8] "Invest me in my motley", said Jaques in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, and assumed the part of a fool, with all the liberties of speech that went with the office.[9]

However, many court fools seem to have been dressed in typical courtiers' costumes, not in elaborate outfits specific to the fool. When the fool Balurdo in Anthony Marston's play *Antonio's Revenge* prepares to go to court, he frets about how his former friends will be able to recognise him, dressed in eagerly anticipated, stylishly courtly clothing:

> If you see one in a yellow taffata dubblet, cut upon carnation velure, a greene hat, a blewe paire of velvet hose, a gilt rapier, and an orenge tawny pair of worsted silk stockings, thats I, thats I.[10]

Even though his companion seems unconcerned, the fool cannot let the topic go:

> Ho, you shall knowe me as easily; I ha bought mee a newe greene feather with a red sprig; you shall see my wrought shirt hang out at my breeches; you shall know me.[11]

The conspicuous element of Balurdo's imagined outfit is its wealth of colour, but it does not seem to be a customary jester's costume – if it were, he would not have to worry about being known. In the real court too, clothes were frequently given as presents by monarchs to their performing fools, and because gifts of this kind tended to be recorded in the royal account books, we know something about the materials of the costumes if not exactly what they looked like. King Henry VIII ordered a Christmas outfit of fine materials and showy colours, topped with furs and gilded copper chains, for his fool William Somers: the account books list a "sute of whighte and blewe bawdekyn garded with red satten a ffrocke of tauny sylke stryped with gowlde furred aboute the necke."[12]

8 Hazard, 2000, p. 102.

9 Shakespeare, [1623] 1997, II.vii.42-61.

10 Marston, 1602, p. 57.

11 Ibid.

12 *The Loseley Manuscripts*, 1914, p. 77.

Queen Elizabeth gave the fool William Shelton three complete outfits in 1574 and 1575. The first seems to have been a rather plain outfit mostly in grey, but the second was more elaborate, with coloured trimmings, ribbons and stripes. In 1568, the queen's Italian fool Monarcho received a striped costume of velvet, silk, taffeta, fustian, grogram, sackcloth, and fur, with lace and trimmings in several colours. Jack the fool received a pair of stuffed russet trunk-hose and slops or large breeches trimmed with red, and pairs of stockings to match: "of grene cloth stiched upon with silk of sundry colors" and "of red clothe stiched alover with yellow silk."[13]

Clearly, fools paraded in a colourful get-up on festive occasions.[14] That is not necessarily enough to prove that they always did so. Whether these materials would have been sewn together into clothes that were recognisable specifically as a fool's costume, or whether they would have resembled any courtier's clothes also cannot be determined on the basis of the account books, since colours and stripes were not only used in comic clothing. Janet Arnold suggests that stuffed breeches and slops were worn first by fools but then became fashionable items of clothing for all men – and some writers of the time, Samuel Rowlands and Thomas Wright among them, did not miss the irony of this development.[15]

In visual sources, fools look more stylised. They are frequently dressed completely in yellow – and sometimes in green, blue, or even pink. Yellow and green indeed seem to have been the favourite colours in fools' clothing, and many have related these colours to the festival calendar – to the yellow and green of spring nature, of May Games and summer festivals.[16] But fools were not only associated with spring and summer festivities, and winter fools also wore yellows and greens, together with many other colours, as Ruth Mellinkoff has shown.[17] It seems to me that in fact strong yellows especially could also signal folly without any reference to carnivalesque festivities.

Court fools often seem to have appeared in these colours as well. In the miniature of Will Somers with his master Henry VIII in the king's *Psalter*, the fool is dressed in a bright green coat, certainly different from the king's more elaborate costume but not parti-coloured or particularly striking. In King Henry's family portrait, Will is seen in the background dressed in a dark costume with brightly

13 Arnold, 1988, p. 105f., 206, see also Stopes, 1913, p. 160.

14 Chambers, 1967, p. 386f.

15 Arnold, 1988, p. 206; Rowlands, 1600, epigram 30; Wright, 1601, p. 298.

16 Canel, 1873, p. 287-291; Zijderveld, 1982, p. 76f.

17 Mellinkoff, 1993, p. 55.

coloured stripes, representing a motley of a different kind.[18] It may well be that different colours were associated with specific celebrations as well as specific groups of people, but fool costumes were not always of many colours, and many colours were not only worn by fools. Ulinka Rublack's findings, especially, force us to think twice about randomly associating wildly coloured clothes with fools only.[19]

Sometimes we can also see fools dressed in drab browns that contrast with the ostentation or vanity of other people's clothes. The popular writer Anthony Munday, for example, opined in his *Defence of Contraries* that fools could not care less for fine clothing and were always satisfied with little comfort.[20] When dressed in simple outfits, they could also be used to criticise others for their more showy dressing habits. The fool was of course also a moral sign, and his appearance, particularly in early modern visual culture, tended to draw attention not to the fool himself but to those who seemed foolish around him. But even when he did mean to draw attention to himself, as the fool actor Richard Tarlton did, they did not necessarily dress any more ostentatiously. In fact, fools shamed young gallants and courtiers in fashionable ensembles by playing practical jokes that especially targeted their clothes, so the different hierarchies displayed by clothing were certainly among jesters' interests.[21]

Moreover, it was common to see the fool dressed in a simple long coat, designed most of all to keep him decent and warm – and to show his simplicity and lowly position.[22] Natural fools living outside court circles tended to wear loose overcoats in which they could move freely without having to be careful about clothes.[23] It has indeed been suggested that the word motley, the term for the fool's habit, actually referred to a garment made of coarse cloth that was itself also called motley. A tweed-like, relatively cheap and very sturdy material, motley was most commonly used for saddle covers, military uniforms and protective garments for artisans. For the fools and for mad-people, the material

18 The illustration of Will can be found in *Henry VIII's Psalter. The Family of Henry VIII*, c. 1545, is now in Hampton Court Palace.

19 Cf. Rublack, 2010.

20 Munday, 1593, p. 46.

21 *A Choice Banquet of Witty Jests*, 1660, p. 139; *Tarlton's Jests*, 1611, p. 201; Copley, 1614, p. 137f.; *Sechs hundert, sieben vnd zwantzig Historien von Claus Narren*, 1579, p. 19.

22 Douce, 1807, vol. 2, p.321f.

23 See for example *The Loseley Manuscripts*, 1914, p. 119; Middleton & Dekker, 1611, sig. E1^{v}.

was sewn into a long gown that would endure all the frenzied pranks they might engage in.[24] And so we can see, in the illustration on the title page of the fool actor Robert Armin's play *The Two Maids of More-Clacke*, a fool character called Blue John, whom Armin apparently played himself, wearing a long coat that might well be made of the motley material.[25]

Clothes were potent symbols. So were fools. Put these two together, and they start reinforcing one another: the visual (and partly tactile) imagery of the clothes defines the fool, while the fool also gives a layer of meaning to clothes and their visual aspects. Using different dress codes, clothing could emphasise different aspects of the fool's meaning. But if fools dressed in such various ways, identifying them must have relied on something more than just the clothes they wore. It was not enough to know what fools were supposed to wear – to reach their deeper meanings, even just on the visual plane, you needed more evidence, and it was in that extra knowledge where the fool's characteristics and nature were negotiated to an even greater effect.

Fool's Heads

The most conspicuous symbol of folly even in the early modern period was the fool's familiar headgear, the cockscomb. It was adorned with animal embellishments of two kinds. It was called a cockscomb because of the crest that was placed right on the crown of the fool's head and could run from his forehead down to his neck. Sometimes a whole cock's head could be portrayed as well, with the head tipping comically forward high on the fool's crown.[26] Asses' ears were sewn into the fabric of the cockscomb, hanging down on both sides of the fool's head. The word cockscomb could be used as a synonym for the word fool, so the head-dress very much characterised the entire figure. On stage, fools were constantly handing over their cockscombs to other characters, pointing out that they were more foolish than fools and deserved to wear what proved it. These cockscombs referred to in plays were separate items of clothing, then, but in late medieval and early modern images the asses' ears were often attached to a hood that could be worn either on fool's head or hanging back about his neck.

24 Hotson, 1952, p. 10-14, 33.

25 Armin, 1609, sig. A1^{r}.

26 Elaborate cock's heads can more typically be found in images from continental Europe, but some examples were produced in England as well. See the ballad *The Daunce and Song of Death*, 1569; Rowlands, 1614, title page.

And yet, when again looking at royal account books, we can find the queen's fool Jack Greene being given a curious hat that forces us to question what cockscombs in fact meant: it was trimmed with fourteen feathers of different colours decorated with silver spangles.[27]

Underneath their hood or their cockscomb, fools wore recognisable hair styles: either a shaven head, or a one-, two- or three-tiered corona reminiscent of a monk's tonsure. When the fool's tonsure has been mentioned at all in serious studies, it has been linked directly to the monks' crown, which fools were supposed to either imitate or mock.[28] I am not certain this assumption is wholly justified. Even though the fool's curious hair could surely symbolise humility and subjugation, like the monk's did,[29] its meanings did not necessarily derive from religious hairstyles. The shaven head was first and foremost a sign of the fool's status as the lowest possible human being. The triple corona would indeed suggest that the tonsure was also a comic ploy.[30] Indeed, from the Protestant point of view, fools' typical hairstyles could be the primary image to which monks' heads were compared. According to Simon Robson, one of the practices that made people laugh at monks was that they "are shauen and notcht on the head like fooles."[31] Perhaps it is our own distance from tonsured heads that leads us to see the clerical and monastic tonsure as the iconic and primary one; in the early modern period, fools' heads were almost as iconic and thoroughly recognisable on their own. They did not necessarily need the imaginative link to the monk's tonsure to be culturally legible. But in the absence of any explicit textual discussion, it is difficult to determine what the fool's curious hair might have meant at the time.

Absence of hair would also have pointed towards the fool's questionable status as a man: prominent body hair signalled powerful masculinity, but bald-

27 Arnold, 1988, p. 201.

28 See for example Douce, 1807, p. 323; Flögel, 1789, p. 51. Sometimes the practice is mentioned without any attempt at explanation, as in Nicoll, 1931, p. 161f. Another point sometimes made is that there may have existed a very long tradition which linked fools to classical mimes, and especially to a type called *mimus calvus*, a bald-headed fool-like entertainer in classical theatre. It is possible that this type survived in folk festivals and was transferred to actual natural fools, but it is difficult to find solid evidence to support this theory. See for example Flögel, 1789, p. 52; Wyss, 1959, p. 8.

29 Mezger, 1991, p. 229.

30 Ibid.

31 Robson, 1598, sig. K1^{v}.

ness was associated with advanced age and lack of a beard with childhood, and both were conditions of less than perfect masculinity.[32] Reading the English texts about fools, what often is mentioned is that their hair was shaved off to mark their humiliation, and at the same time their professional or social status. John Bulwer even saw the fools' deliberate baldness as a conscious attempt, presumably on the part of their shavers rather than the fools themselves, to reach a comic look:

> Shaving (generally speaking) being servile, ridiculous, and proper to Fooles and Knaves, […] being in sooth a voluntary, spontaneous, and wilful baldness, shaving of the head unto the quick, being from all antiquity appropriated unto Fools, being proper in them to signifie the utter deprivation of wit and understanding, and at first began in mockery and to move laughter.[33]

Fools may have been shaved in order to make them look ridiculous, but this comic effect was always linked to the idea of their lacking mental capacities.

There is also some visual evidence to support the image of fools' being shaven. In a later woodcut representing Will Somers, his bristly bald head hardly looks like a fashionable hairdo but effectively refers to his status as a fool. It is in fact quite rare to see bald heads uncovered by caps in images of the early modern period. Of the few baldies who appear in visual sources, with their hoods slipped back and their heads bare, many are in fact fools, and sporting an uncovered bald head could itself signal folly. But I would like to think that there was also a medical reason for why idiots and lunatics were shaven: the fool's body and its functions, as indeed the functioning of all human bodies, were envisioned within the framework of humoral theory, where the balance of bodily fluids and vapours was crucial to engendering both health and illness. Hair growth itself represented evacuation of excess matter, but hair had other health effects as well.[34] If hair hindered harmful vapours from evaporating from the body, memory was in danger of deteriorating, and that was the faculty already most adversely affected in fools – that is what their dysfunctional habits and problems with understanding seemed to suggest. Shaving off one's hair could be a treatment, if not cure, for simplicity and stupidity. And so people looking at fools

32 Cadden, 1993, p. 181; Fisher, 2006, p. 108-111; Korhonen, 2010, p. 378f. Fools usually did not grow a beard either – and if it was needed, they could run into trouble trying to glue a false beard on. See Marston, 1602, p. 90f.

33 Bulwer, 1650, p. 48f.

34 Korhonen, 2010, p. 381.

would have expected them to have a shaven head, although often hiding under a hood. Whether shaven heads were comic because of fools, or suited fools because they were comic, is a question we cannot answer. But when making sense of fools, baldness was certainly interpreted as one facet of their comic nature.

In his hand, the fool carried a bauble, the sceptre of folly. These ranged from simple sticks into intricate doll-like doubles of the fool himself. In France and Germany, baubles carved of wood, ivory or precious metals that once belonged to court fools have survived, but I have not come across any English examples.[35] There is some reason to suspect that in England, baubles were not as common in real life as they were on stage: Stephen Gosson, for example, suggested that the new-fangled but ubiquitous female accessory, the fan, was growing as popular as "bables are in playes for fools".[36] In fiction, however, they seem very familiar and can be seen in several illustrations in English psalters which display fools either with primitive sticks or elegant baubles; the fool in the *Wingfield Psalter* even has two.[37]

Sometimes the bauble's fool head top could be a portrait of its carrier with all his features, even physical abnormalities faithfully reproduced – or so we think.[38] Often, however, it was given a name of its own, and its carrier could invent a specific personality for it, as if for a ventriloquist's dummy. Performing fools made much of their imaginary brothers, bickering and babbling with them while commenting on other people and their follies. Baubles could also work as dramatic weapons and the fool's means of defending himself. But the sceptre was also clearly a phallic symbol that related both to the fool's own sexuality and his habit of teasing others with less than subtle sexual innuendo. On the stage, the fool often used it for obscene gestures, placing it between his legs and poking it at the female characters.

Foolish Faces

But what about the fool's own looks, and his own body, then? Whether natural or artificial, fools tended to be seen as grotesque, ugly and deformed – indeed, their funniness seemed to demand that something must be wrong with their

35 Mezger, 1991, p. 198.

36 Gosson, 1596, p. 7.

37 Billington, 1979, p. 41; Id., 1984, p. 4f.; see also Gifford, 1979, p. 18.

38 Mezger, 1991, p. 183-185.

looks as well as their minds.[39] Interestingly, the legal practice of determining whether someone was a natural fool – an idiot from birth – depended partly on visual signs. Although the most important tests in investigating someone's mental capacities were questions about who his parents were, where he lived, and whether he could handle coins, the examiners also paid attention to the suspected natural fool's facial expressions and his looks. It was especially noted if the fool had a very large head or any other disproportionately large features, or if he showed any singular deformities. Foolish or vacuous expressions were also recorded as proving a person foolish.[40]

This ties in seamlessly with readings of human looks in other discourses, such as physiognomy, where large faces and facial features were seen as signs of stupidity.[41] Thomas Hill, in his translation of Bartholomaeus Cocles's treatise on physiognomy, gives us an example of the physique of an actual fool, whose main characteristics were due to too much of a hot temperament, but he also displayed the physiognomical attributes of folly:

> He had the heade pinaple like, the voice lowed and sownding, quick of speech, and in stature small, musculous, Sanguine, yet tending vnto choler. The eares were great, the forehead bearing or bossing out, after a round maner, the ouerbrowes ioyned together, and much hearie, the eies small, hollow standing, glistering, and fierie: the nose flatte and holowe in the middle: the cheeks bonie, and somewhat flat: the mouth great, the lips thicke, and folded or turned outward: the teethe bigge: the chinne sharpe, and longe: the face long: the neck grosse, and shorte.[42]

A head shaped like a pineapple hardly signalled a sharp intellect even on its own, but physiognomical recognition required an overall interpretation, sewn together from its various separate components. All of the features listed here

39 Klapp, 1949, p. 157f. While discussing the incongruity theory, one of the main historical explanatory frameworks for laughter, John Morreall suggests that physical deformity in a person is one of the simplest, oldest, and most common things to be found humorous. Morreall, 1983, p. 64f.

40 Andrews, 1996, p. 70; see also Neugebauer, 1996, p. 29.

41 Gross, 1990, p. 84-88. Martin Porter and Ian McLean, among others, have differentiated between everyday discourse of appearances, physiognomy, and its scientific variant, physiognomony. Hill would fall under the latter category. See Porter, 2005, p. ix-x; McLean 2010.

42 Hill, 1571, p. 55f.

worked both as a description of the individual fool and more generally as elements of a face that could be read as a sign of foolishness.

Theories of laughter took this into account when they classified things that people found funny; laughter in general was seen as arising from perceiving ugliness or grotesqueness in any of its forms, whether mental or physical, and fools displayed both. Early modern writers rarely talked about 'ugliness'; the expression they used was 'deformity' – and so laughter theorists asserted that distorted faces and hunchbacks, extreme expressions, clumsy handling of everyday objects, falling and tumbling, or unruly behaviour in general were forms of deformity, of laughable ugliness. These depictions could just as well be descriptions of fools. In some images of fools, particularly those portraying individual known fools, mental derangement and idiocy still seems to be detectable, as Erik Midelfort has noticed.[43] Foolish faces and bodies were meant to be laughed at.

Even though all the theorists of the comic in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries found that laughter was produced by sensing something ugly or deformed, the moral content of this statement came to be more and more questionable, and at the same time doubts were raised about whether laughing at what we would now call disability could ever be justified. The shadow of the fool can often be found at the centre of these debates. One of the doubters was Sir Thomas More, who wrote that in *Utopia*

> to despise a man for a disfigurement or the loss of a limb is counted as base and disfiguring, not to the man who is laughed at but to him who laughs, for foolishly upbraiding a man with something as if it were a fault which he was powerless to avoid.[44]

Laughing at deformity was cruel, and mere deformity should perhaps not brand anyone a fool. But without deformity, no one could be counted a true fool.

In *The Covrt of Ciuill Courtesie*, a conduct book translated from Italian, Simon Robson also believed that laughter was indeed cruelty, and proceeded further towards fools in his reasoning. He suggested that three groups of people were not to be scoffed at: women, those in misery, and those who were in any way deformed. People who were deformed or ugly were not responsible for their bodies' peculiarities themselves and could not remedy their situation.[45] It was, however, admissible and even advisable to jest and exchange witticisms

43 Midelfort, 1999, p. 239.

44 More, [1516-1518] 1965, p. 193.

45 Robson, 1577, p. 12f.

with women and deformed persons, if their wit was sharp enough to enjoy this. Laughing *with* the fool was honest mirth, but laughing *at* the fool signified a cruel nature. And yet, the fact that the discussion existed in the first place points towards the reality that the gaze directed at deformed features was normally conceptualised within the comic framework.

Every facial expression and every small defect could be significant in inferring the inner being from outward signs. Almost any feature could be seen as a symptom of folly if it deviated enough from ideals of beauty. The determining factor was incongruity: when facial features did not seem to belong together, or the fool was excessively fat or thin, the whole appearance turned laughable. An important factor in these foolish bodies was their inconstancy: they were always moving and changing. If a normal person's face was supposed to be calm and orderly, the fool's was disordered and uncontrolled. In all conduct books readers were warned to keep their eyes from wavering or only looking down, or being too open and staring, since all these would betoken want of wit and show them to be "blockheads" and "shameless fools".[46] According to Erasmus, "to wrie the nose is the propertie of scoffers and naturall fooles", and he also warned against puffing up one's cheeks or gaping with one's mouth open, for "that is a token of ydiot fooles".[47] Where normal people kept their clothes on and farted in private, fools displayed their nakedness in public and made their bodily movements a matter for coarse comedy. It is noteworthy that so many conduct writers not only condemned excessive facial expressions and bad behaviour, but did so by referring to fools and idiots. Uncontrolled faces and shameful actions signified childishness, foolishness and bad manners in anyone, but they were also, more specifically, among the best distinguishing marks of the fool, whether natural or artificial.

But in the end, all fools looked different, and had many other qualities besides their foolishness. It would have been difficult to apply a standard table of meanings to reading their mental capabilities, or indeed their laughableness. Despite the wealth of detail, literary descriptions of fools often do not sound all that authentic – they tend to conform to a type and exaggerate all in the same way. Perhaps, then, it would be more helpful to turn the question around: what we can read in these descriptions is not so much individual characteristics of specific fools, but a practical aesthetics of the early modern gaze. Descriptions

46 Pouting one's lips as if willing to kiss a horse, shaking one's legs, stomping and toying with one's feet, and playing apish tricks with one's hands and fingers were also clear signs of folly. Erasmus, 1532, sig. A3^{r}; Rhodes, 1577, p. 74, 80; Fiston, 1595, sig. C3^{r}, B5^{v}; Weste, 1619, p. 293.

47 Erasmus, 1532, sig. A4^{v}-A5^{r}.

of fools' physical features represent a kind of applied physiognomy, a "body skill" (a term snatched from Thomas Hill) that was appropriated when looking at and assessing fools. This was a gaze that, when directed at other people's bodies, was expressly looking for features that would help to interpret the object as foolish. Having confirmed that interpretation, the repertoire of body skills would also help determine an appropriate reaction in the face of those features, and that would quite possibly be laughter. One looked at fools in a special way. The gaze that was looking for folly operated conceptually within a flexible, loosely physiognomical system, but it was also dependent on the epistemic underpinnings of laughter and folly, with its emphasis on incongruity and paradox.

From a writer's point of view, then, in order to describe a fool you needed to list several foolish features, to make clear that folly was indeed embodied through this entirety of signs. In descriptions of fools' bodies, early modern writers tried to evoke the progress of the gaze as it glided over – or indeed halted at – the features of the gazed-at object. Where early modern descriptions of beauty, particularly the poetic blazon, glide effortlessly along the female body from top to bottom, fool descriptions try to follow the same progression but seem to get stuck at almost every feature, noting a large nose and laughing, stopping at squinting eyes and giggling, chuckling at hanging lips. The gaze needed to be aware of the laughable ugly whole, but it paid separate attention to every protruding part – and it is interesting that laughable parts were indeed often protruding. And where beauty excited love in the viewer by the sheer force of aesthetic perception, ugliness brought about aversion but also invited a comic interpretation. Folly entailed a visual technique, a technique of the grotesque. Looking at an object by tearing it apart into small elements, each as grotesque as the whole, made the object lose some of its humanity, but also gain an essentially visual comic quality.

To summarise, then, one needed at least three kinds of "visual literacy" in order to recognise someone as a fool. First, one needed physiognomically inflected knowledge about the facial and bodily features that signified stupidity, simplicity, unreason and folly, and one needed to be able to link 'deformed' outward features with deformity of mind and reason. Secondly, one needed to know that this deformity could just as well be interpreted in the discursive field of ugliness. In Renaissance aesthetic thinking, beauty was a product of proportion and harmony of all features; ugliness, in turn, was about deviation and deformity, disharmony and lack of proportion.[48] The belief that only proportionate parts

48 Early modern beauty theory, however, generally tends to describe female bodies, whereas physiognomy concentrates, without actually saying so, on the male

could form an ideal beautiful whole was very common in Renaissance discourses, and it is this belief that links together physiognomical and aesthetic value judgements. Deformity, on the other hand, was linked with vice and lack of ability on some field of human activity. Thirdly, one needed to know the basics of laughter and humour – not necessarily in theory, although the theory helps us historians to link these phenomena. Laughter was produced by the perception of something deformed, ugly and surprising. Fools' laughable features were mostly harmless: they did not signify serious vices, because fools were without full understanding. Instead, they encouraged a comic interpretation. In order to really get the joke, then, a fool's observer needed to have the visual literacy, the mastery of body skills that allowed him or her to link the epistemological fields of aesthetics, comedy, and practical physiognomy to the more material fields of foolish clothing and foolish artefacts.

Applying these skills in practice meant engaging in a process of interpretation, in cultural meaning-making that despite its complexity functioned very much on the level of ordinary people and everyday life, even though the best minds of the age also found it useful. Making sense of fools was indeed a cultural practice, and the visual elements described above were only one segment of how and what the fool signified. That so much of it is now difficult to fathom only testifies to how intricate these webs of meaning were when they were in more active use.

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Sixteenth-Century Classifications of Passions and their Historical Contexts

Alessandro Arcangeli

How did men and women from the past make sense of their emotional life, and of the parallel experience they had of that of their neighbours? Cultural history has promised to provide tools that may allow us to adventure into fields of enquiry that would have appeared at best shaky, if at all interesting, only a few generations ago. Medievalists have played a prominent role in recent research. Take, for instance, Barbara Rosenwein's influential category of "emotional community", which defines groups sharing particular norms of emotional valuation and expression, with the idea that different communities coexisted, and some were dominant at times. Or Damien Boquet's work on *L'ordre de l'affect au Moyen Âge*, and the use of lexicology at the service of a historical anthropology he brings in his analysis of twelfth-century mystics.[1] Perhaps there is still scope for enriching our acquaintance with the sixteenth-century scene, a period whose religious, political and military turbulence cannot have left the consciousness of its protagonists, victims and witnesses unmarked. The present essay is intended as a small contribution in that direction – more in the register of the report from work in progress than in that of accomplished research.

In 1562 Pietro Perna, the well-known Dominican friar from Tuscany who had converted into Protestantism and fled to Basel where he established a flourishing activity as a publisher and bookseller, printed an octavo treatise in three books "on the restraint of the passions of the mind through moral philosophy and the medical art" (*De compescendis animi affectibus, per moralem philosophiam et medendi artem*).[2] It was the work of Luigi Luigini, a contemporary

1 Rosenwein, 2006; Boquet, 2005. Among recent surveys of the field and its potentials see Rosenwein, 2012.

2 Cf. Perini, 2002.

physician from the north-eastern Italian region of Friuli, and was dedicated to another Italian physician, Giovanni Antonio Sicco, by addressing him as *optimus medicus* perhaps somehow playfully, considering that the latter was the author of a treatise *De optimo medico*. Although passions were a frequent topic of medical and philosophical discussion, during the sixteenth century as in many other times, dedicated tracts, even if of limited size, appeared less frequently: we may therefore take advantage of this particular one for a glance on the way the subject matter could be approached and assessed at the time of publication.[3]

While the second and third book dealt, respectively, with a survey of the most significant among the individual passions and a guidance on how best to control them, the first may offer matter more directly relevant for our reflection today since it contains a more general assessment of the subject. The author starts with an introduction to such topics as the tripartition of the soul and the relationship between soul and body, which he describes partly as the ground of an agreement between Plato and Aristotle, partly by recalling their nuances, as well as the position he finds in the medical writings of Galen. The specific topic of passions is subsequently introduced by positioning the author's disciplinary perspectives and aims: he is going to discuss them as philosophers do for spiritual improvement (*ad animi perfectionem*) and physicians for the sake of health (*ad corporis sanitatem*), well aware that he is excluding at least a third viewpoint, that of rhetoricians, that is, the field of emotional persuasion.

When dealing with the definition, genres and parts, as well as the origin of passions, Luigini offers his reader a synthetic presentation of the two main contending positions the classical philosophical tradition had to offer on the point: Stoicism vs Aristotelianism. Although the vocabulary and mental maps were not static, the above mentioned schools still provided the most popular taxonomies and value systems by which early modern writers made sense of the feelings and psychological conditions of individuals and – particularly within the context of a religious mode of writing – suggested paths to a good life. According to a simplified scheme that was nevertheless popular at the time, Stoics, on one hand, regarded passions as always negative and in need of eradication; they listed four as key ones, resulting from the intersection of two variables: they could refer to good or to evil, and be applied to the present or the future. On the other hand, Peripatetics regarded passions as per se neutral and worthy to be experienced in moderation; in particular, the Thomistic series (totalling eleven), the object of systematic analysis within Aquinas's *Prima secundae*, expanded the Stoic criteria of classification by adding to present and future a third dimension – that

3 Luisinus, 1713; Siccus, 1551.

of passions not yet attained or suffered – and included a third set of variables: whether, in a fundamentally Platonic psychology, passions developed within the concupiscible or else the irascible power of the soul.[4]

Luigini is conscious of the fact that the conflicting orientations affect the very definition of the object of enquiry and, following Galen, initially adheres to a Stoic assessment of passion (*pathos* or *affectus*) as "an unnatural motion of the soul against the rightful reason" (*aversa a recta ratione contra naturam animi commotio*, p. 13f.). His description of such a view of the human psyche is followed by a presentation of the Peripatetic stance, according to which passions occupy a middle ground between virtues and vices, and therefore do not per se deserve either praise or blame. Indeed, in the end the Italian physician finds the Aristotelian tenet, that passions are inborn to humans and cannot be totally eradicated, as the most convincing one. The final chapter sets up the usefulness of a discussion of the subject and the way it will be achieved over the following books. Luigini points out that the soul needs healing as much as the body, and promises his reader to provide instructions for both prevention and cure.

In his famous treatise *Les passions de l'âme*, published by Elzevier in Paris and Amsterdam at the end of 1649, just a couple of months ahead of the author's death, René Descartes boldly stated that nothing useful had been written before him on the subject and that he was breaking brand new ground (as the opening sentence puts it, "Il n'y a rien en quoi paraisse mieux combien les sciences que nous avons des anciens sont défectueuses qu'en ce qu'ils ont écrit des passions"; a statement followed, later on within the same initial article, by the author's justification of his choice and style: "C'est pourquoi je serai obligé d'écrire ici en même façon que si je traitais d'une matière que jamais personne avant moi n'eût touchée"). In Descartes's *Passions* critics have identified two interweaving discourses, one actually new, which turns page in the literature on the subject by subtracting it from the domain of the moral discourse and changing it into some kind of physics (a position to which Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza also adhered); another one, however, resting rather inertially on tradition, and the various lines of teaching and problematization of the world of passions Descartes himself would have heard and read over the years in his own philosophical formation.[5]

4 Cf. Levi, 1964, p. 7-39; James, 1997, p. 29-64; Konstan, 2006; Rosenwein, 2006, p. 32-56; Miner, 2009. Cf. also the Italian translation of Aquinas Tommaso d'Aquino, 2002.

5 Descartes, 1990, p. 37f. Cf. – within a vast body of literature – Descartes, 1988; (for a political reading) Kahn, 2006.

Carole Talon-Hugon speaks of a *doxa* shared by French writing on the passions during the first half of the seventeenth century – a very productive period and cultural environment in the literature on the subject. Together with Stoicism and Aritotelianism (which we have already found selected by Luigini as most representative), she includes Galenism and Augustinianism among the most influential orientations. What she finds, however, is that, despite their differences, followers of all four schools shared fundamental traits of their approach. Such consensus comprised the definition of the nature of the passions, conceived as motions of the sensitive soul, by which we attempt to move closer to a good or avoid some harm. It regarded the individual body's complexion as predisposing but not decisive in causation. It warned about the damage many passions tend to provoke, but also recognized the benefits that may derive from others, ultimately prescribing a good use of them. Talon-Hugon registers a unity that went even beyond the doctrinal contents of the pre-Cartesian literature and included rhetorical devices, from the use of a stock of comparisons and metaphors to the exhibition of meaningful historical, mythological and biblical examples. A fortiori, this is a picture that casts significant light on the European panorama we find in the preceding century, the sixteenth.[6]

In considering the literature in circulation at the time that may have influenced the way in which passions were conceptualized and people made sense of them, we should remember that the topic was touched upon, often systematically, by texts written in a variety of modes and literary genres – including, for instance, instructions for religious edification and spiritual guidance. To give an example of their popularity, scholars recall among them Lorenzo Scupoli's *Il combattimento spirituale*, a work first published in Venice in 1589, of whose editions and translations the Bibliothèque nationale de France alone holds more than 300 copies.

Talon-Hugon's comments on the rhetoric of seventeenth-century treatises may work as a useful reminder of the relevance of language: thus, a brief excursion on that matter may not be inappropriate here. Any social history of language tends to investigate "who speaks what language to whom and when". We can take for granted that this is not a superficial, interchangeable clothing, but a form that has, with its content, a relationship of mutual influence. For a Renaissance writer and/or publisher, the choice between Latin or vernacular depended on a range of variables: from the subject matter and literary genre, to

6 Talon-Hugon, 2002. Donini, 2008, p. 196 points out that, in his treatise *The Faculties of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body*, "Galen goes so far as to affirm that soul and its parts actually *are* the temperaments of organs in which they reside".

the cultural, social and national identity of the expected audience. We should not forget that this was also a changing world, with the use of the vernaculars on the increase. The market saw a development of the literature written by and for medical laymen. This is not an extraordinary novelty, if we consider that the Hippocratic tradition regarded hygiene as a knowledge and practice that would allow the public to keep in health and hopefully not need professional help at all. It would be simplistic, though, to imagine that physicians wrote in Latin, whereas amateur medical writers did so in the vernacular. There is the opposite case of humanists who may have preferred to adopt classical languages. And physicians increasingly recurred to the vernacular, or wrote different types of texts in different languages, or else published the same work in more than one language for diverse audiences. The field I am referring to here adds the further complication that it was not a monopoly of medicine; on the contrary, it was an area in which a multiplicity of disciplines and forms of knowledge had something to say.[7] An interesting example for our purpose is offered by the work of the Protestant and Paracelsian physician Joseph du Chesne (Quercetanus), published in the same year (1606) both in Latin as *Diaeteticon polyhistoricon* and in French as *Le pourtraict de santé*.[8] In comparison with books of similar scope, passions occupy a prominent part in it, both for their position (unconventionally, the first matter to be discussed), and for their rank in the whole textual structure: while all the remaining prophylactic instructions are given under two subsequent sections – "Quel est l'office de tout vrai medecin" and "Du régime qui se doit tenir en général, pour la conservation de la santé" – the first part of the volume deals entirely "Des perturbations de l'esprit." Furthermore, in the epistle to the reader the author informs us that the two versions are slightly different: the Latin one is more synthetic, the French richer in examples. It is precisely in the section on passions that they diverge the most. Presumably, the moral implications of that part recommended for it a frequent recourse to the rhetoric of the example: the lay readership of the French version would have looked it up for advice, and found numerous *histoires notables* clearly marked on the margins.

After an initial general chapter *Des perturbations de l'esprit*, his selection, in the list of the following headlines, singles out eight of them: *ambition*, *avarice*, *envie*, *amour voluptueux*, *colère*, *joie*, *crainte* and *tristesse*. The series borders on an enumeration of vices and presents multiple discrepancies with the standard Thomistic one, for instance by failing to include hatred. It seems, however,

7 Cf. Carlino/Jeanneret, 2009; Nicoud, 2010.

8 Du Chesne, 1606; Quercetanus, 1606. Cf. Giacomotto-Charra, 2010; Giacomotto-Charra, 2011; Giacomotto-Charra, forthcoming.

to have had a medical tradition: when Giovanni Lodovico Bertaldi, court physician of the dukes of Savoy, published in 1618 (and again in 1620) his annotations to the *Regole della sanità e della natura de' cibi* [Rules for health and on the nature of foodstuff] circulated under the authorship of the early 15th-century Sienese Ugo Benzi, and now attributed to Benedetto Reguardati of Nurcia (who originally wrote them in Latin),[9] his headlines were exactly the same, with a final addition of drunkenness and of the abuse in the smoking of tobacco. From the beginning, Du Chesne suggests that the wealth of classical writing on the subject gives only a false impression of exhaustiveness, because Christianity has posed the question on completely different grounds; the Platonic analysis and imagery of the parts of the soul is the main building block of the classical tradition he partially saves from damnation. The vulgate according to which the Stoics strived for a complete eradication of the emotions obtains its fairly standard refutation here too. The recommended prevention and cure of troubles of the psyche is compared, in a simile, to the work of a good gardener that clears the terrain of weeds. Unless I am mistaken, Du Chesne adopts, though not systematically, a tripartite anthropology according to which, while all passions seriously affect the body, the first elements of his list (ambition, avarice and envy) primarily pertain to the soul (thus to a discourse he is aware of being ultimately philosophico-theological, rather than medical), the others to the spirit.

If *Le pourtraict de la santé* was dedicated to the Prince of Condé and Du Chesne was consultant and *médecin ordinaire* of the King of France Henry IV, his predecessor, Henry III, had been made homage of another significant moral treatise, one of a more encyclopaedic nature, *L'Académie françoise* by Pierre de La Primaudaye (once again a Huguenot), a work that (to continue on the topic of translations), after its French original, over the last quarter of the sixteenth century also appeared in English, Italian and German. Andrea Bruschi has set *L'Académie* in the context of a series of imagined academies, by which the French aristocracy reconsidered the education of its young generations in the context of the Wars of religion. The fictional context is offered by a conversation between four pupils of the proposed school. La Primaudaye also gives passions a prominent position by including, within the first *journée*, a discussion "des maladies et passions du corps et de l'âme, et de la tranquillité d'icelle", in which his characters lament, among other points, that "l'homme a plus souci du corps que de l'âme"; and distributes individual states of mind among the topics of the following days. Scholars have now taken interest in examining how readers

9 Benzo, 1618. Cfr. Cotton, 1968; Nicoud, 2001.

used such comprehensive sources of information, what marginal notes can tell us of the facts and instruction one looked for and found in them.[10]

Apart (possibly) from the remarks on language, or the reference to the readers' response to La Primaudaye, so far I have offered a narrative one could fairly easily conflate with a rather traditional intellectual history. I am aware it needs to be nuanced and contrasted with sources other that theoretical and prescriptive, in order to get more of a grip of what people actually felt, or rather, to put it in terms of a less literal realism, how they negotiated their life experience with their set of concepts and beliefs, and what feedback effect the former had on the latter. Although many other social groups and types of sources would deserve full attention, we do not need to look much further than the same intellectuals who left us academic treatment of the subject to also find significant autobiographical documentation.

Girolamo Cardano offers a particularly intriguing example. Guido Giglioni has studied his positions on passions and their treatment and found, in seven different works of his, as many different lists of passions identified as the main ones. Still, three seem to be usually prominent in his analysis, that is grief, fear and anger. Since Cardano is also for us a precious source as an autobiographer, it may be worth mentioning that he found a constitutional tendency to anger as rooted in his own family.[11]

Anger – the single passion on which the sixteenth century produced the richest literature – is also the topic of the *Remedium ferendarum iniuriarum sive de compescenda ira* by the physician Girolamo Donzellini, published in Venice in 1586 no more than two years before the author was drowned by the Venetian Inquisition as a relapsed heretic. Donzellini had been already subject to trials, and in the course of them had admitted Protestant convictions and associations in Switzerland. In the end, the Inquisition seems to have had its revenge on him on the basis of his repeated possession of prohibited books. Thus, the *Remedium* bears witness to the spirituality and the anthropology of a significant member of the heterodox milieu of sixteenth-century European physicians. The dedicatory epistle of the lengthy treatise refers to the *multos turbulentos dies* he had recently gone through, a life experience that charges the choice of the topic with profound personal resonance: this was a man who, at the time of writing, had suffered more than his share of injuries, certainly enough to put his anger management to serious test. An interesting point for us would be to assess to what extent and in which direction his religious creed (as well as, I was hinting, his

10 La Primaudaye, 1591. Cf. Bruschi, 2007; Prescott, 2000.

11 Giglioni, 2006.

life experience) may have oriented his position in matter of passions and anger in particular. From the onset of his book, Donzellini states that nothing is more harmful for humans than anger and the desire for vengeance: under their impulse, humans behave like beasts. As well as degrading us to a less than human condition, anger – he continues – harms our health, and it does so more comprehensively than any other passion. It also leads to commit a variety of crimes, from murder to war to the despising of God.

Donzellini's standing requires him to position himself with respect to Aristotelian and Stoic teaching. He agrees with Peripatetics that wrath is natural, but not with their lenient treatment of it as unavoidable and not seriously detrimental. Another target of his criticism is, later on, the Aristotelian concept of the golden mean. It is not true that all extreme affects are vices and all moderate affects are virtues: some noble virtues are extreme, while there is no particular praise attached to moderate vice. On the other hand, following the Church father Lactantius, Donzellini detaches himself from the Stoic tenet too: as still water is unhealthy, so a soul completely deprived of disturbances would turn into a state of immobility, a mental stupor deprived of life. Donzellini agrees with Lactantius also on the idea that who repays a wrong is no better than the person who caused the original injury. He takes this further, by questioning the notion that force is legitimate in self-defence (thus opening a section of his treatise which deals with issues of justice). He discusses the virtues developed in bearing injuries and resisting temptation to vengeance in terms that repeatedly suggest an autobiographical background: he refers to people unjustly prosecuted, imprisoned and killed, as well as to the daily experience of the good suffering, while the evil seem to prosper. This leads him to the need to explain why it should be so. One of his explanations is that God wants us to experience trouble in order to make us fully appreciate, in due course, the privileges of eternal life.[12]

These were only a couple of examples in which self-inspection seems to have played a significant role, or at least – to keep on a safer ground – a discourse involving elements of self-description and analysis is adopted. It should not come as a great surprise that egodocuments as a type of source may offer particularly rich material on the matter of emotions as a topic, nor that historians with a special competence on the former have developed a characteristic interest in the latter. Donzellini also openly speaks of his own time generally, and so did other contemporary writers, whose concern for the subject may derive from the observation of current affairs – politics, religion and public morality – and/or from a preoccupation for the self-control of patrons and dedicatees, as their

12 Donzellinus, 1586; Redmond, 1984, p. 198-232.

works tend to reveal in their paratexts. The full consideration of such liminal texts and of their contexts will give a study of the treatises in question a depth and a historical meaning they may otherwise lack.

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Medicine

Making Sense of Illness

Gendering Early Modern Medicine

Marjo Kaartinen

Early modern medical understanding was very much shared by patients and healers. In Galenic thought, which dominated medical theory well into the seventeenth century and everyday thinking significantly longer, illness was construed as an individual process. Health and illness varied according to the balance of the individual's body and its four fluids: yellow and black bile, blood and phlegm. The balance of these was dependent on the so-called non-naturals. We would call these for example environmental factors: non-naturals included what one ate and drank as well as sleep, air, emotions, and evacuations. Depending on one's constitution, one's diet for example should be balanced to the bodily fluids so that a choleric person, with a high amount of yellow bile which was hot and dry, would not go out of balance by consuming food which would increase too much coldness and wetness. Similarly, too much black bile, melancholy, could cause coagulations in anyone and the coagulations in their turn could become cysts. If things were terribly out of balance, these lumps could turn cancerous. This happened much too often.

This chapter deals with early modern cancer, and the ways in which early modern people tried to make sense of the illness and understand what had brought the disease upon a certain individual. Making sense of this process was important for the physician and the patient alike when trying to find a proper cure. The anamnesis, the history of each individual case, was an extremely important part of diagnosis, and was very much about making sense of an individual's illness. Making sense of the patient's history, in our terms both medical and otherwise, gave important clues as to how to cure an illness, and as to how to make a prognosis. This chapter discusses the cultural practices of making sense of breast cancer – often considered cancer *per se* – and the ways in which making sense of lumps in the breast was a cultural practice. The following discussion is based on a larger

study on the history of breast cancer,[1] and builds on an extensive English source material, from medical treatises and self-help books to doctors' casebooks both printed and manuscript, and from patients' letters to recipe collections.

The Birth of Cancer

Late medieval and early modern periods saw many explanations for the birth of breast cancer; Galenic theory allowed for many explanations, as did the chemically oriented theories from the seventeenth century onwards. Whether the disease was generated by the Galenic imbalance of humors or by the cancer virus of the eighteenth-century theorists, the initial cause of the formation of a tumor naturally perplexed everyone. As the cell was "discovered" in the nineteenth century, early modern people had to rely much on the bodily signs given.

Cancer was typically understood to originate from illness such as milk abscesses, gender, age, emotions, and of mechanical causes such as being hit in the breast, or stays. It was very important for the diagnosis to know what the patient's past revealed. Therefore, the importance of the patient's own history was essential when making the diagnosis – and similarly, it was important to read illnesses in a gendered way because gender had much to say in the formation of illness. For instance, female menopause, or in the early modern terminology the cessation of the menses, was important in making sense of it. Sometimes female nature, being too vulnerable to great emotions, was considered a cause for the bodily humors to go awry.

An essential part of making sense of illness was listening to the patients' own stories and their interpretations of their histories, both physical and mental. Inspired by the foucauldian tradition,[2] it has been argued that the eighteenth century marked a significant change for the worse in the role of the patient in the course of treatment. This would mean that the professionalization of medicine accelerated the speed in which the patients lost their role in the making of decisions concerning treatments. In general, the patient had significantly less say in things in general from thereon. But before this process the patient's memory was essential in determining the outcome of the disease, making a prognosis and also in deciding what was the correct course of treatment for the individual. The progress Foucault described was slow, and it can be seen that at least the English physicians still had the early modern bedside manner by the turn of the

1 Kaartinen, 2013a.

2 Foucault, [1963]1994.

nineteenth century. In practice, they put great weight on their patient's stories and memories.

The Role of Gender

When one looks at the ways in which cancer and its birth was explained, gender rises as a central explanation. First, the nature of cancer in itself was very directly gender related, and one's sex was an explanation for getting cancer. In ancient, Galenic theory cancer was often considered largely a women's disease, one which affected their feminine parts, their breasts and womb.[3] Furthermore, it was thought that a cured breast cancer could re-emerge as another cancer, this time in the womb.[4] The idea lived on: John Ball for example attested in 1770 in his *The Female Physician*, intended for the female readership that cancer was mostly a women's ailment:

> Though this disorder is common to both sexes, yet as it generally attacks women, and more especially their breasts (sometimes the womb, &c.) I have thought proper to consider it in this place as their distemper, though not altogether peculiar to them.[5]

As Ball notes, cancer was clearly observed to be a menace to both sexes but it was women who were especially susceptible to cancer. And, in Galenic terms, it was clear that certain types of women were especially so:

> such as haue large fleshy breastes, or too hoate a liuer, or a weake spleane whiche is not able to drawe those melancholicke dregs, or whiche want the usuall course or their flowers or Emroodes: they (I say) are subiect hereunto, which have either all or some of these thinges.[6]

3 See also Shorter, [1991]1997, p. 243.

4 Charleton, 1659, p. 31.

5 Ball, 1770, p. 85. Benjamin Bell also considered women's breasts as the most frequent seat of cancer. Bell, 1796, p. 169. He too thought this was due to their glandulous nature. Ibid., p. 170.

6 Guillemeau, 1587, p. 42. See also Wecker, 1585, p. 106; Guillemeau, 1622, sig. O1v-O2; Brookes, 1754, p. 121.

This was the truth perceived in the late medieval world and in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth century Nicholas Culpeper's *Directory* more or less only reiterated this ancient idea:

> The Breasts are spongy and loose, and therefore Cancers breed often there, but the Cause is from the Womb, when they are of a hot and dry constitution with burnt blood, and when the terms stop, and then the humors flie to the Womb and make a Cancer, either with, or without a tumour aforegoing.[7]

These ideas lingered on. In 1793 George Wallis wrote that

> for women who have lived in that state [celibacy], as well as arriving at the period of menstrual cessation, are most liable to this complaint – next to those, mothers who have not sucked – afterwards, those who are past child-bearing – and those who are least subject to the disorder, are men, and women who have raised their own children by the breast.[8]

Even though it was recognized that both women and men had breasts, female breasts were considered more prone to cancer because of their special characteristics, such as the greater number of "Glandules" in their breasts.[9] It must be noted however that male breast cancer was considered a fact, but rare. The finding that women were considered more prone to illness than men did not improve

7 Culpeper, 1676, p. 213. Mary Fissell posits that there was in the early seventeenth century a change in the nature of the perception of the womb in vernacular popular press: it now became negative, a source of illness. See Fissell, 2004, p. 53. It is plausible that there was now more emphasis on the negative effects and nature of the womb but when it comes to medical ideas, these had of course been a strong current in earlier ideology as well.

8 Wallis, 1793, p. 761.

9 Today, the case against the one-sex model of Thomas Lacqueur is strong; most scholars agree that the differences between male and female patients were considered significant enough to differentiate for example treatment. See Churchill, 2005, passim. On the two-sex model in Antiquity, see King, 1998, p. 7, 11f., 27, who argues for the multitude of understanding of the sexes in the Antiquity. Many authors reiterated that of all its seats, cancer was most frequent in the breasts of women. Gooch, 1792, p. 178.

women's chances. Their weakness was mainly explained to have been caused by their bodies; the womb was a particular danger.[10]

It was indeed commonplace that menopause was a risk factor but a similar – and related – danger was ageing.[11] In the early nineteenth century, Richard Carmichael explained that "every writer" since antiquity had noted that old age and barrenness indeed made people, meaning women, subject to cancer.[12] As said earlier, the parts affected with cancer were considered naturally low in vitality which the circulation of blood would have brought to them; the parts further lost their vitality if they were no longer in use. Therefore, the breasts, uteruses and ovaries of women and the testes of ageing men were most prone to cancer.[13] William Buchan offered his readers a clear timeline: passing the limit of 45 years of age was the greatest risk factor – the other was "indolent sedentary life", a lifestyle of which women often were accused.[14]

Breast cancer was especially gendered when mechanical causes for cancer were suspected. When explanations were sought for the birth of a tumor, mechanical irritation was a popular and sensible explanation.[15] Both doctors and patients were quite unanimous on mechanical causes being a possible cause of a cancer, and patients frequently were able to pinpoint the history of their tumors to some accident or other such cause. Not many doubted this, but one of these few doubters was Henry Fearon. He was a surgeon who recognized the danger outward injuries caused, but he was not convinced that a blow alone would cause cancer. He rather thought that perhaps "a natural predisposition" was needed for the cancer to grow from an injury, and that women might have that natural predisposition.[16] In addition to Fearon, the anonymous author noted in *An Account* that a cancer originating from a blow or some other external

10 Smith, 1976, p. 97f.; Tissot, 1766, p. 41.

11 De Moulin, [1983]1989, p. 37. The wealth of my source material supports this notion. Authors from to Heister support this idea even though they did admit that cancer could trouble younger people as well. Heister, 1743, p. 229.

12 Carmichael, 1806, p. 59; Nutton, 2004, p. 23.

13 Carmichael, 1806, p. 59.

14 Buchan, 1772, p. 600; Pearson, 1788, p. 209.

15 De Moulin, [1983]1989, p. 34.

16 Fearon, 1790, p. 26f., 30f. Perhaps such natural disposition was the cause of the death from breast cancer of Margaret Banyard (née Cutting) from Wickham Market in Suffolk. She had lost apparently most of her tongue when she was four years old to what was considered cancer. She had retained her ability to speak but was considered such a curiosity that she had been as a young woman examined by the

cause might be less threatening than a cancer born out of inward causes. This was especially so if cancer was surgically removed at an early stage.[17] As said, these views are exceptions to the rule, since most believed outward explanations were perfectly valid.

Violence and Accidents

As is clear by now, a very common explanation for a cancer in the breast was a blow received to the breast.[18] Someone or something had hit the breast. The blow had often been received years earlier but was vividly remembered when the breast began to show worrying signs. Sometimes these signs appeared immediately, at times there was a hardness, a lump in the breast for years which then suddenly became painful.[19]

Let us take a look at some very typical examples of patient accounts. Among John Burrows's patients, there was a poor woman, Mary Jones, who in 1773, Burrows noted, "informed me that the cancer was occasioned by a blow she had received some years before."[20] William Rowley treated a lady, near 40, who "had for a considerable time a large hardened swelling in the right breast, supposed originally to have arisen from an accidental blow; it had not been much noticed for some years, as it had not occasioned pain."[21] John Ewart's patient Susan Alford had received a blow to her breast fourteen years before she came to be his patient, and had suffered from different troubles her breast gave her ever since.[22]

John Hunter's casebooks included a case of a 46 or 47-year-old Mrs B. who died of breast cancer interpreted to have grown from "a hurt" received to her breast twenty-four years earlier.[23] Indeed, the time-span between injury and tu-

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Royal Society. She died in August 1773 when she was 53 years old. Morley, 1778, p. 67-69.

17 Anon., 1670, p. 26.

18 Dr Willis considered even a minor blow enough to cause the nervous liquid to form a tumor in women's breasts. Willis, 1684, p. 202.

19 See for example Norford, 1753, p. 66-67.

20 Burrows, 1783, p. 99.

21 Rowley, 1779, p. 10. Rowley does not give the patient's name in his later treatise.

22 Ewart, 1794, p. 13f.

23 Hunter, 1993, p.10.

mor often was very extensive.[24] In this case it seems to have been relatively effortless to conclude that cancer originated in the hurt, since the breast had soon developed a hardness and pain had followed her ever since, the tumor growing slowly.[25] When Hunter amputated her breast, it was realized that the cancer had spread more than expected, and he thought this was due to the long time the tumor had been allowed to stay in place. It took him near an hour to remove the cancerous growth. This is an extremely long time since twenty minutes was considered the absolute maximum a surgical operation should last – and yet he finished ill satisfied: he had not been able to remove everything, he felt, even though he was quite thorough, and went deep into the pectoral muscle and far towards the armpit. Soon after, he mentioned, there appeared new swellings, and the patient eventually died.[26]

Mrs C., who was 28 years old, and who became James Nooth's patient and had surgery, had for years suffered from pains caused by a lump in her breast. In Nooth's words, she said it had begun, once again, with "an injury she had received on her breast."[27] Similarly, James Gregory's patient, Betty Anton, considered that she got her breast problems from a "[b]low she had rec[eived] on ye Mamma."[28]

One of the German surgeon Störck's patients, a fifty-five-year-old woman, was diagnosed with cancer which she imputed to her husband. He "about a year and an half before, had prest too forcibly on this breast, in bed."[29] It is impossible to say whether she blamed her husband for her cancer, but the consequences she implied, were severe: she died when her cancer was very advanced.[30]

There were of course countless ways of receiving an injury on one's breast, and one should not assume they were all consequences of deliberate violence against these women, and not all were received because they were women. This was not automatically gendered (if one does not consider that female breasts were considered different). Injuries could be caused by accidents, as in the above mentioned Rowley's case or in the case of a twenty-year old patient of Fearon's

24 In popular medicine, Fissell also mentions the historical perception of a certain illness often had very long time spans. Fissell, 1991, 33f.

25 Hunter, 1993, p. 10.

26 Ibid., p. 11.

27 Nooth, 1806, p. 69.

28 Gregory, Case Book 1789, Wellcome MS 5939, f. 82.

29 Störck, 1762, p. 27.

30 Ibid., p. 33.

who was hit by the handle of a pump.[31] Mrs. Shaw had an accident when she was getting out of a carriage,[32] and a German noble lady, a patient of Störck's, when hunting "pushed a gun too forcibly against her right breast."[33]

Unfortunately however, there is evidence that many of these blows were indeed violent attacks.[34] A Gentlewoman, of whom an anonymous writer wrote about in 1670, was very unlucky. According to this writer, this Gentlewoman's husband had had a "Drunken Bout" after which he got fever, and delirious from that, hit her breast. The breast "cancerated" and she died soon.[35] Norford reported of a case in which a 48-year-old woman "was put violently in Wrath", and was at the same time beaten by her husband's fists. He hit her face and left breast, and she was left with dangerously swollen left eye and a tumor in the breast. This patient seems to have survived this ordeal with a year's course of physic.[36] It sounds sad that there were, and I quote an anonymous author, "instances without number, of Women that have had them [cancers] by Blows, Bruises, &c."[37]

On the other side of the explanations were those that could not be linked to any injury, accidental or otherwise. Mrs Wood reported in her account of her disease:

> When I was about age of twelve, I recollect having had a gathering in the same breast, which broke, and discharged; but never recollect having had a blow or hurt since, that could have caused its present distressing state, and am inclined to think it came in a natural way, as the other side does not seem quite free from the same complaint, and in short, at this time is more subject to pain than the right side was, for three years after the lump was first discovered.[38]

31 Fearon, 1790, p. 197. After consulting several surgeons, she agreed to an operation, and according to Fearon was well ever since.

32 Guy, 1777, p. 37.

33 Störck, 1762, p. 26. Other accidents: Guy, 1759, p. 88f.; riding accidents: Guy, 1762, p. 64f.; 168. Sudden return of a gate: Guy, 1762, p. 80f. See also Nisbet, 1795, p. 184f.

34 Nooth, 1806, p. 69.

35 Anon., 1670, p. 22.

36 Norford, 1753, p. 38f.

37 Anon., 1670, p. 22.

38 Young, 1815, p. 65.

Mrs Wood's comment was typically quite learned: she was aware that there were two ways one could get cancer: through outside stimulus or through inward cause, which at that time probably still for her meant the disorder of the humors.

In theory, but probably quite rarely in real life as there are so few sources saying this, breast cancer could be born from the breasts being treated too much for sexual pleasure. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially the French seem to have been convinced that breast cancer would follow the sexual pleasures women received through their breasts. The German medical thinker Friedrich Hoffman noted that women, when frolicking with their husbands, let their breasts be treated too fiercely.[39] Later the French surgeon Jean Astruc for example noticed the ease with which women let their breasts be fondled.[40]

Emotions

From ancient times it was understood that strong emotions such as sorrow, grief, or anger, could cause illnesses such as cancer; strong emotions had the force to coagulate humors, and thus form lumps.[41] Again, women were considered especially prone to too strong emotions.

Wiseman accounted emotions as the cause of the death of at least one of his patients. Her breast remained much the same for a considerable time, but when her husband died and other misfortunes followed, her menses stopped and her breast swelled. She died in half a year, having refused the knife, that is, amputation of the breast.[42] Emotions were not the sole cause of her cancer as her menses stopped as well, but nevertheless they were a great part in the causal chain Richard Wiseman considered logical.

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39 De Moulin, [1983]1989, p. 34.

40 Ibid.

41 Hippocrates, 1776, p. 38, 68; de Moulin, [1983]1989, p. 24, 37. See also Knuuttila, 2006; Alberti, 2006. Considering passions to cause diseases such as cancers is not far from the modern idea that a woman causes her breast cancer by her thoughts and actions – works too much, worries too much, suffers exceedingly from great blows of life such as divorces, deaths of relatives, and so on. Paradoxically, this psychoanalytical discourse suggests that one should be able to heal oneself by changing these psychological patterns. Laiho, 2005.

42 Wiseman, 1676/1734, p. 167.

Grief especially was a great danger.[43] A. F. M. Willich noted that grief was born out of sorrow, if it lasted for long and if it is very great, but there were also stronger forms of sorrow: distraction, despair, and agony.[44] Potentially deadly, continued grief could influence different parts of the body and lead to death through cancer or even faster, through a broken heart.[45] Women were especially prone to that.

Henry Fearon, who in general was very skeptical about all explanations given to the birth of cancer, recognized the connection between the affections of the mind and the disease, but was reserved as to state whether these affections were effects or causes.[46] One of his patients, Mrs. Elizabeth Ellis, however, thought that her cancer was caused by the excessive grief she felt when her husband died – she had found a small lump in her breast not long after his death. Fearon did not take a stand in the matter.[47] Richard Guy also admitted there was a connection between great emotions and cancer. He wrote that especially those women who met "with such Disasters in Life, as occasion much Trouble and Grief" were in special danger.[48] He exemplified his argument with two cases, a Mrs Emerson who got cancer after the death of her daughter which had afflicted her greatly, and a wife of a mate on a ship whose breast became cancerous when her husband was caught captive by the French.[49]

Emotions explained cancer only partially, however. Mrs Jennings who I am certain had lost a husband at the same time as her lump began to grow, did not in her own account blame grief as the cause of her cancer.[50] She rather thought there might be a connection between a serious milk abscesses which she had had when she had her first child "thirty-two years since".[51] Another possible cause

43 Grief had many intensities. Walter Charleton listed the following: "Discontent, Sollicitude, Vexation, Sadness, Sorrow, Affliction, Misery, Lamentation, Weeping and Howling". Charleton, 1701, p. 128.

44 Willich, 1800, p. 570. See also Nisbet, 1795, p. 186; Mendelson, 1987, p. 111; Beier, 1987, p. 236; Porter/Porter, 1988, p. 64; Eilola, 1999, p. 121; Sarjala, 2001, p. 132.

45 Willich, Lectures, 1800, p. 571f. On these dangers, see also Charleton, 1701, p. 150-152; Falconer, 1788, p. xiv, 17f.

46 Fearon, 1790, p. 31.

47 Ibid., p. 162.

48 Guy, 1759, p. 53.

49 Ibid., p. 53f.

50 Young, 1815, p. 135.

51 Ibid.

for the aggravation of her humors might have been, according to her, a very severe blow on her breast from a "butcher's boy in Leicester Fields".[52] Daniel Turner had a patient whose tumor was left alone and remained in a stone-like state for years – regardless of the fact that she had several children and a great flow of milk even though she never suckled her children (thus advised by Turner) and

> being since, thro' Misfortunes, reduced to streight Circumstances, by which there was great Reason to suspect, that thro' Melancholy, and Cares of the World coming on, she might have farther sowr'd the Juices of her Blood, and heightened the Disorder; yet, in a Course of fifteen or sixteen Years, through the various Scenes of Life, the Schirrus is still the same, hard like so many Stones, and senseless.[53]

Explanations emphasizing mental reasons for breast cancer were gaining popularity towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1815, John Rodman proposed that it was the woman's mind, always prone to hysterics, which caused breast cancer. Furthermore, their heads were weaker in every sense, anyway.[54] In eighteenth-century treatises it seems that hysterics and delicate constitutions were indeed those of noble ladies. From Richard Guy's cases, for example, it becomes manifest that those who were mentioned to be "subject to nervous and hysterical Complaints" were members of the polite society.[55]

Conclusions

Breast cancer was an illness which not only killed cruelly, it often tortured the patient for years. Because of the nature of the illness, finding a cure or even a method to ease the sufferings of the patients was extremely important even for early modern patients and practitioners alike. Great effort was put into developing new healing techniques and surgical innovations and instruments were

52 Ibid.

53 Turner, 1722, p. 73.

54 Rodman, 1815, passim.

55 This example was Miss A-y, who was the granddaughter of the "Earl of H-t". Guy, 1762, p. 73.

developed around breast cancer.[56] Cancer was a perplexing illness, and of course it remains to be so today. It is no wonder explanations for its birth were almost as many as there were theorists. Making sense of it happened on several levels. First, medical thinkers, often physicians, tried to understand the process in which a lump turned cancerous. This was explained in Galenic terms at least until the seventeenth century, and when new chemical theories gained footage, the very same question remained as open as ever. As we know, answers remained inconclusive.

Secondly, making sense happened on what I would like to call the clinical level even though the term might be slightly misleading. It was the patients who were asked to provide answers: patient histories or case histories were in fact considered so important that the eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw a huge amount of case histories in print. It was thought they would provide a solution to the perplexing nature of cancer.

The importance of the patient's own account comes out in a wealth of sources. They were asked to give a description of the way they understood their illness to have generated. The answers were knowledgeable and made sense. Early modern English people were not only obsessed with their health and illnesses, they were extremely and thoroughly aware of the multitude of ways of healing and of remedies – similarly they eagerly shopped for treatments.[57] They were acutely aware of what happened in their bodies, and were able to remember accidents and such very vividly years and years after the incident. This was extremely important since, without proper sense of the patient's history, the healer could not diagnose. Thus making sense of the illness could literally be a question of life and death.

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Making Sense of the Confinement of the Poor

A Close Reading of the Speech Given at the Opening of the General Hospital in Paris

Eivind Engebretsen

This chapter revisits an important socio-historical event, the foundation of the general hospital – l'Hôpital Général – in Paris in 1656. The event has later been associated with the famous phenomenon described by Foucault as the Great Confinement. Much has been written about this event and Foucault's analysis has been subject to considerable discussion.[1] It is, however, not this event itself which is my main interest here, but rather a discursive representation of it. I will conduct a close reading of the official opening speech given by Bishop Antoine Godeau and printed one year after the opening.

The man, chosen for this honourable mission, was the bishop of Vence and Grace, a productive writer and one of the first official members of the French Academy. Although Godeau's speech is used as a source in studies of hospital politics, it has been given almost no attention as a discursive or sense-making practice. Instead of focusing on the events reflected in Godeau's text, I will explore the text's construction of meaning: how does Godeau go about making sense of the confinement of the poor? What kind of cultural project does he carry out through his text?

1 See for instance Gutton, 1970; Fairchilds, 1976; Jones, 1999; Norberg, 1985.

The Great Confinement and the Classical Episteme

My theoretical basis is Foucault's thesis of the General Hospital as a sign of the Classical episteme. According to Foucault, Classical thought excludes resemblance as the primary form of knowledge, denouncing it as a confused mixture that must be analysed in terms of identity, difference, measurement and order. He claims that the fundamental task of Classical discourse is to ascribe a name to things, and in that name their being.[2]

In the *History of Madness* Foucault claims that an important part of the hospitalization project consisted in naming and creating order. Foucault states that "the institutions were an attempt to demonstrate that good order could coincide with virtue" and that "the house of confinement of the classical age was the most intensely charged symbol of that form of 'police' and considered itself the civic equivalent of religion for the construction of a perfect city."[3] The hospital offered assistance through classification. The poor were segregated from each other according to type and the different groups received different kinds of help and instruction. In line with the ideas of the Classical episteme, the act of classifying was in itself an important part of this assistance, creating order and virtue by calling the poor by their right name.

Although Foucault is associated with the analysis of discourse, he is strikingly disinterested in the Great Confinement as a textual practice. It is the event "outside the text" that occupies him, not its textual expressions. The texts upon which he bases his analysis are considered as sources rather than historical events on their own terms. The practice of creating order and offering assistance through classification appears in the *History of Madness* primarily as an institutional practice. Foucault explores the development of new administrative routines, the construction of new buildings, new methods of segregation, new forms of instruction and punishment. The texts he analyses mirror and give access to these different practices but they are not considered to be *part of* the practices he studies. The texts have a secondary status.

Although I draw on Foucault's thesis of the Great Confinement as an expression of the classical episteme, I will shift the focus from institutional to textual practices. My interest is one important discursive practice connected to the confinement, namely Godeau's speech, and I understand this text as a practice which impacts on the creation of reality through performance.[4] According to

2 Foucault, 2012, p. 132.

3 Foucault, 2007, p. 76.

4 Law, 1999, p. 1-15; Law/Mol, 2002, p. 1-23.

Law and Mol, texts are performative in the sense that they are "part of a practice of handling, intervening in, the world and thereby of enacting one of its versions – up to bringing it into being".[5] By focusing on Godeau's text, and not the event it reflects, I shall explore and describe its performative qualities. This also raises a more theoretical question concerning Foucault's approach: are there important aspects missing from Foucault's thesis because he does not treat the texts as practices on the same terms as the institutional ones?

Godeau's Speech

The written version of Godeau's speech has 108 pages and is divided into three parts. Godeau's argument is based on the well-known Christian topos that poverty is a particularly valued condition within Christianity, and he claims that the dignity of this condition is threatened and disgraced by the beggars and unworthy needy in the Paris of his time. The aim of the hospital is, according to Godeau, to restore poverty to its original dignity by creating an ideal Christian society behind the hospital walls. On this basis, he refutes criticism concerning use of force and deprivation of freedom, claiming that only when liberated from sin can man be truly free. Finally, he argues that the rich are obliged to support the institution in order not to offend God and to contribute to their own salvation. The text is partly religious, partly social in its purpose, while it primarily draws its arguments from ecclesiastical history.

It is explicitly stated in Godeau's text that it is written on behalf of the directors of the General Hospital: "The directors of the General Hospital have asked me to offer this assistance."[6] The functioning of the hospital was largely based on charity, since the allocations from the king were small. This made the institution vulnerable and it was several times threatened with closure in the period between the opening and the Revolution.[7] Godeau's text must be read against this background – as an appeal to support the institution through almsgiving.

5 Law/Mol, 2002, p. 19.

6 Godeau, 1657, p. 5.

7 Desranges, 1959, p. 15.

A Rhetoric of Examples

In the introduction, Godeau states three claims that the first part of the speech aims to demonstrate: "I will show that the foundation of the General Hospital is necessary; 1 for the glory of God, 2 for the salvation of the poor, 3 for the public commodity."[8] When we continue reading we soon understand, however, that the three claims do not structure the chapter in the sense that it does not treat the three claims in the order enumerated. The chapter starts with a description of the privileged role of the poor within Christianity (p. 7-18), it continues with a description of the situation of the poor in Paris of the period (p. 18-21) and it ends with a portrayal of various forms of assistance from ecclesiastical history which are considered predecessors of the General Hospital (p. 21-26). Furthermore, the chapter does not present evidence or arguments for the three claims. The description of the poor within Christianity, the actual situation and the predecessors of the hospital are not used as proofs to support the three claims. The arguments are not syllogistically connected to the claims. Statements such as "poverty is a state that by its nature is more related to Christian life" may be interpreted as evidence for the first claim.[9] However, claim and evidence are not explicitly connected. The validity of the claim seems to be implicitly accepted and placed above all, methodological doubt. The three claims are not tested against reason as Descartes suggested in his methodology some years earlier. The relation between claims and arguments is based on a different logic. The aim of the speech is thus – as it seems to me – not to convince the reader of certain truths through arguments. Godeau stresses that his speech is not rhetorical: "I will not use rhetorical figures to bring them to fulfil this duty."[10] The speech's mission is something else. But what?

The main points of the chapter should, in my opinion, not be read as arguments or proofs, but rather as examples.[11] The speech presents examples of predecessors of the general hospital, examples of good poor from the Ancient Church and examples of dissolutions caused by poverty in the modern period. The predecessors of the general hospital are for instance iterated in the following way:

8 Godeau, 1657, p. 5.

9 Ibid., p. 12.

10 Ibid., p. 6.

11 For a more theoretical discussion of Godeau's use of examples see Engebretsen, 2011.

> We learn from Joseph, that Hircam was the first to establish a Hospital in Jerusalem, where he gathered the poor, who were scattered in different quarters of the city, to prevent them from begging […] Pope Pelagius converted his house into a hospital for the elderly where they were enclosed and received all kinds of care.[12]

Godeau's examples do not seek to bring the reader to new or forgotten insights, but admonishes, as he affirms explicitly, truths that "everyone knows in their hearts". Godeau also states this attitude by introducing the series of examples through expressions such as car il n'y point de doute / for there is no doubt, car chacun scait / because everyone knows, chacun peut s'assurer / everyone can be sure etc. This rhetoric is for instance reflected in Godeau's distinction between the poor and beggars:

> For there is no doubt that there were poor [...] but there should not be any begging because it offended the fraternal charity that was to reign among the people of God. […] The laws of Charlemagne did not allow for beggars to wander through the fields and around the cities, and they ordered that each town should feed their poor, and if they did not want to work they should not be given anything.[13]

Godeau's reasoning differs here from the syllogism in that it does not intend to prove, but rather illustrate and pinpoint an assertion that is assumed true, car il n'y point de doute / for there is no doubt. The examples that follow the statement confirm and illustrate something that there is no doubt about.

Also the description of the role of poverty within Christianity is based on the logic of examples:

> The choice of the Son of God to live in poverty raises it to a dignity that is extremely holy, and the poor are also in the spirit of the Gospel, considered the flowers of Christianity [...]. All the Saints give them beautiful names, and the great Chrysostome does not hesitate to call them altars that God envies as much as those on which the body of His Son is sacrificed, and that must be equally honoured by the faithful.[14]

12 Godeau, 1657, p. 21.

13 Ibid., p. 6.

14 Ibid., p. 16f.

The text is here built around examples in two different ways.[15] On the one hand the people and situations that are mentioned are examples in the sense that they are *exemplary*, i.e. they represent universal ideals. The holy nature of poverty is expressed through reference to exemplary sources that are organised according to rank: first there is Jesus Christ himself, below him there is the Gospel, and then follow the Saints (Chrysostome). On the other hand, the text is built on examples in the sense of repetitions or copies; the text mentions several *exemplars* of the same phenomenon, i.e. expressions of the natural dignity of poverty. Examples in the first sense can be said to be platonic because they refer vertically to transcendent ideals. In the second sense they are Aristotelian, referring horizontally to other representatives of the same series.[16]

These two different uses of examples were, according to John Lyons, well known to 17th century thinking. He draws on a definition from Dictionnaire de l'Académie from 1694 which claims that an example is "that which is worthy of being put forth to be imitated or to be avoided."[17] Here it is the unique aspect of the example, the exemplary function that is emphasised. However, the definition continues: "You say that *that* was done in the past; I maintain that it is new, that there are not, that there never have been examples."[18] The example is therefore also characterised as being repeatable or recurrent ("that was done in the past."). This dual definition corresponds to the use of examples in the paragraph from Godeau's speech cited above. The combination of uniqueness and repeatability forms the examples and makes them convincing.

The two functions of the example – as exemplary and exemplar – are united in a common understanding of the receiver: instead of trying to convince the reader of something that is not yet known to him, the examples are based on the idea of unity between sender and receiver. The example presupposes that the receiver recognises it both as exemplary and as exemplar. The examples used in the paragraph cited above can only "work" if the reader recognises the ideal (the example of Christ, of the Saints etc.). However, the examples also have to be perceived as recurrent, as only a few in a long series. This is explicitly reflected in the text: "*All* the Saints" have the same attitude to poverty; Chrysostome is only one of many.

The rhetoric of exemplarity is equally reflected in Godeau's description of the poor of his period:

15 Lyons, 1989, p. 15.

16 Gelley, 1995, p.1-4.

17 Lyons, 1989, p. 15.

18 Ibid.

> Many were not baptized, and yet they didn't hesitate to call themselves Christians. They didn't leave the churches, and not only did they never pray to God, but they kept others from praying. They lived in general ignorance of all the truths of religion. They didn't take the Sacraments, and, although they lived in all sorts of abominations, they neglected to seek the remedy of penitence. They had many children, and few of them were married. The mating of the beasts in the fountains of Africa is no more monstrous than theirs. Dirty words, insults, curses and blasphemies were always in their mouths. [...] They stole from children they met, and cut off their members to earn their living this way. They treated their own children in the same way and any sentiment of natural pity for these little creatures was smothered by greed. They often served as thieves to enter houses where they by charity had been given cover. [...] Everyone knows that there were places in Paris where every night these poor performed strange miracles on themselves, without magic and without holiness. The blind could see, the deaf could hear, the paralyzed could dance, the mute could sing, the scabby had clean head and the dying committed debauchery and finally they passed the entire night feasting, and in all kinds of dissolutions.[19]

This series of examples is based on the same dual logic I have described above: the examples of the poor's behaviour are extraordinary, but they are also cyphers representing basic human sins. In addition, the examples are hyperbolic; they out-bid each other in repulsive and bizarre expressions. However, it is important to note that the hyperbolic examples do not help to expand the reader's understanding by allowing for new insights. The examples exceed each other, not by bringing new insights, but rather in dramatic effect. They increase in strength. The aim of the text is to intensify the truth experience rather than to reveal truths that are hidden or unknown. Through examples the text articulates eternal, ontological principles. In line with the Catholic notion of Tradition, the Truth never changes but is gradually enriched by appearing in various deposits.[20]

19 Godeau, 1657, p. 19-21.

20 Cf. Sullivan, 1983.

The Public Commodity

This rhetoric of exemplarity must be understood in the context of what Habermas has called a representative public sphere.[21] In contrast to the civil public sphere characteristic of modern society, bishops, princes and other profane and religious leaders in pre-modern society did not engage with their public as active interlocutors whom they were going to convince, but as passive receivers before whom the ruler displayed his power through ceremonies, carnivals and other cultural manifestations. In this way, Godeau also displays his examples before the reader as representations of an unquestioned authority. Habermas, however, says little about the logic behind the representative publicity, partly because his interest is directed towards its successor, the civil public sphere.

This is where I suggest returning to Foucault and his Classical episteme. We remember that Foucault claimed that creating order and virtue through naming and categorisation was an important part of the confinement. Exemplifying is, in Godeau's case, an act of naming. Through examples, Godeau is naming the hospital, naming the poor, and naming the situation in contemporary Paris. Through examples, he is allocating events to their proper category. To Godeau, however, the order of things had a profound religious significance. This religious dimension of the naming activity is not highlighted by Foucault.[22]

To understand the religious significance of this naming activity we must take a closer look at one of Godeau's central terms, 'public commodity'. The term is frequently used in Godeau's speech: "[…] the poor that have been enclosed for their commodity",[23] "[...] that one is accustomed to the commodity of not being bothered by their screaming",[24] "[...] for the commodity of the habitants of Paris",[25] "[w]ouldn't you take most of the public commodity?",[26] etc. What type of commodity does the public enjoy thanks to the confinement of the poor?

Godeau writes that the General Hospital should address "the general ruin which has struck everyone".[27] The General Hospital is not presented as a tool to solve separately the problems of civilian life such as war, plague, begging, crime or economic crisis: "It is not only the war because it was done before with the

21 Cf. Habermas, 1991.

22 Cf. Gutton, 1970; cf. Jones, 1999.

23 Godeau, 1657, p. 38.

24 Ibid., p. 40.

25 Ibid., p. 76.

26 Ibid., p. 87.

27 Ibid., p. 88.

same or even greater fury."[28] The public commodity, which is the ultimate goal of the hospital, is more than the erasure of these individual social problems. Instead of seeking to solve social problems separately, one has to turn to the heart of the matter: "One has to search for another cause. And what could that be other than the ill-use of goods that almost all kinds of persons are guilty of?"[29]

"Commodity" is here contrasted with "ill-use". "Use" is on several occasions contrasted with the renunciation of worldly goods in Godeau's text: "But how could they imagine that they were allowed to use creation for their pleasure or vanity."[30] To use creation in accordance with one's own desires or vanity was associated with a rebellion, an attempt to put "oneself above others" and in the place of God.[31] This assertiveness and arrogance which drives man to make himself master of creation is, according to Godeau, "the master crime of humanity".[32] Only God has the right to use creation. By using creation, man transcends his place in universe. He betrays the category attributed to him, his proper name.

Godeau finds one of the major causes of this human arrogance in earthly wealth. "Treasure is like a loadstone which attracts the heart."[33] And with wealth there are many other kinds of self-love that follow: "How can the rich not put themselves above others when they live with all the flattery that strengthens their faults, excuses their vices and exaggerates all the smallest quality of their spirit?"[34] Wealth corrupts and explains, according to Godeau, why it is easier for "a large cable to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven."[35]

However, not only the rich but also the poor have betrayed their place in the universe and the name attributed to them. Originally, poverty is a holy state reflecting the example of Christ: "The choice of the Son of God to live in poverty raises it to a dignity that is extremely holy."[36] Yet this is a state that the poor of Godeau's period have betrayed: "However, is it not true that nothing was so profane, or so terrible as the poor in the city of Paris."[37] The poor of Godeau's peri-

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 8.

31 Ibid., p. 10.

32 Ibid., p. 9.

33 Ibid. p. 10.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., p. 12.

36 Ibid., p. 16.

37 Ibid., p. 18.

od do not live as poor. They seek in various ways to rise above their state. They betray their condition by working towards earthly wealth through begging and theft rather than suffering in humility and craving the richness of heaven. These poor are not real poor but imposters: "The blind could see, the deaf could hear, the paralysed could dance, the mute could sing, the scabby had clean heads and the dying committed debauchery and finally they passed the entire night feasting, and all kinds of dissolutions."[38] At the deepest level, the major violation of the poor is that they do not value their state. The poor are unworthy because they do not want to be poor, because they do not "honour the holiness of their condition."[39] For Godeau the problem of poverty is thus not primarily associated with the poor's extreme distress, but with the fact that they try to avoid it.

Both rich and poor have an obligation to live according to their right status or category, to fulfil their cosmic roles. Poor should be poor and rich should be rich – in the right way. By betraying their cosmic roles as rich or poor, Godeau's contemporaries have invoked the wrath of God and this is what causes "general ruin". The only way to placate the wrath of God and thereby obtain public commodity is through reinstating these cosmic categories.

Thus by speaking of the "public commodity", Godeau refers not only to the protection of civil society but of a cosmic order. In *Thresor de la langue francoyse* (1661) the word commode is defined as "approprié" or "convenable". The words "appropriate" and "suitable" point to order and harmony, to something that is appropriate or suitable according to certain rules. Something qualifies as "commode" when it fits into a pattern, into a categorical system. Commode is that which has a name.

When the General Hospital as well as Godeau's speech serve the public commodity, it is because they are practices that contribute to the realization of God's rules or plan for society and humanity. The public commodity, which Godeau finds threatened and wants to restore, is a state of general order and harmony, a cosmic balance. Naming or relating events to their appropriate or suitable categories is a way of restoring public commodity. This gives a profound religious significance to the Classical episteme that is often overlooked by Foucault. This religious significance also makes Godeau's speech not only a reflection of a social practice but a social practice in itself. This aim of restoring public commodity is not only sought to be obtained by the foundation of the hospital which Godeau defends in his speech, but also by the speech itself.

38 Ibid., p. 21.

39 Ibid., p. 60.

Corpus Mysticum

Hélène Merlin has developed Habermas' theory of the representative publicity further, claiming that the public to whom the king represents his power is ontologically equal to the king himself. She draws this conclusion based on the notion of the *Corpus Mysticum* composed of the King (the head) and the three orders of the people (its members). This understanding implies that what is "harmful" to the people is equally harmful to the state because the state's welfare is identical to the "public good". The *Corpus Mysticum* cannot "suffer in one part without the rest of the body suffering as well."[40] What is public good is necessarily also good for each individual, but the public good is at the same time more than the sum of individual interests. The public as an organic whole cannot be reduced to its parts because it is a "surplus" that makes it into an organism. God is the name of this surplus and it is this surplus that makes the corpus mystic.

This idea of the "public" endows traditional social hierarchies with fundamental religious significance because all other relationships were based on the relationship to God. In line with this understanding Godeau sees the public not as synonymous with a secular society but as a community beyond the temporal. The relationship to God is the centre of this community. The public whose commodity the hospital and Godeau's speech shall provide is not the historical society Godeau lives in, but humanity as an original state created in the image of God. To serve the public commodity is ultimately to serve God.

This cosmological order is what Godeau finds to be threatened in his period. The public body was suffering. The division of the universal church and the wars that followed had challenged the idea that the entire people belonged to the same body. A major project for the French Counter-Reformation was to reinstate the concept of a divine social order by insisting that Christ was present in all relationships and that any breach of social order represented a separation of Christ's limbs. The traditional concept of "the public" as a divine organism had to be defended.

The idea of the *Corpus Mysticum* also makes the act of addressing a public a ceremonial matter, because the one addressing and the one addressed are fundamentally the same. They share the same interest and mission, being parts of the same mystical body. What is at stake in a public speech is therefore an addresser and an addressee sharing a ritual which is absolutely predictable to both parties. They are acting in a play in which the roles are cosmologically predefined. What goes on when Godeau speaks in public is therefore not primarily

40 Merlin, 1994, p. 49.

the communication of a message but the enactment of the *Corpus Mysticum* and thereby the confirmation of its existence. Naming is to inscribe something into its cosmological whole. It is to heal Christ's earthly body. Through his examples Godeau attributes the hospital, the poor and recent events their proper cosmological category and place. He thereby contributes to restore public commodity and cosmic order.

Based on this line of thinking, Godeau's speech can be considered a social practice on the same terms as the hospital it defends. Both offer assistance through classification. Social assistance is to work on the public commodity and the cosmic order. The particular conception of the public defended by Godeau makes a speech and a hospital into related actions. Both contribute to restoring the order of things through naming and classification. They are not primarily actions directed towards someone else, someone that should be treated, punished or instructed. The hospital is not punishing or helping someone else, as the speech is not addressing or convincing someone else. The subject and the object, the helper and the helped, the sender and the receiver are one. More than actions in which someone is addressing someone else, both the hospital and Godeau's speech must be understood as acts of summoning. The final objective is to summon and to contribute to the resurrection of Christ's earthly body. Both the hospital and the speech must be interpreted as mystical, more than practical-political actions.

Conclusion

Through the performance of examples, Godeau's speech contributes to the re-enactment of the *Corpus Mysticum* and thereby to the public commodity. Like the hospital it defends, the speech itself is a measure against the general ruin that characterised the period, caused by all kinds of dissolution that had provoked God's wrath. Both the hospitals and the speech are acts of naming and classification that aim to recreate cosmic order. This act of naming referred to by Foucault as the Classical episteme has a profound religious significance. However, by neglecting the religious aspect of the Classical episteme, Foucault fails to see the significance of discursive practices such as Godeau's speech as an integral part of the Great Confinement. The aim of the hospital and Godeau's speech are fundamentally the same: to make God present in all things.

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Making Sense of Diabetes

Public Discussions in Early West Germany 1945 to 1970

Cay-Rüdiger Prüll

I. Introduction

Since about 1985, the history of the patient is demanding increasing attention. This strand incorporated many elements of cultural history during the last decades.[1] This paper is a small chapter of modern patient history. On the following pages I want to show, how a specific group of patients, namely the diabetics, reconstructed the meaning of their disease. Diabetes started to make sense and these patients reinterpreted their sense of live. They did this during a specific historical period, namely after the second World War and I will show that this occurred in a specific cultural climate in early West Germany during the period of reconstruction and consolidation between 1945 and 1970.[2] This paper is designed to elucidate the interdependencies of different factors in the formation of self-esteem in patients, in our case the diabetics. The conditions in West Germany after 1945 are especially interesting since the process of democratization corresponded with an increasing impact of the media, especially for the articulation of specific interests of social groups.[3] Especially medicine depended on its

1 See the pioneer article of Porter, 1985, p. 175-198. For cultural history of the patient see for example Loetz, 1993.

2 Klessmann, 1991. For social changes in West Germany see Schildt, 2001, p. 177-206, and also Kersting et al., 2010. For the history of German medicine after 1945, see Gerst, 1997, p. 195-242.

3 For the relationship of "Medialization" and the history of West Germany after 1945, see Bösch/Frei, 2006.

public appearance in order to regain reputation lost due to its political engagement before 1945.[4]

First I shall describe important preconditions for the development of self-confidence of diabetics after 1945 in West Germany. One subchapter is devoted to the interpretation of the meaning of "sense of life", which is addressed in this paper. Another subchapter deals with diabetes and its history up to 1945. Secondly, and this is my main part, I shall describe the source of my analysis and thereafter the different topics of the discussion about diabetes – mainly among physicians and patients. There are also two subchapters, one about diabetics becoming equal members of society, a second about diabetics becoming model members of society. Thirdly I shall analyze my findings and make some conclusive remarks.

II. Preconditions

II.1 What is "Making Sense of Life"?

In this subchapter I would like to establish my analytical frame, when questioning the interpretation of the "sense of life". This is based on the theoretical notions of the philosopher Paul Tiedemann on different cultural settings and their specific approaches in dealing with this question.[5] According to his reflection on "sense of life", we are able to differentiate between non-perspective and perspective approaches. Non-perspective approaches have one thing in common, namely that they relegate the decisions about the sense of life to conditions which are not within the influential sphere of the individual. For example, fragmented systems of sense constructions draw sharp distinctions between the self and the world, defining the sense of life as diminishing all relations to environmental objects and subjects. The sense of live is to achieve the utmost realization of the self in an absolute state of contemplation (e.g. Buddhism) or after death in the world of gods.[6] Conventional systems differentiate between nature and culture. Whereas nature stands for chaos, culture is established within a human society, giving structure to the course of live. The sense of live in conventional systems

4 For German Medicine after 1945, see Oehler-Klein/Roelcke, 2007; Oehler-Klein, 2007; Seemann, 2002; furthermore Prüll, 2010, p. 102-133, esp. p. 107-110.

5 Tiedemann, 1993.

6 Ibid., p. 38-43.

is to be an effective member of society, having risen from pure dependence on the laws of nature (e.g. Ancient Greece).[7]

In contrast to these non-perspective approaches, the perspective approach developed in the Western world as an individualistic way to sort out the sense of life. The sense of life in a perspective view is the utmost expression of the basic self when reflecting upon one's own person and one's relational development in the world. Whereas the own person adapts to the world around in an attempt to be an accepted member of society, the self is not dependent upon prevailing rules and conventions. Since such self-expression would violate social rules, it is basically not possible to achieve total self-expression. It is only possible in part when finding and accepting unconventional attitudes and ideas to a certain extent as guidelines for live.

This perspective approach is very helpful in explaining the discussions between diabetics and their physicians because questions about the sense of life and its redefinition were instigated by reflections on the zeitgeist and experiences with people's reaction to their disease. These reflections led to the creation of unconventional ideas of the functions and roles of diabetics in post-war Germany.[8]

II.2 Diabetes and its History

Only during the last decades of the 19th century, the signs and symptoms of diabetes were interpreted in a way, which is self-evident for us today. On the basis of scientific medicine, the pancreas was seen as the origin of the disease, as specific cells are not able to produce insulin or only an insufficient amount. Insulin is a hormone responsible for the nutritive mobilization of carbohydrates. This means, without insulin it is not possible to utilize glucose and to build up or degrade fats. Around 1900, a person with diabetes had a mere life span of approximately 15 years, if at all – the person eventually died of starvation. The only medical measure which kept children alive until their youth was a strict low-calorie diet with an additional restriction of carbohydrates. Very soon it became clear that managing this disease is only possible on the basis of a close cooperation between patient and physician. This cooperation was embedded in

7 Ibid., p. 44-48.

8 Ibid., p. 48-63.

a system of paternalistic medicine whereby the patient received clear directives from his medical supervisor.[9]

The image of diabetes has changed decisively since 1921. In this year, the two Canadian researchers Frederick Banting (1891-1941) and Charles Best (1899-1978) successfully extracted and isolated insulin. Now it was possible to substitute the hormone in patients who now survived the first two decades of their lives, almost reaching the age of physiologically healthy persons. Furthermore, they were able to lead an almost normal live if they regularly monitored their insulin and strictly observed the dietary regime. The problems with diabetic patients now changed from accompanying a dying human being to accompanying a chronically ill patient by stabilizing his bodily conditions and treating the long-term consequences of his disease – e.g. blood vessel damage or damage of the retina. The shift of treatment and image of diabetes took place during the 1920s, promoting also research on diabetes: Two different types of the disease were detected. Besides Type I appearing as early as in childhood and being caused by the inability of the pancreas to produce insulin – Type II occurred in adult years, caused by a restricted efficacy of insulin on bodily tissues.[10]

Most importantly, Germany took its own course in considering the changes of diabetic treatment and the reshaped life with diabetes. During the "Third Reich", diabetics had to subordinate their interests to the aims of the people's community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). Dedication to the nation meant setting aside the upkeep of health and spending all the energy to victorious warfare. As well as all the difficulties to observe regular dietary measures, also insulin was rationed and hardly available. The appearance of the diabetic in the "Third Reich" was not that of a healthy and employable person. In contrast, the old image of a starving patient, being dead already after a few years, dominated the people's attitudes towards diabetics and survived the end of the Second World War.[11]

9 For the pre 1900 history of diabetes, see Feudtner, 1995, p. 66-90; Eich, 1975, p. 6-21.

10 Wrenshall/Hetenyi, 1962; Bliss, 1982; Feudtner, 2003.

11 Roth, 1993, p. 4-9.

III. Revisiting the "Sense of Live"

III.1 Public Discussions about Diabetes in Early West Germany

After 1945 there were new options to openly care for the interests of patients and a philanthropic initiative regarding diabetes was started by the journalist Robert Beining (1898-1961). Together with six other persons he founded the German Diabetic Association (*Deutscher Diabetiker Bund, DDB*) in 1951. Most importantly, this was a lay foundation with the aim to support patients and their families, and especially the integration of diabetics in West German society.[12]

Also in 1951, the journal "The Diabetic" (*Der Diabetiker*) was founded by Beining and his colleagues as a public organ to specifically discuss the health as well as social problems of diabetics. However, very soon the membership of the editorial board was no longer restricted to diabetics or lay helpers. On the basis of his paternalistic view of the physician and because he saw the necessity for medical supervision of patient readers, Beining asked physicians to join the editorial board of the journal. In 1951, a medical advisory board (*Beirat*) was founded.[13] This was not just an integration of medical advisors. On the contrary, the physicians were soon able to achieve a dominant position in the journal as they felt responsible for the supervision of diabetics to manage their lives with

12 This was a kind of follow up of a former foundation of 1931 by E.O. Erdmenger in Berlin, which was stopped by National Socialists in 1934. The journal of this first association, founded also in 1931, was entitled „Wir Zuckerkranken". See Ibid., p. 3-10; Brettschneider, 2001, p. 6-11, esp. p. 7.

13 The commission was headed by Dr. phil. Erich Both, director of the sanatory Bad Neuenahr. Both worked since 1945 in Bad Neuenahr and became the head of the institution. He had been assistant of the internal physician Paul Martini (1889-1964) in Bonn, who was the personal physician (Leibarzt) of the first West-German chancellor Konrad Adenauer and one of most influential physicians of post-war West Germany. Beining, Robert: Bericht über die bisherige Entwicklung des DDB (Fortsetzung). Der Diabetiker 1 (1951), H. 6, 69/70. In respect of the person of Both, see: www.kreis-ahrweiler.de/kvar/VT/hjb 1975/hjb 1975.9.4.html, 5.9.2012. There is no evidence in the estate of Paul Martini about any activities of him regarding the support of the German Diabetic Association. I would like to thank PD Dr. Hans-Georg Hofer, Institut für Geschichte der Medizin der Universität Bonn, for this contribution. Erich Both was at least able to win Martini over to support the Association in non-material ways: Both, 1964, p. 283.

diabetes, including not only the careful application of insulin, but also – among others – the control of the disease at the work place. Every issue of the journal contained one article on diabetic education, dealing with an important chapter of diabetes management. An entire series of articles was written by one medical specialist. The series was repeated with other authors to make education more entertaining and to give the articles more flavor.

Since the editorial board consisted of lay people as well as physicians, the journal was driven by a specific dynamic of discussions, enabling the exchange of information but also different opinions on diabetic care and problems related to diabetes. Therefore, it was possible that critical voices of patients appeared in the journal.[14]

Besides medical articles, the journal also contained news of the association, covering reports on meetings as well as advice on live-shaping issues, letters of readers and entertainment. The last point is especially interesting in our context since entertaining stories often conveyed messages of and for diabetics to enhance their awareness of their abilities and to promote their ability to cope with their living conditions. The journal and its articles will be our main source to follow up on the diabetics' question for the "sense of life".

III.2 Becoming an Equivalent Member of Society

As early as in 1951, the lay members as well as physicians, who participated in setting up the journal, tried to oppose the prevalent popular views on diabetes, which had been consolidated during the Nazi-period and which had survived the post-war years. This was caused above all by the mentality of the West German re-erection society. Every hand was needed to overcome burdens and damages caused by the War and it was the requirement of every person to do her or his best to rebuild West-Germany as fast as possible. Basically, diabetics were now in the same position as in the Nazi Volksgemeinschaft before 1945. They had to

14 In 1952, one of the founders of the journal, the missionary Hans Ziegler, criticized the bad readability of the medical articles. In January 1953, the head of the medical commission of the journal, Erich Both, repeated with the comment that the reader should be expected to work his way through more elaborated articles. Ziegler, 1952, p. 58; Both, 1953, p. 1. Since the German Diabetic Association has no archive, it is not possible to follow up the origin of the articles as well as the selection of the letters from readers.

postpone their own interests and do their best to contribute to the re-erection of the country. They did not seem to fit into this society.[15]

The decisive idea to turn the tide was created by the diabetes specialist Gerhard Katsch (1887-1961) from Greifswald. He had not only promoted the medical treatment of diabetics but also their social and occupational rehabilitation since the 1930s. Katsch was one of those pioneer diabetologists whose work was oriented towards the patient and who prepared the uptake of the discipline of diabetology during the 1920s and 1930s. He belonged to those colleagues who built up specific institutions aiming at reintegrating diabetics into social and occupational life. Katsch and his scholars shaped the diabetology of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), which focused very much on the social welfare of the patients. During the 1950s and 1960s, these developments still had a measurable impact on the discipline in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).[16]

In Katsch's view the diabetic was "conditionally healthy". This meant that if the diabetic was able to keep in contact with the physician and to observe diet and insulin application, he could lead an ordinary life and would be, in principle, as healthy as any other fellow citizen. Above all, during the 1950s this idea became very popular among diabetes specialists and diabetics and was popularized in public lectures. The journal was invaded by Katsch's concept and it was disseminated in its different aspects by many lay and medical authors within the time frame of this investigation (1951-1970). One of the core topics was occupational reliability, because employment gave self-affirmation and social security.[17] The general message given in the journal was that the diabetic should develop self-discipline and a specific responsibility to overcome all difficulties to deal with his disease. Hints were given to cope with every-day-life challenges

15 Concerning the situation in West Germany in 1945, see Wolfrum, 2007, p. 32-34.

16 During the 1930s, Katsch had built up the first European diabetics home on the German island of Rügen. The treatment offered here was improved a great deal after the Second World War, especially with the foundation of the new diabetics home at Schloss Karlsburg in 1947. Although the erection of the wall and its consequences caused the emergence of problems, exchange of knowledge and ideas was kept alive due to initiatives of both East and West German diabetologists. Important in this sense were the meetings in Karlsburg ("Karlsburger Symposien"), which were also attended by diabetologists from the FRG. For example in May 1966, there were two reports of such meetings: Vgl. Bruns et al., 1990, p. 4, 6-8, 10f. For Karlsburger Symposien see Wappler/Jutzi, 1966, p. 159f.

17 See e.g. Knick, 1968, p. 463-471, esp. p. 468.

regarding disease management. A second strand consisted of lay and medical reports on activities to overcome prejudices against diabetics prevalent among their employers. One of the core topics was, above all, to convince governmental representatives to support the idea of the diabetics "conditional health". Above all, activities were started to support the employment of diabetics as "public servants" (*Beamte*) because this seemed to fit well with specific requirements to their work place, namely the regular rhythm of work with regular breaks. Robert Beining launched an offensive to support this idea in 1958 and the Journal was filled with articles about this problem. News about successes in defending the occupational interests of diabetics were published not only via articles, but also via short announcements: In December 1970, the readers were informed that early retirement of a Colonel of the West-German Army due to his diabetes could be prevented.[18]

Importantly, these activities presented were jointly driven by lay persons, diabetics and physicians. This meant that the leading position of the diabetes specialist – according to contemporary paternalistic medicine – was accepted. On this basis the editorial board tried hard to spread the vision that all patients and also their medical supervisors should close ranks to overcome all difficulties related to the disease.

III.3 Becoming an Ideal Member of Society

The initiatives presented so far emerged from a position of defense against discriminating attitudes to consolidate the own position in the new West German democracy. Remarkably, very soon, at the latest since about 1956, the journal went one step further. The defense measures of diabetics and diabetes specialists were accompanied by measures – and I quote Gerhard Katsch – "to use a poison for brewing an ointment."[19] To be a responsible person and to have extraordinary self-discipline was now reinterpreted as a preference compared to other fellow citizens. To be extremely reliable while bearing the burden of a chronic disease was seen as a kind of heroic undertaking. And even those patients who were severely haunted by their disease were seen as heroes. In March 1957, the editor of the entertaining column "The Island", Gerda Morsberger, wrote

> In the preceding evil years so much has been talked about heroes, that such words do not sound good any more. If we talk about such friends as he-

18 *Ein interessantes Urteil*, 1970, p. XLVI.

19 Katsch, 1958, p. 225-234, see the quotation on p. 227.

> roes, however, we do this above all, because most of them are [...] without bitterness.[20]

Only one year later, a paper of a diabetic, Hans Pfettner, was published in the journal. Pfettner claimed exploiting the advantages of diabetes. A diabetic would be forced to lead a healthy life without any excesses. Pfettner focused on temperance as a tool to change the attitude to life. A joyful life could be achieved when resisting "the temptations of glory, of bustling or even wealth".[21] What was seemingly a disadvantage – slowness and thoughtful work – was now reinterpreted as an advantage. During the years of an upcoming prosperity, it was especially the refusal of hedonistic gluttony that promoted the construction of a new self.[22] As a diabetic stated in 1957: "We do not live for eating, but we choose our food in a way to be able to fulfill our duties to society and to the family we have founded."[23] The responsibility of the diabetic, as the president of the German Diabetic Association, Willy Rottstock (1904-1968), remarked in 1957, was to give a fair warning to all healthy fellow citizens regarding the damages of hedonistic life in post war society.[24] One author even delivered examples from world history about the advantages of chronic diseases to solve problems. The author, as he wrote, had discovered a new book of a medical historian describing the influence of diseases on historical events. Caesar would have been an epileptic and in aura phase shortly before an epileptic stroke, he would have drafted the strategy to beat Pompeius at Pharsallus 46 BC. Diseases, that is the message, would be very important and they would be anything else than automatically deleterious to human productivity.[25] In 1957, the president of the association even claimed that the holiday camps of diabetic children would give the impression that diabetic children would have above-average intelligence as well as be extraordinarily beautiful, compared with healthy children.[26]

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20 Morsberger, 1957, p. 63. (Translation by the author).

21 Pfettner, 1958, p. 306f., esp. p. 307. The paper of Pfettner was originally presented during the lay section of the congress of the International Diabetes Federation in Düsseldorf 1958.

22 Regarding the rising prosperity of the 1960s, see: Schildt/Siegfried, 2009, p. 184-187.

23 Stein, 1957, p.202/203, here p. 202.

24 Häupler, 1957, p. 268-270, esp. p. 268.

25 Achim, 1958, p.195f.

26 *Öffentliche Diabetikerversammlung*, 1958, p. 16-18, esp. p. 17.

Such impulses to rethink the attitude of the diabetics' life were supported by leading diabetes specialists. In 1962, the physician Karl Georg Rosenstingl wrote that no other disease would be as sufficient as diabetes "to give not only the persons concerned, but also the entire human society, even mankind, an understanding and interpretation of present problems, which are above all problems of human awareness."[27] The diabetic, as a carrier of a disease of civilization, should himself be a model of how to cope with such ailments.

The process described was indeed backed by a growing awareness of people regarding threads to health being caused by habits of civilization. One topic, which already came up in the late 1950s, was the so-called "manager disease" – a mixture of exhaustion and cardiovascular symptoms, which was associated with the modern life of the reerection-society and, last but not least, with the American style of life.[28]

Since about 1960 the Journal published many comments and articles, which more or less concerned the habits and attitudes connected with the "manager disease". These articles conveyed clear warnings regarding the future course of society and summoned to combat these phenomena. Paragraphs and articles especially about drinking alcohol and smoking appeared frequently since the beginning of the 1960s. Tobacco was seen as a main reason for arteriosclerosis and heart infarction. Therefore "huge parts of the West German citizens" were accused of "violating without thought the right of other parts of German people, covered by the Basic Law, to protect their health and bodily integrity". It was described that in pubs and official buildings the smoker would dominate the sphere and it was claimed that non-smokers should grind out their own freedom.[29] The American tobacco industry was seen as the basis of the thread. The diabetes specialist Paul Kühne published a short comment on the American investments into tobacco. Entitled "17 Million Americans live on tobacco", he presented numbers, e.g. that there would be 578 companies in 30 American States, which would produce this luxury product.[30] Drinking, smoking and super-nutrition were described as phenomena, developing steadily after 1945, defining the leisure time of diseased human beings at the beginning of the 1960s.[31] The cultural history of smoking, written by the smoker Georg Böse in 1957, shows how com-

27 Rosenstingl, 1962, p. 45f., esp. p. 46.

28 Thöma, 1958.

29 *Die Diktatur der Raucher*, 1962, p. 198 (see the quotations here); *Herzinfarkt und Pensionierung*, 1964, p. 151.

30 Kühne, 1964, p. 239.

31 *Freizeitkranke Menschen*, 1967, p. 14.

mon smoking was seen at the end of the 1950s. In his preface, Böse confessed to be a smoker and argued: "Tobacco has become so much a part of our culture, that it has left almost no neutral traces in our consciousness."[32] All threads of civilization were discussed fervently in "The Diabetic", and it is not by chance that there was an article in 1967, describing the decline of the Roman Empire as caused by successive lead poisoning. Socially ascending citizens had been unable to preserve culture and progress.[33]

Despite changing nutritive habits, one remedy against a hedonistic life style was seen in regular physical activity. This led to a certain renaissance of the usage of the bicycle. One contribution even claimed that managers would now use bicycles more frequently.[34] Besides physical activity, a lot of remarks within articles or entire articles concentrated on the revitalization of classical virtues of the diabetic, namely the ability to care for his own recovery. The hustle and bustle of modern life needed the careful planning of holidays, frequent phases of rest, especially at lunch time, frequent breaks during work and specific programs of relaxation as a counterpoint.[35] Again, these recommendations were partly related to the modern manager's life, when specifically dealing with nervousness as a problem to be cured by vacancies in peace and quiet.[36] This was again seen as a model for his fellow citizens as to how to encounter the challenges of contemporary life in West Germany.

IV. Conclusion

If we reconstruct the story of sense-making of diabetes in West-Germany between 1951 and 1970, we can detect two phases. The first phase started after the war and ended approximately around 1956. During these post-war years, the diabetic tried to respond to quite aggressive discriminations launched by fellow citizens who still saw the diabetic as an ill person with a wrecked body, being more dead than alive. The aim of the diabetics and their medical supervisors was to convince people mainly that they would have the ability to work. It was a cry for the acceptance of equality in a period of rebuilding West Germany, were es-

32 Böse, 1958, p. 7. In respect of the history of smoking see also: Hess, 1987; Corti 1986.

33 Lausch, 1967, p.34.

34 Schrader, 1964, p.306f.

35 Graupner, 1964, p. 238f.; Swoboda, 1960, p.203; *Zu fettes Essen*,1959, p.168.

36 Schreiner, 1960, p.143f.

pecially the capability to bear hardships of work requirements was decisive. The second phase started around 1956. Simultaneously with a steady consolidation of West German society and economy, diabetics now detected their advantages over other members of society. They had this chance because of discussions of overweight and consequences of civilizational habits such as smoking and drinking, which increased above all since the 1960s. The bad impact of the Western life style seemed to be made visible above all by the manager disease, which covered all aspects of health-related misbehavior. Diabetics, trained to keep up a diet, to resist the temptations of luxury foodstuff, and to lead a structured life, were now seemingly the most reliable members of modern society. Criticism at modern habits was accompanied by proposals to keep healthy. The methods in question were, above all, physical recreation as well as enough vacation and regular recovery periods.

The diabetics' changing definition of the „sense of live", and especially their growing self-esteem corresponds with simultaneous processes of influencing therapy in handling their disease after 1956. For example, during the second half of the 1950s, diabetic patients forced a discussion about intimacy and sexuality on their physicians to increase their chances to realize a partnership in spite of the burdens of their disease. This way, diabetic patients claimed acceptance of their own needs and attitudes and promoted the democratization of medicine. As early as 1956, the taboo subject of sexuality was brought out into the open. With their initiative, which was soon embraced by diabetologists, they changed both the treatment and the therapeutic concepts of the disease itself.[37]

The example of diabetes shows, how a specific social group, in our case patients with a specific disease, can develop the ability to reinterpret the specific corporeality of its members in a specific historical constellation. Therewith, coming back to the philosopher Paul Tiedemann, it is an example for a perspective way to solve a crisis of the collective self of a social group. Based on the reflection of the own current situation in connection with contemporary notions on health and disease and current values of society, diabetics were able to mobilize internalized values and to shape their own identity in a period of growing patient rights in the 1960s. This shows that it is important to envisage not only confinement, compulsion and surveillance of minority groups, but also their own activities to conceive the dynamic processes of organizing social participation and distributing power – especially in cases of emerging democracies as West Germany after 1945.

37 Prüll, 2012.

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